

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
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VOLUME XXXV.



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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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Read March 18, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,

AMONGST the various ceremonies and entertainments which distinguished the reign of King James I. there were none perhaps celebrated with greater solemnity or more costly magnificence than those preparatory to and consequent upon the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederic the Elector Palatine, which took place on the 14th of February, 1612-13. The joyous exultation and feeling exhibited by the people tended in some degree, we are told, to dissipate the grief which was generally felt at the death of Henry, the young Prince of Wales, which happened in the preceding November, and had diffused a gloom over the kingdom.

No event, disastrous as were its results, could have been hailed with greater enthusiasm, and, including the portion of the Princess (which was 40,000*l.*), the sum expended was not much less than 100,000*l.*

An account of the preparations for the marriage, the splendid pageant itself, a narrative of the different festivities and water-triumphs, together with the masques at court which followed the celebration of the royal nuptials, given with ample

details by contemporary writers, will be found in the second volume of Nichols's *Progresses, Processions, &c. of King James the First*.

In illustration of some of the expenses incurred upon the occasion for the apparel and other necessities provided for the Lady Elizabeth, and for furnishing her marriage-chamber (amounting to 9,271*l.*), Sir Frederic Madden, in the year 1835,^a communicated to the Society a transcript of the King's warrant, dated 4th May, 1613, to the master of the wardrobe, for the payment of various persons by whom the articles had been supplied for the use of the Princess, as also for habits furnished to performers in the masque presented in the banquetting-house on the marriage-night.

In connection with this subject, and particularly in reference to the expenditure attending the conveyance of the royal Princess and her suite to the territories of the Palatinate, I have now the pleasure to submit to the Society a document not without interest as affording authentic materials for any one writing upon the historical events of the period in question. It is entitled, "The Duplicament of the Account of Sir Robert Banastre and Sir John Leigh, Knights, Officers of the King's Majesties Green Cloth, appointed by the commandment of His Highness and the Lords of the Council to defraie the chardges of the Prince Palatyne, the Lady Elizabeth his wife, the Lords Ambassadors, vizt. the Duke of Lennox,^b the Erle of Arundell,^c the Lo. Viscount Lysle,^d and the Lord Harrington,^e with the whole trayne, in their journey out of England unto Bacharagh,^f in Germanye, or some

^a *Archæologia*, vol. XXVI. p. 380.

^b Ludovick Stuart, second Duke of Lennox in Scotland, born 1574; attended King James to England on his accession, 1603; elected K.G. same year; created Earl of Richmond 6 Oct. 1613; Earl of Newcastle and Duke of Richmond 17 May, 1623. Died s. p. s. 16 Feb. 1624; buried in Westminster Abbey.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Earl Marshal, restored 1604; K. G. 1611; created Earl of Norfolk 1644; carried the sword of state at the marriage of the Princess. His Countess Alatheia, daughter and coheir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was one of the Queen's trainbearers, and afterwards accompanied the Princess abroad. He died at Padua 24 Sept. 1646; she died at Amsterdam 3 June, 1654.

^c Robert Sydney, created Viscount Lisle, 1605, and Earl of Leicester 1618. Died 1626.

^d Sir John Harrington, of Exton, co. Rutland. Knt. created Baron Harrington of Exton 21 July, 1603. The custody of the Princess Elizabeth was assigned to him and Lady Harrington, daughter of Robert Kelway, Esq. He accompanied the Princess to the palatinate, was taken ill upon his return, and died at Worms on St. Bartholomew's day, 1613.

^e Bacharach or Bacarath, a town on the Rhine, south of Coblenz, whither the Duke of Lennox and others were appointed, by commission dated 10 April, 1613 (Rymer), to convey the Princess; and to which place the King by treaty, 17 Nov. preceding, had agreed to pay the Princess's expenses, when the Elector was to meet her and conduct her to Heidelberg. From this account it appears that the town of Gaulstheym (Galsheim) was the place to which the Princess was attended.

other place of like distance, and of sundrie His Ma'ties servants back again from thence into England; that is to saie, as well of all such Sommes of Mony as the said Accomptants, by themselves or any of their ministers, have received and had of Sir Edward Cecill,^a Knt. Th'rer, for the defrayeing of the chardges of the Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter, and her husband the Elector Palatyne, with their trayne, and of sundrie Noblemen, His Majesties Ambassadors, Ladyes, and others attending them to the territories of the said Elector Palatyne, by severall Warraunts directed from the Lords Commissioners to the said Treasurer, &c." The period embraced in this expenditure was from the 13th day of April, 1613, anno 11 James I. until the 16th day of June next following, in the same year, both days included, being the space of sixty-five days.

On Tuesday, the 13th April, the King, the Queen, and Prince Charles accompanied the Elector and the Princess Elizabeth from Greenwich to Rochester, where next morning they took leave of the King, Queen, and Prince, and proceeded to Canterbury and thence to Margate, from which place, after a short detention from the state of the weather, they finally embarked on board the Lord Admiral's ship on the 25th April, and, anchoring before the town of Flushing on the 28th, there landed on the following day. The royal pair reached Heidelberg on the 7th June, the King's officers who had attended the Princess on the journey having taken leave at Gaulstheyme on the 3rd and returned towards England, which they all seemingly reached by the 16th of June, when this account of expenditure closed.

The account was vouched by the hands of "the Duke of Lenox and Robert Viscount Lisle, and taken and declared before the Earl of Suffolk,^b Lord Chamberlain of His Ma'ties House, the Earl of Worcester,^c Master of the Horse, Lord Knollys,^d Threasorer of the Household, Lord Wotton,^e Comptroller of the Household, and Sir

^a Sir Edward Cecill, third son of Thomas first Earl of Exeter, born 1571; created Baron Cecill of Putney and Viscount Wimbledon 9 Nov. 1625 (1 Car.). Died 16 November, 1638, and was buried at Wimbledon.

^b Thomas Lord Howard of Walden, K.G. met the King at Theobalds on his progress towards London, was there sworn of the privy council, and entertained the King at the Charter House four days, when his Majesty created one hundred and thirty knights in compliment to his host. In July following he was created Earl of Suffolk, and made Lord Chamberlain; Chancellor of the University of Cambridge 1613; and on 11 July, 1614, constituted Lord High Treasurer; in 1616-17, nominated one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal. Died 28 May, 1626.—Lord Braybrooke's Hist. Audley End, pp. 35-37.

^c Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, K.G. Master of the Horse to Queen Elizabeth 1602, and continued in that office by King James. Died 3 March, 1627-8, and was buried at Ragland.

^d William Knollys, Treasurer of the Household to Queen Elizabeth 1601, and continued under James I.; created Baron Knollys of Greys, co. Oxon. 13 May, 1603; elected K.G. 1615; created Viscount Wallingford 1616; and Earl of Banbury 18 Aug. 1626. Died 25 May, 1632; buried at Greys.

^e Sir Edward Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, co. Kent, Comptroller of the Household to Queen Elizabeth,

Julius Cæsar,* Knt. Chancellor and Under-Thr'ier of the Exchequer, His Highness Commissioners for the Threasure, 2 July, 1614, 12 Jas."

I believe it was not often that the sums disbursed by the Crown for similar purposes were at that period so distinctly set forth as in the present account, which is singularly interesting as detailing the royal progress, and shewing the various sums expended not only in travelling expenses, but for the provision for dyet, with other contingent charges; the remuneration to the captains, officers, and others attending the King's ships; to messengers for especial service; the officers of the various states or towns where the royal pair were received and entertained, viz. Flushing, Middelborough, Dort, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Harlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rhenen, Arnhem, Emricke, Wesell, Dusseldorf, Cologne, Overwinter, Andernook, Coblenz, Brobach, St. Gewar; as also the money given to the bearers of presents, sums disbursed for alms or for rewards ordered by Sir Robert Cecil by direction of the Lords Ambassadors, for wages of numerous servants of the chamber, household, and stable; for lodgings for the whole trayne, as well as sundrie charges belonging to the stable, with the transport of horses and carriages. The total sum issued on this account amounted to 7,400*l*.

Whether this duplicament was retained by the accomptants for their own security, or in what form it was usual to render the accounts to the lord treasurer, I do not know.

The signatures to the document are apparently fac-similes from the original declaration of the account engrossed on paper, which is now remaining in the office of the commissioners for the audit of public accounts, into which the auditors of imprest merged in 1785. No trace of the account is to be found among the King's remembrancer's records; nor, indeed, as far as I can learn, are any enrolments of foreign accounts to be found on record beyond the tenth year of King James I.

For the document itself I am indebted to my friend the Reverend Richard Webster Huntley, of Boxwell Court, among whose family papers it has been for many years.

Yours, my dear Sir, very sincerely,

CHAS. GEO. YOUNG, GARTER.

and continued in that office by King James I.; created Baron Wotton of Merley, co. Kent, 13 May, 1603; Treasurer of the Household 1616. Died 1628. Will dated 22 Aug. 1626; proved 11 May, 1628, in the Consistory Court of Canterbury.

* Sir Julius Cæsar, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1606; Master of the Rolls 1614. Died 1636.

CHARGES in conducting the ELECTOR PALATYNE, THE LADY ELIZABETH his wief, the King's Ma^{ty} daughter, wth his highnes Ambassado^{rs}, diverse Ladies attending her, and their whole trayne, out of England to the Towne of Gaulstheym, in Germany.

The Duplicament of the accompt of S^r Robert Banestre and S^r John Leigh, knights, officers of the King's Ma^{ty} Greencloth, appointed by the commaundment of his highnes and the lords of the Councell to defraie the chardges of the Prince Palatyne, the Lady Elizabeth his wife, the Lordes Ambassado^{rs}, viz^t, the Duke of Lenneox, the Earle of Arundell, the Lo. Viscount Lysle, and the Lord Harrington, with the whole trayne, in their jorney out of England vnto Bacharagh in Germanye, or some other place of like distance, and of sundrie his Ma^{ties} servants back againe from thence into England: that is to saie, as well of all such sommes of mony as the said accomptants by themselves or any their ministers have receaued and had of S^r Edward Cecill, knight, thr^{er} for the defrayeing of the chardges of the Lady Elizabeth the King's daughter, and her husband the Ellector Pallatyne, with their trayne, and of sundrie noblemen his Ma^{ties} ambassadors, ladyes, and others attendinge them to the territories of the said Elector Palatyne, by seuerall warraunts directed from the lords commissioners to the said threasorer; as also of the payeing, yssueinge, and disburseinge the same for dyett, with other expenses of the said Elector Palatyne, and the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and sundrie their attendants, allowance for their boordwages ordinarie and extraordinary; prouision of English beare with caske, fraught and chardges of laborers to loade and vnloade the same all the whole jorney; sugar, spices, waxelighes and torches, with other neccies; rewardes vppon sundry occasions; transportacons and carriages in the said jorney; chardges incident to the stable, with provision of hay, lytter, and oates for the horses, and sundrie other necessarie chardges vppon seuerall occasions by warraunt and direccon of the lords comission^{rs}. Of all which premisses the said accomptants vppon their corporall oathes, taken before John Sotherton, esquire, one of the barons of the Excheq, doe yeilde and make this their present accompt, from the 13th daie of Aprill, 1613, in the eleauenth yeare of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lord King James of England, Fraunce and Ireland, and of Scotland the sixe and fortith, vntill the xvjth day June next followinge in the same eleauenth yeare as aforesaid, both daies included, being by the space of lxxv. daies then ended; as by a particuler booke of the said chardges subscribed with the handes of the said accomptants, and deliuered vppon their oathes as is before menconed, being vouched with the handes of the right honourable Lodowick Duke of Lenneox and Robert Viscount Lisle, together with other warrants of the said Duke of Lenneox, Earle of Arrundell, Lord Viscount Lisle, and the Lord Harrington, his Ma^{ties} ambassado^{rs} and commission^{rs}, herevppon examined and remayneinge, maie appeare. Which said accompt was taken and declared before the right honorable Thomas Earle of Suffolk, lord chamberlayne of his Ma^{ty} howse; Edward Earle of Worcester, m^r of the horse;

William Lord Knollys, threasorer of the howshold ; Edward Lord Wotton, comptroller of the houshold ; and Sr Julius Cæsar, knight chauncello^r and vnder thrēr of the exchequer, his highnes commissioners for the threasorie, the second daie of July, 1614, in the twelueth year of his Ma^{ty} raigne of England, Fraunce and Ireland, and of Scotland the seaven and fortith :—

That is to saie—

The said accomptaunts are charged wth—

ARRERAGES—

None : for that this is the first accompte of the saide accomptants for the said service.

READY MONY by them receiued and had : viz^t—of

Sr EDWARD CECILL, knight, appointed Thrēr for defraieing the Chardg^s of the ELECTOR PALATINE, the LADY ELIZABETH his wife, with Noblemen, Ladyes, and others attending them out of England into Germanie : viz^t—

But the said accomptants are here charged wth mony by them receiued at seuerall tymes within the tyme of this accompt of Sr Edward Cecill, knight, thrēr, for defrayeing the chardges of the Lady Elizabeth the King's daughter, and her husband the Elector Palatyne, with diuers noblemen his Ma^{ty} ambassado^{rs}, ladyes, and others attending them out of England to the territories of the said Elector Palatyne, viz^t—the xiiijth of Aprill, 1613, m.li ; the xxjth of Aprill, 1613, ccc.li ; the xxixth of Aprill, 1613, cc.li ; the second of May, 1613, ccxx.li ; the fiveth of May, 1613, cciiij^{xx}.li ; the vjth of May, 1613, v^e.li ; the eight of May, 1613, v^e.li ; the xiiijth of May, 1613, v^e.li ; the xixth of May, 1613, vj^e.li ; the xxvth of May, 1613, m.li ; and the first daie of June, 1613, mmccc.li. In all so receaued within the tyme of this accompt for the said service as by the accompt of the said Sr Edward Cecill, knight, declared before his Ma^{ty} comissioners for the threasorie causes, and remayneinge in the Court of Excheq, doth and maye appeare, the somme of . . .

li.
vij^miiij^e.

Some totall of the chardges and receipts aforesaid . . .

li.
vij^miiij^e.

WHEREOF—

The said accomptants are allowed for,

First allowed to the said accomptants for mony by them paid and disbursed wthin the tyme of this accompt for chardges and expenses of dyett of the Lady Elizabeth his Ma^{ty} daughter, wth the Elector Palatyne her husband, and their trayne, the Duke of Lenneox, Erle of Arrundell, Lord Viscount Lisle, and the Lord Harrington, his hignes' ambassado^{rs} and comissioners, wth sundrie his Ma^{ty} officers and servants, and the retinewes of the said lords; boordwages of the King's Ma^{ty} servants and others; rewardes in sundrie townes and citties where the said Lady Elizabeth, her husband the Elector Palatyne, the lords ambassadors, and others of the trayne, were intertayned in their passage into Germany, and to sundrie other psons vppon speciall occasions and services, with other nec^{ess}ie chardges and payements, as hereafter pticulerlie is men^{tion}ed and expressed: viz^t—

PROVISION of DYETT, wth other necessary Chardgs incident therevnto: viz^t—

Dyett of sundrie servants of the Elector Palatyne, and his wife the Lady Eliz. landed at Flushing before their coming over, for twelve meales begun at supper the xxijth of Aprill, 1613, and ended at dynner the xxviijth of the same month, the somme of

li. s. d.
cxv. xix. iiij.

Dyett for the Lady Elizabeth her grace, Count Morrice, the Lords Comissioners, and the whole trayne at Cullen, for fower meales, viz^t—supper the xxiiijth of May, 1613; dynner and supper the xxvth of May, the States of the cittie dyneing with them; and dynner the xxvjth of May; with sundrie provisions bought to carry from thence by water; for the expence of the whole trayne in their jorney to Gaulstheim, being by the space of six dayes together

li. s. d.
ccv. xiiij.

English beare with caske, fraught, and chardge of laborers in loadeinge and vnloadinge the same, throughout the whole jorney

li. s. d.
cccxxxj. viij.

Sugar, spices, waxelights, torches, and other necessities in the whole jorney, wth vj. li. vj. s. viij. d. in chardges occasioned by the hurte of a Prawe on the waye to Overwinter, and overturninge and breakinge a waggon in the waye to Harlam

li. s. d.
xxxiiij. ix. vj.

Dyett of sundrie his Ma^{ty} servants of y^e chamber, houshold, and stable, in their jorney homewards from Gaulstheim, Bonn, and Cullen, and from thence by sea into England

li. s. d.
xlviij. xviiij. viij.

Dyett of S^r Robert Bannester, k^t, and two servants; S^r John Leigh, knight, and two servants; John Traherne, clerke of the kitchen, and one servant; and Frauncis Hushwight, sergeaunte of the chaundrie, and his servaunt, returninge by land to Callis, and soe into England

li. s. d.
xlviij. iiij.

li. s. d.
vij^ciiij^{xx}iiij. v. ij.

Journey of the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth

REWARDEN given to y^e CAPTENS and OFFICERS in the KINGS SHIPPS, the MINISTERS and OFFICERS of the STATES of the Lowe Countries, and other Princes in seuerall Townes and places where the chardge of Dyett was borne by the said States and Princes, and to sundrie other psons vpon spiall occasions : viz^t—To

The captains, officers, and mynisters attendinge in the Kings Ma ^{ties} shipps, for their paynes and care in the passage by sea from Margate to Flushing	li. ccc.
Capten Geare, for speciall service in bringinge letters from Therle of Arrundell	s. c.
The officers to the States in the towne of Flushing, where the greatest part of the chardges for y ^e whole trayne for supper the last of Aprill, and dynner the next daie, was by them defrayed	li. l.
The States ministers and officers in Midelborough, by whome the greatest part of the chardge for dyett was defrayed by the space of fower dayes	li. s. cij. viij.
The States ministers in Dorte, by whome the greatest part of the dyett was defrayed for one meale, and to sundry captens and skyppers for transportinge her Highnes and trayne from Midelborough to Dorte, the somme of	li. s. iiij ^{xxv} . viij.
The States mynisters and officers at Rotterdam, by whome the greatest parte of the chardge for the dynner of the whole trayne was defrayed	li. s. xxij. viij.
The States mynisters and officers at the Hage, by whome the greatest parte of the chardge for the whole trayne was defrayed by the space of six dayes, together with rewardes given to diuers followers of Counte Maurice and Counte Henry	li. iiij ^c iiij ^{xx} xj.
The States mynisters at Leyden, by whome the greatest part of the chardge for the whole trayne was defrayed for one daye	li. xl.
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The States mynisters and officers at Amsterdam, by whome the greatest parte of the chardge of the whole trayne was defrayed for two days	li. s. iiij ^{xx} xij. iiij.
The States mynisters and officers at Vtrechte, by whome the greatest parte of the chardge of the whole trayne was defrayed for two dayes	li. iiij ^{xxv} .
The States mynisters in Rhenen, and to certen nonnes in whose cloyster her Highnes was lodged, where the greatest part of the chardge was defrayed for one daie	li. s. xxxvij. iiij.
The States ministers and officers at Arnhem, by whome the greatest part of the chardge was defraied for two dayes, with rewardes to dyvers seruants of Counte Ernestus, in whose howse her Highnes and the lords ambassadors were lodged	li. s. lx. xvj.
The ministers and officers of the towne of Emricke, where the greatest part of the chardge for one whole day was defrayed by the Princes of Cleave	s. d. lxx. vj.
The mynisters and officers of the towne of Wesill, where the greatest part of the chardge for one daye was defrayed by the said Princes of Cleave	li. d. xxij. xv.

The officers and seruants of the said Princes of Cleave at Duxseldorpe, where the greatest part of the chardg was by them defrayed for two daies	li. s. ej. liij.
The seruants in the howse at Cullen, where her highnes was lodged	c. ^s
The officers and mynisters of the Princes of Cleave attendinge at Overwinter, where the greatest part of the chardge for one supper were by them defrayed	li. x.
The mynisters and officers of the Archbishop of Cullen at Andernnooch, by whome the greatest parte of the chardge for the whole trayne was defrayed for one supper	li. liij.
The officers and ministers of the Archbishop of Treyer at Coblantz, by whome the greatest parte of the whole chardge was defrayed for one dynner	li. xliij.
The mynisters of the Lantisgraue of Hesse at Broobach, by whome the greatest parte of the chardge of the trayne was defrayed for two meales	s. ej.
The mynisters and officers of the said Lantisgraue of Hesse at St Gewar, by whome the greatest part of the chardge of the whole trayne was defraied for fower meales	li. evij.
Michaell Johnson, a picturer, for his attendance and draweing her highnes picture	li. lxxvij.
The trumpetto ^{rs} of the Marques of Brandenburghe	vj. ^{li}
A gent y ⁱ brought a chaine of dyamonds from Counte Maurice to the Lady Elizabeth her grace	li. xx.
Doctor Chapman, her highnes chaplaine and almoner, for almes disbursed and giuen away in the jorney	li. xxvj.
Mr. Hickman, her highnes gentleman vs her, for rewardes and guifts giuen by him out of her highnes priue purse	li. s. clxvij. xvj.
Garret, the jester, in rewarde from her highnes	c. ^s
S ^r Edward Cecill, knight, for diuers rewardes by him giuen by appointm ^t of the Lords Ambassadors, with cc.li to Mouns ^r Stockenborch, steward to Count Maurice, and ccciiij. ^{xx} for a ringe and a jewell to sett a picture in	li. s. d. vj ^{xxvj.} vj. vj. li. s. d. ij ^m vj ^{liij.} vij. liij.

BOORDWAGES of the K. MA^{ty} SERVANTS of the CHAMBER, HOUSHOLD, and STABLE, wth some Svants of the LADY ELIZ. her Grace: viz^t—To

John Heyborne, gentleman vs her, dailie waigher, for his boord wages in his jorney from Greenwich to Gaulstheim by the space of xlix ^m days, at xx.s p diem, begun the xiiij th of Aprill, 1613, and ended the last of Maye following, xlix.li; and for an allowance of xij. dayes for his retorne back from Cullen to London, at the same rate, xij.li; in all	li. lxi.
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Richard Harris, gentleman vsher, quarter wayto', for his boord wages in goeing and retorning by like tyme, at xiiij.s iiij.d p diem	li. s. d. xl. xiiij. iiij.
Fower groomes of the chamber, for their like boorde wages in goeing and retorning for the same tyme, at vj.s viij.d the peece p diem	li. s. d. iiij ^{xxj} . vj. viij.
Two wardrobers and their s'uants, for their boorde wages goeing and retorning by the like tyme, at xij.s iiij.d the peece p diem	li. s. d. iiij ^{xxj} . vj. viij.
Two yeomen hangers, for their boord wages, at x.s the peece p diem for xlix ^{en} dayes, begun the xiiij th of Aprill, 1613, and ended the last of Maye following, xlix.li, and for their retorne from Cullen to London by the space of xij. dayes, xij.li; in all	li. lxj.
A grome porter's servant, for his boord wages, at v.s p diem, in goeing and retorning for the same tyme	li. s. xv. v.
Nicholas Paye, clerke of y ^e kitchen, for his boord wages, in goeing and retorning by the space of lxj. daies, at xiiij.s iiij.d p dyem	li. s. d. xl. xiiij. iiij.
John Millington, a prouider of wyne, for his boordwages, in goeing and retorning by the like tyme, at xiiij.s iiij.d p diem	li. s. d. xl. xiiij. iiij.
Jeffery Duppa, prouider of beare, for his boord wages for the same tyme, at lyke rate	li. s. d. xl. xiiij. iiij.
James Purifie, prouider of spices, lynnene, &c. for his boorde wages, in goeing and retorning by the space of lxi. dayes, at x.s per diem	li. s. xxx. x.
Fower cookes, with their twoe servants, for their boordwages, in goeing and retorning by the like tyme, at xxij.s iiij.d p diem	li. s. d. lxxj. iiij. iiij.
Two palfrey men with their seruants, for their boord wages for the like service and the same tyme, at xiiij.s iiij.d p diem	li. s. d. xl. xiiij. iiij.
Two skowrers and two labourers to helpe in the kitchen, for their boord wages for the same tyme, at xiiij.s iiij.d p diem	li. s. d. xl. xiiij. iiij.
Three men and a seruant in the wood yard and scullarie, for their boord wages in goeing and retorning by the space of lxj. dayes, at xxij.s iiij.d p diem	li. s. d. lxxj. iiij. iiij.
Two prouiders of achates, poultrie, fishe, &c. for their like boord wages in goeing and retorning by the space of lxj. dayes, at xx.s p diem	li. lxj.
A lardner and his seruants for their boordwages in goeing and retorning for the said tyme, at x.s p diem	li. s. xxx. x.
William Rider, gent. harbinger, for his boordwages at xx.s p diem for xlix ^{en} dayes ended the last of Maye, 1613, goeing vnto Hedelbergh w th the lords	li. xlix.
Frauncis Manouchij, gen. harbinger, for his boordwages at xiiij.s iiij.d p diem, for xlix. daies in goeing from Greenw ^{ch} to Gaulstheim, begun the xiiij th of Aprill, 1613, and ended the last of Maye followinge, xxxij.li xiiij.s iiij.d, and for xij. dayes in retorning from Cullen to London, viij.li in all	li. s. d. xl. xiiij. iiij.
Richard Wright, gen. harbinger, for his boordwages in goeing and retorning by the like space of lxj. daies, at xiiij.s iiij.d p diem	li. s. d. xl. xiiij. iiij.

Two providers of carriages by land and water, for their boordwages in goeing and returninge by the lyke tyme, at x.s the peece p diem .	li. lxj.
An interpreter, for his boordwages in goeing and returninge for the same tyme, at v.s p diem .	li. s. xv. v.
Richard Bathurst, clerke of y ^e avery, for his boordwages goeing and returninge by the space of lxj. dayes, at xx.s per diem .	li. lxj.
Two puruey ^{ers} of the stable, for their boordwages for the lyke tyme in goeing and returninge, at x.s the peece p diem .	li. lxj.
A coachmaker, for his boordwages goeing and returninge by the space of lxj. dayes, at iij.s per diem .	li. s. ix. iij.
Two groomes of the hobby stable, for their boordwages in goeing and returninge by the like tyme, at iij.s a peece p diem .	li. s. xviij. vj.
Two littermen, for their boordwages in goeing and returninge by the space of lxj. dayes, at iij.s a peece p diem .	li. s. xxiij. viij.
Six sumptermen, for their boordwages in goeing and returninge by the like space of lxj. dayes, at v.s the peece p diem .	li. s. iiij ^{xx} xj. x.
Tenn coachmen, for their boordwages in goeing and returninge by the lyke tyme, at iij.s the peece p diem .	li. s. iiij ^{xx} xj. x.
Six groomes of the stable attendinge the officers and servants, for their boord wages in goeing from Greenew ^{ch} to Gaulstheim by the space of xlix ^{en} daies ended the last of Maye, 1613, at iij.s the peece p diem .	li. s. xliij. ij.
Ralphe Graye, her highnes gent. harbinger, for his boordwages at x.s p diem in his journey from Greenew ^{ch} to Gaulstheym by the space of xlix ^{en} dayes, begun the xiiij th of Aprill, 1613, and ended the last of May, 1613 .	li. s. xxiij. x.
Power of her highnes footemen, for their like boordwages for the same tyme, at ij.s vj.d the peece p diem .	li. s. xxiij. x.
One pastler and one cooke for their boordwages for the said tyme of xlix ^{en} dayes, at iij.s iij.d the peece p diem .	li. s. d. xvj. vj. viij.
Two other cookes in her highnes kitchin at iij.s. iij.d the peece p diem, and iiij ^{er} laborers at ij.s the peece p diem, for y ^r boordwages for the foresaid tyme of xlix ^{en} dayes in goeing to Gaulstheim: and more for xij. dayes in their returne into England .	li. s. d. xliij. xiiij. viij.
	li. s. j ^m v ^e xxv. xvij.

LODGEING and other Chardges and Expences of the LORDS AMBASSADO^{rs} and their SERVANTS, sundrie Servants of the LA. ELIZ. and other psons haueinge no allowance of boordwags: viz^t—To

The servants of his Ma ^{tie} and the Lady Elizabeth haueing not boord wages, for their lodgeinge, with other expences and neccies by them paid in the said journey .	li. cxx.
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Doctor Chapman, her highnes chapleyn and almoner, for his lodgeing and other expences	li. x.
Mr. Hickman, her highnes gentleman vs her, for his lodgeinge and other expences	li. xx.
Thomas Levinston, her highnes cupbearer, for his like lodgeing and other expences	li. xx.
James Levinston, her highnes sewre, for his lodgeinge and expences in y ^e yorney	li. xx.
James Pringle, her highnes carver, for his like lodgeinge and expences by y ^e way	li. xx.
John Ramsey, her highnes butler, for his lodgeinge and expences in the jorney	li. s. d. xiiij. vj. viij.
Christopher Pase, attending as her highnes clerke of the kitchen, for his lodgeinge and expences in y ^e jorney	li. s. d. xiiij. vj. viij.
S ^r George Keyre, knight, for his chardge and expences in the said jorney	xl. ^{li}
James Achmoughtie and Patrick Abereromwey, for their lodgeing, chardgs, and expences in the said jorney	li. s. d. x. viij. vj.
Lancellott Salkeld and William Cocke, for their lodgeing and expences in y ^e jorney	li. xx.
The right honorable the Duke of Lenneox and his servants, for their lodgeinge, expences, and neccies at seuerall tymes and places in the said jorney	li. s. d. iiiij ^{xx} xiiij. v. vj.
The Earle of Arundell and his servants and followers, for their lodgeing, expences, and neccies in the same jorney	li. s. d. cix. xiiij. viij.
The Lord Viscount Lisle and his servants and followers, for their like lodgeinge, expences, and neccies in the whole jorney	li. s. d. ciiij. xij. v.
The Lord Harrington and his servants and followers, for their lodgeinge, expences, and neccies in the same jorney	li. s. d. cxj. xvj. viij.
Francis Manonchij and Richard Wright, his Ma ^{ty} servants, sent by the lords ambassadors before her highness comeinge to viewe the state of the countrie betwene Arnhem and Gaulstheym, and to make hervigage for her highnes and the whole trayne	li. s. d. xvj. ij. vj.
Richard Cholmley and others, being sent before her highnes comeinge by the said lords ambassado ^{rs} to make prouisions for her highnes and the whole trayne	li. s. d. xxxv. xiiij. ix.
	li. s. d. viij ^{clxxxix} . viij. viij.

CHARDGES of diuers persons carrying of HOUNDS and GREYHOUNDS in the jorney:
viz^t—To

Paule Stacie and his fellowes, huntsmen, for the chardges of themselves and theire houndes in this jorney	li. iiij ^{xx} xvj.
William Clerke, for the chardges and expences of himselfe and certen grey- houndes sent by him in this jorney	li. s. xviij. xv.
	li. s. cxiiij. xv.

CHARDGES in passing BY WATER through the LOWE COUNTRIES betwene FLUSHINGE
and GAULSTHEIM, with recarriage of his Ma^{ty} stuffe and svants to London: viz^t—To

Mathew Beshiche and Thomas Nicholson, for portage, carriage, and recar- riage of the stuffs, furnitures, and baggage of the Kings Ma ^{ty} , and the Lady Elizabeth her grace, and the whole trayne, to and from y ^e shippes betwene Flushing and Gaulstheim, lxviij.li viij.3 vij.d; Raynard Van- leempt and others, for hire of diuers prawes and boats, with horses to drawe them, for passage of the said Lady Elizabeth and the trayne vp the ryver betwene Cullen and Gaulsteim, besides iiij ^{xx} .li xvj.3 paid by S ^r Edward Cecill, knight, in his accompt, v ^c .li; and for the like hire of prawes and boates for the carriage of his Ma ^{ty} stuffe and passengers from Gaulsteim to Dorte, and from thence to London, cxxxvj.li; in all .	li. s. d. vij ^c iiij. viij. vij.
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SUNDRIE CHARDGES beloinge to the STABLE, with transporting the HORSES and COCHES
from LONDON to ROTTERDAM, in the LOWE Countries: viz^t—For

Hay for feeding of diuers horses of the Lady Elizabeth and the lordes ambassadors betwene England and Rotterdam, xiiij ^{en} loades and a halfe, delivered at the waterside at xlv.3 the lode	li. s. d. xxx. vij. vj.
Strawe for lytter, vj. loades spent by the said horses in the same tyme .	iiij ^{li}
Binding the hay and lytter in thombe ropes, vij.li xvj.3, and for carriage of the same into lighters on shipboarde, xlvj.3 ix.d; in all the somme of .	li. s. d. x. ij. ix.
Otes for the said horses, lviij. qrt ^{rs} vij. bushells, with measureing, portage, and sakes to put them in	li. s. d. lxij. xvj. ix.
The fower coachmen attendinge the fower lords ambassadors, viz ^t the Duke of Lenneox, Erle of Arundell, Lord Viscount Lisle, aud the Lo. Haring- ton, for theire chardges and expences attendinge theire horses at Rotter- dam before her highnes comeing thether, w th lxxvj.3 to S ^r Edward Cecill's cochman for the like	li. s. d. xxiiij. xij. vj.
The expences of all the horses continewinge at Rotterdam vppon his Ma ^{ty} chardge for the space of xvij dayes before her highnes comeinge thether, begun the xix th of Aprill, 1613, and ended the v th of Maye followeing .	li. s. d. clxxvj. xv. vj.

Horsemeate in the journey, viz ^t a bayte for cxxxij horses at Burgrove,	
lxiiij. x.d; xij horses at Arnhem for one night, xliij. ix.d; all the horses	
at Cullen for two dayes and two nights, xxvj. li xij. s viij. d; and all the	li. s. d.
horses at Broobach for one night, xiv. li vij. s v. d; in all the somme of .	xlvi. ix. viij.
Ferriadge, showing drenching and diuers other necessary chardges and	li. s. d.
expences about the horses, w th repaire of coaches in the whole journey .	liij. iij. xj.
Transportacon of horses and coches with their furnitures from London to	li. d.
Rotterdam by sea	cexliij xij.
Mony lost in the price of certen horses sold at Gaulsteim by commaund-	
ment of the lords ambassado ^r there p ^r sent, as in the booke of this accompt	li.
pticulerlie appeareth	xliij.
	li. s. d.
	vj ^c lxvj. x. vij.
Amountinge in all the chardges of the Lady Elizabeth, his Ma ^{ty} daughter,	
the Electo ^r Palatine her husband, the lords ambassado ^r and ladyes	
attending them, with the whole trayne, from Greenew ^{ch} to Gaulsteym in	
Germany, as by the perticuler booke of the said accomptants deliued	
vppon their oath, and subscribed by the Duke of Lenneox and the	
Lorde Viscount Lisle, two of the lords ambassado ^r , with other warraunts	
and directions of the comissioners for the Threasorie in England, and of	
the said ambassadors hercvppon examined and remayneinge maie appeare,	li. s. d.
the somme of	vij ^m ij ^c xxv. xj. iij.
	li. s. d.
Some totall of the allowaunces and payements aforesaid	vij ^m cxxv. xj. iij.
	li. s. d.
And soe remaynethe the some of	clxxiiij. viij. ix.

Whereof allowed by warraunte of the Lords Comission^{rs} for the Treasorie causes to S^r Robert Bannester and S^r John Leighe, Knights, the said accomptants, viz. for the travell and expences of themselves and six seruants imployed in this service by spⁱall warraunt and direc^con from the King's Ma^{ty} and the Lords of the Councell throughout the whole journey and back againe by the space of lxj dayes, begun the xijth of Aprill, 1613, and ended the xijth of June followinge, at xxvj. s viij. d the peece p diem, accordinge to former pcedents, shewed to the said Lords Comissioners, the some of clxij. li xij. s iij. d for their chardges in attendinge the receipt of their monyes for that seruice; and in watcheinge and gardeinge the same at sundrie places, c.s; and for their chardges as well in writeinge and makeinge vp of their perticuler booke of accompt for the said service, as also in attendinge vppon the Lords Comissioners for the Treasurie, and the auditor of the prests, for the makeing and declaring of thesaid accompt, x.li; and for the travell and paynes of Lancelot Salkewel and William Cocke, two of their clarkes, in the receipt and payem^t of all the monyes aforesaid during the whole tyme of this service, x.li in all; and so allowed to the said accompts, by warraunt of the foresaid Lords Comissioners, dated the last of

June, 1614, the somme of ciiij^{xx}vij.li xiiij.s iiij.d: Also allowed to John Heborne, gentleman vsher, by the foresaid warraunt of the Lords Comissioners, dated the last of June, 1614, for his chardges and expenses attending all the said jorney, at vj.s viij.d p diem, ouer and aboue the somme of xx.s p diem formerlie allowed to him in this accompt for the said lxj daies, the some of xx.li vj.s viij.d: And allowed to Frauncis Goston, one of his Ma^{ty} auditor^{es}, by the same warraunt of the said Lords Comissioners, dated the last of June, 1614, for the travell and paynes of himselfe and his clerkes in castinge, tryeing, examininge, and makeinge of this accompt, and of the accompt of Sr Edward Cecill, Knight, threär for the Lady Elizabeth her chardges into Germanie, and for ingroseinge the same in parchem^t, the somme of xv.li, amountinge in the whole the said seuerall somes of mony allowed by the aforesaid warraunt of the Lords Comissioners for the Treasorie, dated the last of June, 1614, to the somme of cexxiiij.li: And then the said accomptants, vppon the determinacon of this their accompt, rest in superplusage the some of xlvijij.li xj.s iiij.d.

Signed by

T. SUFFOLKE.
W. KNOLLYS.

EDW. WOTTON.
JUL. CESAR.

E. WORCESTER.

CHARDGES in conducting the Elector Palatyne, the Ladye Elizabeth his wief, and others, out of England to the towne of GAULSTHEYME in GERMANYE.

The duplicamente of the Accompt of Sr Robert Banastre and Sr John Leigh, Knights, officers of the King's Ma^{ty} Greencloth, for chardges in conducting the Elector Palatyne, the Lady Elizabeth his wief, wth divers ladies and lordes attending them, out of England to the towne of Gaulstheyme in Germany for lxx dayes, ended the xvijth day of June, 1613, anno regni dni nunc Regis Jacobi } vndecim[mo].

IN further connexion with this expenditure are the two following Warrants, under the hand of the Earl of Nottingham, which are found amongst the Additional MSS. in the British Museum.

They refer to the victualling of the ships which conveyed the Prince and Princess, with their suites, to Flushing; the first issued in consequence of the detention of the transports by contrary winds, and the second to prevent any unnecessary molestation to the Pursers of the ships on their return and discharge.

[MS. Addit. 5752, fol. 71. *Orig.*]

Whereas I formerly gave you warrante for the making of provision of wine, meale, strong beere, baked meat, muttons, fowles and other pvisions of fresh meat to bee expended in the Prince, the Anne Royall, the Vue Repulse, the Redd Lion, the Phenix, and the Charles, meete for the honor and state of the Prince Palatine, the Lady Eliz. her grace; as also severall diette

for the Lords Com^{rs} and others that attend them in the transport. Forasmuch as by contrary windes, and long keeping, some of those pvisions formerly made are spent, and some decaied, that by licklihoode wee may yett have a longer passage then was expected. And forasmuch as the companies that are attendant both on y^e La. Eliz. her grace, and the Prince Palatine, as also the followers and servants of y^e com^{rs}, and others that are to have present passage, farr beyond expectation, double so many as the list^e that hath been formerly given me. And moreover for that I have now received notice from Flushing that *Graue Morrice* * himselfe, and many of y^e states principall, intend to meete the princes at sea, betwixt this and Flushing, w^{ch} if they doe, it is meete for the King^e honno^r to entertaine them according to their sort, and therefore I would not hazard a distresse or want of victuall at this time of all others. These are therefore straightly to charge and require you forthwith by all possible meanes you may, to make a supply of all those kind^e of victuall^e the cuntrey will yeild, for vj. meales more for all the said shippes; and, for that the time is short, and to avoide charge to his Ma^{ty} in employing many ministers in this kind, you are to deliver to S^r Rob^t Mansfeild, k^t, for the Repulse, either in victuall proportioned or money, lx li, and to S^r Guilford Slingsby, in the Red Lion, in victuall or money, fifty pound^e; and to Captaine Barredge in victuall or money, five pound^e, that it may bee the more suddenly formed. Now, forasmuch as there is an altera^{ti}on, and likewise so great an increase of more passengers in each ship, and espially these to bee regarded, viz^t, in the Prince, the Count Somers, and Mouns^r Shamburghe, and some of there attendance, the Duke of Lennox and his traine, removed out of y^e Prince to goe in the Ann Royall, where the Erle of Arundell and his lady were appointed; and now his lord and his company and followers beeing to goe with S^r William Mounson in the Assurance, where noe diett was formerly appointed, you are therefore to see his lord pvided of a diett of two messe of meate for six meales; and what you shall not bee hable, by reason of the altera^{ti}on and this expedi^{ti}on to deliver presently in victuall^e, you are to deliv^r S^r W^m Mounson in money, to th^e end he may undertake the supplie of y^e residue of the said diett, so as y^e victuall^e and money you deliver him exceede not the so^me of lx li; moreover you are, on sight hereof, to deliver unto Captaine Wood, or such as he assigneth, for a Count of Germanie and 30 other gen^t of y^e Prince Palatine's company, and divers there attendants, that are to have passage in the Advantage, to save them for fower meales, according to your discre^{ti}ons. And upon y^e finishing of y^e service y^e accompt^e of all y^e said sevall diettes beeing viewe^d and subscribed either by myse^{lf}e or any two principall officers of y^e navy, shalbe your warrant, and also sufficient to y^e com^{rs} and audito^{rs} of your accompts to give you allowance thereof accordingly.

Margett, this xvijth of Aprill, 1613.

Signed, NOTINGHAM.

The true copie of the original remaineth
in my custodie. 7^o Ap^r, 1614.

JO. BINGLEY.

* The Elector's uncles, Prince Maurice, Governor of the Netherlands, and Prince Henry Frederick, met the Elector and his bride at Flushing.

[MS. Addit. 5752, fol. 72.]

After my hartie commendations. Whereas his Ma^{ties} shippes the Prince, the Anne Royall, the Repulce, the Assurance, the Redd Lyon, the Phenix, the Charles, the Disdaine, and the George, imployed in his Ma^{ties} service in the late transporte of the Ladye Elizabeth her grace and the Counte Pallantyne, &c. to Vlushing, and by my former warr^t directed to yo^r yo^r were to victuall them for 56 dayes; and, to the intent to save some charge to his Ma^{tie}, I did then and thereby direct yo^r to victuall each severall shipp wth a lesse number of marryners then their ordinarye and accustomed nomb^{rs} allowed at sea, knowinge that, althoughe they hadd first bine manned wth their full companyes, yet were they necessarily to feede manye extraordinary passengers and strangers, and so his Ma^{tie} shoulde have hadd a duple charge, forasmuch as by musters taken at sea, and by certificate of the captaynes, who comaunded those shippes, I am certified that the pursers of the said severall shippes victualled a far greater number of men for the tyme they were at sea then first appoynted; and to my owne knowledge the companyes of strangers that pressed aboute the principall of those shippes were sance number, and an extraordinarye expence of victualls coulde not be avoyded, beinge so necessarye both in regarde of the safetie of the shippes and the King's honor in a buissines of that nature and importe. And I maye trulye saye that some of those pursers have deserved well, that their care was suche, notwithstandinge the numberles companyes they were pressed and burdened with all the tyme of their staye at Vlushing, that they preserved victualls sufficient to serve the shippes companyes back againe, w^{ch} I was verie doubtfull of, and gladd to see so well performed. Theise are therefore to will and require yo^r not to trouble or molest the poore men that were pursers of the said shippes in demaundinge or exactinge a further remayne of victualls from them then upon search and view taken upon their retorne after the discharge of the shippes companyes, was fownde remayninge abowrde them, for which this shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge.

Yo^r verie lovinge freind,

NOTINGHAM.*

Hampton Court, the xxth
of August, 1613.

* Charles Howard, second Lord Howard of Effingham, K.G. 1575; created Earl of Nottingham 22 October, 1597; Lord High Admiral. Died 14 December, 1624.

For the most ample account of the preparations for this marriage, and the particulars of the journey of the Prince and Princess to Heidelberg, see a German work in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, entitled, "Beschreibung der Reiss: Empfangung dess Ritterlichen Ordens: Volbringung des Heyraths, etc. des Fürsten, etc. Friederichen dess Fünften, Pfaltzgraven bey Rhein, etc. mit der . . . Königlichen Princessin Elisabethen . . . Jacobi dess Ersten . . . Einigen Tochter." 4to. 1613, with numerous highly coloured plates.

II—*Some Information regarding the Lucies of Charlcot, the Shakespeares in and near Stratford-upon-Avon, and the property of William Shakespeare in Henley Street: in a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., V.P., to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read December 2, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,

Malone may be said to have raised the deer-stealing incident in Shakespeare's early life to a degree of importance that it hardly deserved, considering the commonness of the offence about the period when our great dramatist is generally supposed to have left Stratford-upon-Avon for London. Malone's argument, which Gifford thought too long drawn out, was, that as Sir Thomas Lucy had no park, therefore he could have no deer; and consequently that Shakespeare could not have stolen deer which the old knight did not possess. It is evident that this reasoning is inconclusive, because, taking it even for a point established that Sir Thomas Lucy had no park, it is not thereby proved that he had no deer. To shew then that he had deer, or at all events to shew the probability that he had deer, I adduced the fact in my Life of Shakespeare, that when Lord Keeper Egerton entertained Queen Elizabeth shortly before her death, Sir Thomas Lucy made him a present of a buck as a contribution to the feast. Here again the evidence was clearly inconclusive, because Sir Thomas Lucy might have given the buck to Sir Thomas Egerton, without having any deer in his park, or even in his possession. Nevertheless, considering the manners of the time, it was not at all likely that he should have done so; and I believe that of late years it has been generally supposed that Sir Thomas Lucy, if he had not a park, had deer; and that it was possible, therefore, that Shakespeare should have been involved in some poaching affair, and might have quitted his native town for the metropolis to avoid proceedings against him.

A piece of evidence has very recently fallen in my way which is of value as regards this question, and tends to confirm the opinion, that there is some foundation in truth for every tradition. I do not mean to say that it at all proves that our great dramatist stole venison from Sir Thomas Lucy, and on that account fled to London; but it proves, I think indisputably, the point which Malone denied, viz. that there was a park at Charlcot, the residence of the Lucies, and that deer were

kept in that park, with which deer Shakespeare and his companions might have made free. It is a letter from a person of the name of Richard Cokes to Lady Lucy, addressed to her from Charlcot to St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, she being then resident in that pleasant and rustic vicinage, for such, about that date, Stowe describes it. The precise date of the communication I am not able to give, but it was subscribed on "the eve of St. John's Day;" and it mentions Mr. Richard Lord as then Master of the Guild of Stratford-upon-Avon. Access to the records of the town would probably enable us to ascertain when Richard Lord filled the office, which, at a period not very long subsequent, was occupied by John Shakespeare, the father of William. Judging from the handwriting, and other circumstances, we may form the opinion, that the letter of Richard Cokes to Lady Lucy belongs to a period shortly before Elizabeth ascended the throne. This would be about thirty years before our great dramatist joined the company known as the Lord Chamberlain's Players; but if deer were kept at Charlcot about the year 1556, we need not long hesitate in coming to the conclusion, that they were still kept there about the year 1586, and so down to the very commencement of the seventeenth century, when Sir Thomas Lucy contributed a buck to the entertainment of the queen at the country-seat of Sir Thomas Egerton. It seems that Lady Lucy, to whom Richard Cokes directed the following letter, was then a widow; and that "my master," whom Cokes mentions, was probably the Mr. Thomas Lucy, who was afterwards knighted, and whose deer Shakespeare and his young friends were charged with stealing:—

To the right worshipfull Lady Lucy at Saynt Giles-in-the-Feld, besides London, this be dd.
in haste.

Ryght worshipfull, pleaseth it youre ladishipe on Tuesday last, at viij of the clocke in the mornyng, I receyvd your letter sent by a servant of Rychard Fyssher, dated at Barnet the Sonday next afore, and accordyng to youre day therin apoynted, your ladyshipe shall receive your venyson and the other stuf, God grauntyng. Also on the Thursday next followyng I receyvd youre letter sent by Henry Pallmer, and well perceve the effectes of the same, and I shall indevoure my self to the best of my power for the accompleishment therof. And as towch- yng Sir Thomas Halsom, I have receyvd no money of hym as yete: he hath promyste me to be here with as moche as he can gather, or provide for, on Monday or Tuesday next and not faille. Further it may lyke you, ye shall receive ij letters from Mr. Robert Lucy, one of them directed unto my master, wich I receyvd on Thursday last at neight by ij of his servantes, a man and a bowye, with ij horses to fet Mistres Lucy unto her husband; and I wold not suffer her to depart untill my master and your pleasure be further knowen. The gentilwoman recomendeth her hartly unto youre ladyshipe, desyering you that she may depart with favour. Madame, I beseeche yow I may have answer herin as shortly as ye conveniently may; and in the meane season the said servant shall pas the tyme some tyme amongst us in makyng of hay. Also

my master shall receue a letter by this berer hereof from Rychard Lord, M^r of the Gyld of Stratford. M^r Thomas Greuell hath sent hether to put my M^r in remembrauns for his bokh, wich my M^r promysed him agenst the Sunday next after Saynt Thomas day. Tyler shewed me that the buck that he killed for M^r Nethermyll had an ill lyver and gretly corrupt, and so he dought of more. As yet the hay makynge goth but slowly foreward: Monday and Tuesday last were here holydayes, the translacyon of Saynt Leonard and the dedication day. I trust this weke that cometh we shall do a good chare therat, with the myght of the blessed Trynyte, unto whose grase ys daylly my petycion to send my M^r his helth, and to preserve youre ladishipe in good helth, with lounge life to his heigh pleasure. From Charlcot the eve of Saynt John day.

By your pore servaunt,

RYCHARD COCKES.

Hence we learn that Lady Lucy was expecting her venison from Charlcot—that a buck had been promised to Mr. Thomas Greville—and that the keeper, Tyler, apprehended that various other deer, besides that he had killed for Mr. Nethermill, were diseased in the liver. We may, therefore, be sure that at the time the letter of Richard Cockes was written deer were kept in the park at Charlcot.

Several circumstances tend to establish that the Shakespeares of Rowington, near Stratford, were, at least, not very orderly people. For instance, among the proceedings of the Court of Requests of that period is the notice of a suit instituted in 1567, by the Rev. John Williams, the vicar, against Richard Shakespeare and eleven others, for rioting, because the clergyman had refused to allow certain persons to be communicants at the church. Again, in the beginning of 1602, we find Thomas Holt, Esq., prosecuting Thomas Shakespeare of Rowington, and several others, for trespassing and driving away cattle on Rushwood Common, Warwickshire. Thomas Shakespeare claimed a right of pasturage, as heretofore enjoyed by himself and his ancestors, but the issue of the proceeding is not known.

These matters only relate incidentally to our great dramatist; but in another document, also belonging to the old records of the Court of Requests, we meet with a direct mention of him and of his houses in Henley Street, not very long since purchased for the nation by public subscription. This information occurs in a suit instituted by a person of the name of Allen Wastell, of Wallsall, against a person of the name of Thomas Willis, of Kingsnorton. These parties were disputing about a small piece of property in Stratford-upon-Avon, and Wastell's object was to establish his claim to it against Willis, who seems to have been in possession of it. He therefore filed a bill, in the Court of Requests, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Charles I., to which Willis put in his answer on the 9th October, 1639. This answer has been preserved, and if the bill also exist, as seems more than likely, it has not yet been discovered. It is clear, also, that depositions by witnesses, inhabi-

tants of Stratford, must have been taken, and it would be curious to ascertain who they were ; but these, likewise, have not yet come to light. The answer of Thomas Willis is, therefore, all the information we possess, but it is new and interesting in reference to Shakespeare and to the property in Henley Street, which was left to him by his father. Without quoting the tedious technicalities of the record, we may state that Willis justified his right to hold the property, on the ground that it had been purchased "from one Shakespeare" (we use the very words) by his ancestor, Edward Willis, "about forty years since." This "one Shakespeare" is afterwards, in the same document, called William Shakespeare, but not a syllable is added respecting him or his profession. Forty years from fourteenth Charles I. would carry us back to 1598 or 1599, and it will be recollected that it was about this very period that our great dramatist bought New Place, close to the chapel of the Holy Trinity. This was the time, according to the assertion of Thomas Willis, that his ancestor purchased from William Shakespeare a small piece of ground in Henley Street, which, in the beginning of his answer, is thus described : it is alleged that Edward Willis "being in his lifetime lawfully seized, as of fee, of and in two small burgages, or tenements, with the appurtenances, in Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick ; and being desirous to make the same one tenement dwelling, and wanting room for that purpose, thereupon the said Edward Willis did, about forty years since, purchase to him and his heirs, of and from one Shakespeare, one parcel of land containing about seventeen foot square (as he taketh it) next adjoining to one of the said burgages or tenements." This was the piece of ground claimed by Allen Wastell in his bill ; but Thomas Willis farther states, in his answer, what his ancestor did with the parcel of land he had thus purchased "of and from one Shakespeare" in these terms, which contain a minute description of the property, and its precise boundaries, besides giving the Christian as well as the surname of the seller.

"And the said Edward Willis, about forty years since, did make and erect one entire tenement upon great part of the same ; and after it had been enjoyed by him for divers years, he, the said Edward Willis, by deed indented, bearing date on the 20th day of July in the seventh year of the reign of our late sovereign lord King James, did give and grant to Thomas Osborne and Bartholemew Austeyne, and their heirs, all the said two burgages or tenements, and parcel of ground, as all that messuage or tenement and burgage, with the appurtenances, called the Bell, otherwise the sign of the Bell, heretofore used or occupied in two tenements, situate and being in Stratford-upon-Avon, in the county of Warwick, in a street there commonly called Henley Street, and now or late in the tenure or occupation of Robert Brookes, or of his assigns or under-tenants, between the tenement of Thomas Hornby on the

east part, and the tenement late of William Shakespeare on the west part, and the street aforesaid on the south part, and the King's highway, called Gillpits, on the north part."

Such is the description of the property which Edward Willis bought of William Shakespeare in 1598 or 1599, and which Thomas Willis asserted had descended to him. An inn or public-house called "The Swan" is part of the property formerly belonging to our great dramatist, which was purchased by national subscription a few years ago; but I am not sufficiently acquainted with the ancient locality to be aware, whether formerly there was another inn or public-house near it with the sign of "The Bell:" if there were, there seems little doubt that it stood upon the foundations of two older tenements, and upon about seventeen feet square of ground which the ancestor of Thomas Willis had purchased from "one Shakespeare," who is afterwards designated as "William Shakespeare." The names of the parties, as they stand in the answer of Thomas Willis, might be of service, with the aid of the borough records, in tracing and identifying the property.

I am, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

III—*Letter from the Right Honourable THOMAS WYSE, H. M. Minister at Athens, to the President, detailing the particulars of the Mischief done to the Erectheum, and to the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, in the Storm of October 26th, 1852.*

Read Jan. 27, 1853.

MY DEAR LORD,

Athens, Jan. 4, 1853.

I beg to thank you for your kind letter of the 26th Nov., and feel much pleasure in sending you, as you desire, the few notices of any interest I have been able to collect of the fall and present state of the three beautiful Pillars of the Erectheum, and of the Pillar of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, which has shared in the same fate.

On the night of the 26th October, the violent storm, of which you have seen accounts in the public prints, broke over the plain of Attica and its immediate vicinity. During the day, though occasionally gusty, there had been no symptoms of an extraordinary visitation, beyond a considerable and somewhat rapid depression in the barometer. Towards evening the wind increased, and a little after nine o'clock rose to a perfect hurricane, blowing south-south-west, and accompanied by sheets of rain. Few houses in Athens escaped damage; much injury was done amongst the shipping in the Peiræus, the Greek war corvette the "Amelie" was driven and wrecked on Salamis, and other heavy losses were experienced along the coast. The effects of the storm were severely felt to the east as far as Eubœa, and especially in the plain and neighbourhood of Marathon. At Syra, and the other Cyclades, the injury and disturbance were comparatively slight. If rotatory (as the fall of the barometer seems to indicate) the verge of the circle could scarcely have touched them. Nothing like it is remembered to have occurred at Athens for many years; and had its duration been equal to its violence (it lasted fortunately only four hours) few of the more delicate monuments of Athens could possibly have escaped.

As it is, the loss is very serious. Any injury to such a building as the Erectheum is a calamity. It is unique in its plan, elevation, and decorations, the link between Asiatic enrichment and Attic refinement, connecting Hellenic art with Assyrian, as the Parthenon allies it with Egyptian. The three pillars which have fallen are those which formed portion of the west end of the temple, which Stuart calls the Temple

of Minerva Polias, and Penrose the Erechtheum, and were embedded one quarter in the wall. The wall had fallen some time ago, but the pillars, with that portion of it which stood behind them, still remained. They were swept clean from their bases into the adjoining temple by a violent blast from the south-west about eleven o'clock. Two of the shafts are now seen lying in the broken modern vault, through which they fell, tolerably well preserved; two thirds of each shaft remain, with portions of the attached wall. The third is flung at some small distance. The capitals are shattered into fragments, and scattered in every direction. Should there be any serious intention to restore them, it is much to be feared that unless commenced immediately, the operation will be rendered impossible by the disappearance of the component parts through the heedless and mistaken avidity of strangers to pick up relics of Hellenic art, or through their gradual confusion with other fragments with which the temple is strewn. From the little activity lately displayed in advancing other restorations of this building, there seems little hope of any such energy; on the contrary, it is much to be apprehended that the favourable moment will be suffered to pass by, and posterity will yet have to lament the total loss (with the exception of one half shaft still standing) of one of the most interesting portions of Hellenic architecture, the combination of wall and pillar, and the management of window (so unusual) in very limited spaces, such as was originally presented in this side of the Erechtheum.

The injury done to the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius is less sensible, and less to be regretted, whether we consider epoch, merit of the work, or the bearing it has on other portions of the building. Though we give it to Augustus, and appreciate the purity and grandeur of the plan and construction, and have enough left to satisfy to the fullest all inquiry on both, yet a pillar the less amongst the noble relics of that multitude which once covered the platform is not lightly to be lamented even by the greatest depreciator of Roman versus Hellenic architecture. There is one compensation in the calamity; the opportunity which it furnishes for a closer inspection and examination of the process of construction. The measurements of Stuart, Revett, and especially Penrose, render all others superfluous. We have everything we could desire in the way of external dimensions. They had no means, however, of examining, as in the Parthenon, detached frusta of pillars, or coming at the means by which they were placed or fastened upon each other.

The pillar which has fallen formerly stood between the two which form the west group, but had not the good fortune to be kept together with them by any remaining portions of architrave, as is the case with the pillars of the east group. To

this and the state of the foundation is mainly to be ascribed its sudden fall. Some, unable to ascribe such power exclusively to the wind, call in the aid of earthquake; but, though these pillars have not been exempt, as some of their shafts indicate, (though in a less degree than others at Athens,) from such visitations, I have not been able to make out, from my own or others' experience, any of the usual intimations of such a calamity on the night in question. The same hurricane, from the same quarter, which was sufficient to overthrow the pillars of the Erethéum, might, without much stress of imagination, be taken as an adequate cause for the fall of an isolated pillar of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius. At the same time, to judge from the position in which the shaft now lies, and the state of the adjacent monuments, its action must have been most limited and local. The neighbouring arch of Adrian is in its upper entablature in a most precarious state, especially at its south angle; indeed, so slightly is it supported, that one would suppose it could scarcely resist the most ordinary tempest; yet it stands there, as it has now done for many years, unstirred and unimpaired.

The pillar has fallen in a direction between the other two, south-south-west and north-north-east, which must have been very near the general line of the wind. It lies like some of the pillars of Selinus and of Nemea, in a continuous and even less unbroken line, indicative of rather gradual descent. There are sixteen frusta or drums, including that attached to the base of the pillar, composing the shaft, and two forming the capital. They lie in such a position as clearly to show in the majority the upper and lower surface of each. The general mode of construction appears to have been to smooth the surface to an equality, but not to the polish observable in the frusta of the pillars of the Parthenon, which are treated with such precision and refinement as to leave the line of junction scarcely visible to the keenest eye. The centre of each is roughly worked (in some instances pierced with small holes), in the form of a circular sinking. In many of these sinkings there are square and longitudinal holes, for what purpose does not clearly appear, whether for wooden plugs or the application of machines used in raising them to their destined place. No remains of wood are to be found in any of them. Each frustum or drum has also in addition two iron plugs, or places for them, at a little distance from the circumference, with a small channel cut from each, for the purpose it would seem of letting in the lead. The majority give evidence of its having been used in fastening the plugs. In many of them these plugs in whole or part still remain. The oxidation of the iron is very slight, and in no instance appears to have affected the marble, which, with the exception of one of the pieces of the capital, is as white as the first day the pillar was put up. What traces are now visible have occurred, as is apparent from their

direction, since the pillar has fallen down. The small channels which I have already noticed appear to have given rise to an attempt to break into the pillars, for the purpose it would seem of arriving at the iron plugs, or at the lead. This is observable in the standing as well as fallen columns, but only in the lowest frusta; the highest appear to have been beyond reach. Something of a similar kind (though very doubtful if with a similar end) is observable in the substructions of the platform and the wall of the Eretheium, as well as other buildings here and at Rome. The surface of the marble is most affected on the south and south-west side, by lichen and other effects of climate. In some instances there are appearances of corrosion from the wind. At the north the marble remains generally quite pure.

I subjoin, in elucidation of these remarks, a rough draft, made hastily, of the position of the fallen column.

I beg you to believe me always,

My dear Lord Mahon,

Sincerely yours,

THOS. WYSE.

Right Hon. Viscount Mahon, &c. &c.

IV.—*The Lineage of Sir Thomas More.* By EDWARD FOSS, F.S.A.

Read January 27, 1853.

It cannot have escaped the observation of every person interested in the life of Sir Thomas More, that his biographers, though one of them married his daughter, and another was his great-grandson, are almost entirely silent as to the family from which he sprung. In their statements upon this subject, they ascend no higher than Sir Thomas's father, Sir John More; he being no less a person than one of the superior judges; holding that dignity, too, for a space of at least twelve years, and not dying till after his son had been elevated to the highest legal position in the kingdom.

That Roper is silent about the Chancellor's pedigree cannot be attributed to his ignorance, for he was not only Sir Thomas's son-in-law, but was evidently on terms of familiar intercourse with him. In a biography composed so closely upon the time, and which must, therefore, be considered as the best authority for all that is known of the private history of the family, it is difficult to ascribe the silence of the writer, on a point so naturally arising, to anything but a delicate disinclination to expose that which he might fear would, in some minds, derogate from the respect with which the Chancellor was regarded. It is scarcely to be conceived that he did not know to what family Sir Thomas belonged, or that, knowing it, he would not have recorded his knowledge, had he not been restrained by anxiety to avoid the risk of wounding the feelings of survivors.

The great-grandson of the Chancellor, now clearly proved by Mr. Hunter's investigations to be Cresacre More, in his Biography endeavours, with a natural desire to magnify his ancestors, to show that they were of gentle descent, deriving his argument from the epitaph written by Sir Thomas, which he misquotes, and from the arms alleged to be borne by Sir John, which he misunderstands. He cites Sir Thomas's epitaph as commencing with these words: "Thomas More, born of no noble family, but of an honest stock;" and he afterwards argues upon the word "*nobilis*" as if it occurred in the original. But no such word is really to be found

there. The passage stands thus: "Thomas Morus, urbe Londinensi, familiâ non *celebri*, sed *honestâ* natus;" words simple enough, and which seem plainly to indicate that he could trace his pedigree little beyond his father.

With regard to the arms, Cresacre More says, "Judge More bore arms from his birth, having his coat quartered;" meaning that, in consequence of the marriage of one of his ancestors with the heiress of a family entitled to coat armour, he quartered the arms of that family with his own. But there is no evidence that this was the case. It is true that the arms of Sir Thomas on the monument at Chelsea are quartered; but this quartering, which has never been identified, may have belonged to Sir Thomas's mother. The arms of Sir John himself, as depicted by Dugdale from the window of the refectory in Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street, contain no quartering; and I am enabled to add, from the kind investigations of York Herald, that none of the pedigrees in the Heralds' College begin with any earlier name than that of Sir John, except some of a much later date, which carry up the family, but without Christian name or place, to an assumed grandfather. These, and the pedigree in the Ashmole Library mentioned by Mr. Hunter, are evidently derived from Sir John's will, in which he speaks of his grandmother Johanna, daughter of John Leycester.

Looking, then, at the modest description given by Sir Thomas More himself, at the total silence of his son-in-law on the subject, and at the absence of all testimony to the contrary, it seems impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the family was an obscure one. This opinion has been confirmed by recent investigation; but the origin thus discovered, so far from detracting in any degree from the merit either of the Chancellor or the Judge, must be considered as speaking loudly, not only to their credit, but to the credit of those to whom they owed their elevation: showing that, even in those days, virtue and learning met their due reward, and contradicting the general impression that none but rich men's sons were admitted members of the inns of court.

From the information hitherto furnished, all that can be collected with regard to the lineage of Sir John More, the Chancellor's father, is that his grandfather married Johanna, the daughter of John Leycester; but who John Leycester was, or who Sir John More's father was, no writer has yet explained. It is curious, also, that in what is told of Sir John himself, contradictory accounts are given of the inn of court to which he belonged, of the bench on which he sat as judge, and of the age at which he died.

As to the inn of court to which he belonged, Chauncy, in his History of Hertfordshire (p. 531), states that he studied the law and was reader at Lincoln's Inn; and

Dugdale, in his list of readers at the Middle Temple, names John More as one of them, describing him as "afterwards one of the judges of the Common Pleas." Though there is so far authority for both statements that in each of these inns there was a John More, who held the office of reader within ten years of each other, a careful examination of the dates and facts relating to both will raise a doubt whether the judge can be identified with either.

Taking them in the order of date, it appears that John More, of Lincoln's Inn, was Autumn reader there in 5 Henry VII. 1489, and Lent reader in the tenth year, 1495.^a If this were the judge, his call to the degree of serjeant in 1503 would be fourteen years, and his elevation to the bench in 1518 twenty-nine years, after his first reading; an interval so great as, if not entirely beyond the range of possibility, at all events to render the supposition that the reader and the judge were the same person highly improbable. This improbability is not diminished by the further history disclosed in the records of that Society, in the examination of which I am greatly indebted to the effective assistance of its excellent librarian, Mr. Spilsbury.

The name of More occurs in the Black Book, fo. 137*b*, as early as 4 Edward IV. 1464-5, when a John More was raised from the office of butler to that of seneschal or steward, an officer at the head of the servants of the house, employed to collect the dues and to keep the accounts, in connection with the last of which his name is occasionally introduced. This John More, in Michaelmas term 1470, 49 Henry VI. (being the year of that monarch's temporary restoration) was admitted a member of the society, in reward, as is stated in the entry, for his having conducted himself faithfully in the office of butler and in that of steward, which it goes on to declare he had "for a long time" filled;^b so that it may be well conceived that at the date of this his admission he was at least forty years of age. He would then be progressively called to the bar and raised to the bench of the Society, and in due time be appointed a reader. This person, there is no doubt, was the reader in 1489, at which time he would be about fifty-nine years old; but he could scarcely be the judge who was appointed in 1518, when he would have been no less than eighty-eight years of age.

As to the claims of the Middle Temple, the John More of that Society was Autumn

^a Dugdale's Orig. 250.

^b His admission is thus entered in the Black Book, vol. i. fo. 162: "*Joh'es More admissus est in Societatem Termino Michaelis A^o xlix^o Henr. VI^o, et ei perdonantur vacationes due et quod sit ad repasta et habeat unum clericum pro xiiij^d per septimanam, eo quod tam in officio pincerne, quam in officio seneschalli, que quidem officia in eodem hospicio diu continuavit, bene et fideliter se gessit, et vadia nulla de societate recepit de tempore quo officium seneschalli occupavit. Et assignatur in camera nuper Thome Ripplyngham.*"

reader there in 21 Henry VII. 1505, and Lent reader in 3 Henry VIII. 1512;^a dates which seem readily to accommodate themselves to the year in which John More became a judge, viz. in 1518, and which no doubt led Dugdale so to designate him. But there are two pregnant facts which exclude the idea that the judge could have been the reader of the Middle Temple. The judge was called to the degree of the coif in 19 Henry VII. 1503; and when that degree is assumed, it is well known that the new serjeant leaves his original Society and joins that of the judges and serjeants. How then could John More, so made a serjeant in 1503, be called upon to read in the Society he had left, not once only in 1505, but a second time in 1512, after he had entered into another body? Again, Dugdale in his *Origines*, p. 113, extracts from the books of the Middle Temple the account of the feast given to the ten serjeants appointed with John More, and that account distinctly names three only who were of that house, among whom John More is not mentioned; and it is next to impossible that he would have been omitted from so formal an entry had he been a member of the Middle Temple.

From a fair consideration, therefore, of the facts connected with these readers of Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple, it is difficult to believe that either of them was the future judge. Who, then, was he?

The biographers place Sir John at Lincoln's Inn. Roper, the first of them, though he does not state the fact, leaves the reader to infer it, by recording that, if the father and son met together at readings in Lincoln's Inn, the latter, though Chancellor, would offer in argument the pre-eminence to his father. Cresacre More, his descendant, distinctly describes him of Lincoln's Inn.

To the records of that society, therefore, reference must again be made for further illustration. There, besides the former-mentioned John More, originally the butler, and then raised from the stewardship to be first a member and then a reader of the society, another John More is to be found, with the addition of "junior" to his name, who in 22 Edward IV. 1482 (twelve years after the first John More had been admitted a member) is mentioned as "pincerna," or butler. It is scarcely possible to doubt that this John More, junior, was the son of the first John More, holding as he did the same office of butler, which the latter had formerly filled. Fourteen years afterwards, on February 12, 1496, Thomas More, the Chancellor, was admitted into the society, and the entry describes him as the son of John More, without designating who John More was,—thereby leading to the inference that he was some person so well known as not to stand in need of any description. That he was

^a Dugdale's *Orig.* 215

a member of the same society is made especially apparent by the entry further stating that Thomas "is pardoned four vacations *at the instance* of John More, his father." This father, therefore, must be either John More the former steward, or John More junior, the butler; for no other John More appears on the books at that time.

On the presumption that the first John More was the father of Sir Thomas, and that he was the father also of John More junior, he would thus have *two* sons, which would be in contradiction to the statement of all the biographers, who unanimously declare that Sir Thomas was an *only* son. If John More junior is excluded as a collateral relation and not a son, then the birth of Sir Thomas, which is invariably fixed about the year 1480, must have been at a very late period of his father's life; the fact being, on the contrary, that he was the son of the first of *three* wives with whom his father was united. Sir Thomas, therefore, being when admitted in 1496 only sixteen years old, could not under any reasonable calculation have been the son of John More the elder. But the same facts present no such difficulties with reference to John More junior. In 1482 he was butler to the society, but there is no entry of his appointment to the office. Seeing, however, that the elder John More had been admitted a member in 1470, it may be presumed that the younger More had succeeded him in the butlership as soon as he was old enough to perform its duties, and the calculation cannot be far wrong if he is supposed to have been between twenty-eight and thirty in 1482. If he was the Chancellor's father, it may be readily conceived that, as he married early in life, he had then a son of two years of age, who would thus be ready in 1496 to be admitted a member of the house. It only remains, therefore, in order to establish this parentage, to account for John More junior, the butler, being placed in such a position as afterwards to assume the coif and to obtain a seat on the judicial bench.

John More the elder, admitted a member in 1470, must have been called to the bar long before 1482, when the younger is mentioned as butler. As he was named a reader seven years afterwards, it is clear that he was gaining an ascendancy in the Inn, and he must have become a bencher previously to his being a reader. It would be only natural that he should desire for his son the same advantage which he himself had received, and even without the operation of this feeling it seems almost a necessary step to his being admitted to the bench of the society that his son should be removed from a menial office. For the mode of doing this his own case would form a precedent; and that no entry has been discovered of John More junior's admission, may be accounted for by the carelessness with which the books were then kept, and the want of a regular list of admissions; that of Sir Thomas

himself being inserted with two or three others in a page devoted to other matters, and written in a different hand. Adding to these probabilities the fact that every reader had a special privilege of admitting any person he pleased into the Society,* no reasonable doubt can exist that John More junior was admitted either before or at the time when his father became one of the governors or a reader of the house: and the interval between 1482 and 1503, when John More the judge was called serjeant, is amply sufficient for the several subsequent gradations.

The uncertainty in which we are left with regard to the date of his elevation to the bench and the court in which he sat does not touch the question which is now in discussion, but the contradictory accounts of the age at which he died serve in some measure as an illustration of the inquiry.

With regard to the former, it will be enough to mention that he sat successively in both courts; that in the first instance he was appointed a judge of the Common Pleas between November 1517 and February 1518, and that the date of his removal into the Court of King's Bench was probably about April 1520.

With reference to his age at the period of his decease, which occurred about November 1530, his son's earliest biographer, William Roper, says nothing; but his great-grandson, Cresacre More, describes him just before his death as "near ninety years old;" a calculation evidently founded on the supposition that he was the Lincoln's Inn reader of 1489, and on the presumption that he would then have been about forty-nine years of age. This extreme old age all subsequent writers have inconsiderately adopted, without reflecting that in that case he would have been seventy-eight when he was raised to the bench, a period of life at which it is scarcely possible to suppose that any one would be selected for the first time to exercise judicial functions.

A far more satisfactory, because contemporary, authority has been entirely disregarded. This may be found in the inscriptions on the family pictures preserved at Burford Priory and at Nostell Priory, both of which are referred to in Mr. Hunter's very valuable Preface to his edition of Cresacre More's *Life of the Chancellor*. These pictures were painted, one of them certainly by Holbein, in 1530, after Sir Thomas became Chancellor, and just previous to Sir John's death. They represent all the members of the family then in existence, and the ages of each are inscribed on their portraits. Both of these pictures agree as to the then age of Sir John, who on one is described as "aged 76," and on the other, as "in the 77th year of his age." This evidence, which is manifestly the most trustworthy,

* Dugdale's Orig. 248.

would make the birth of Sir John take place about the year 1453, so that he would have been 29 when he is first mentioned as butler, about 50 on his assumption of the serjeant's coif, and his elevation to the bench would have happened at the more probable age of 64 or 65; a calculation which tallies in every material respect with the hypothesis I have been advocating.

After a careful comparison of the facts and dates connected with both John Mores, it seems to me that the only fair conclusion that can be formed is, that John More, first the butler, afterwards the steward, and finally the reader, of Lincoln's Inn, was the Chancellor's grandfather; and that John More junior, who was also at one time the butler there, was the Chancellor's father and afterwards the Judge. Not only does this descent suit precisely the "*non celebri sed honestâ natus*" in Sir Thomas's epitaph, but it explains the silence of his biographers, and accounts for the Judge and the Chancellor attending the readings of a society with which their family had been so closely connected.

If it should be considered that I have occupied too much time in calling the attention of the Society to a question apparently of so little moment, let me plead that, though such an investigation as that which I have been pursuing would be valueless if it applied to an ordinary individual, it acquires a peculiar and undoubted interest when men of the highest eminence are the subject of the inquiry. There is a natural and universal desire to know from what stock a great man has descended; and who is there, whether he be lawyer, philosopher, historian, or antiquary, who will deny that title to Sir Thomas More? Such a fact, also, as I have attempted to establish is important in another point of view: it will prove that, at a time when the barriers between the different grades of society were far more difficult to be passed than in the present day, such a combination of talent with integrity and moral worth, as distinguished the progenitors of Sir Thomas, could overcome all the prejudices in favour of high descent which were the natural result of the feudal system.

V.—*Continuation of Observations on the Ancient Churches in the West of France in a Letter to the VISCOUNT MAHON, President. By JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read Dec. 16, 1852; Jan. 13, 1853.

MY LORD,

In my last letter I endeavoured to give some account of the principal buildings in the ancient county of Poitou. The next place of any importance that I stopped at was Angoulême, which is on the direct road to Bordeaux; but, as I afterwards deviated from the direct route, and the church of Angoulême belongs to a very peculiar class, of which the type is the church of S. Front at PERIGUEUX, I think it will be more convenient for me to begin with that church.

This remarkable class of buildings, which may properly be called the Byzantine churches of France, I have already had occasion to mention several times, as many of the churches of Anjou and Poitou partake of this character, especially Fontevault, which when perfect must have had the series of domes which are the distinguishing feature. In the district of Perigord there are not less than forty churches of this class, all copied, there is good reason to believe, from the church of S. Front. I propose, therefore, to give a short description of that building, and a notice of its history.

This very curious edifice is of thoroughly Byzantine character: the plan is a Greek cross of five squares each, vaulted by a lofty dome, which was originally open on the exterior to the weather and formed the only roof, but afterwards covered in by a plain roof of timber and tiles. A choir with an apse has been added at the east end, and a nave commenced at the west, but not finished, or else destroyed.

The work is extremely plain and massive, the piers very large and square, with small narrow arches pierced through them for the aisles. The domes are of stone, about eighteen inches thick; the upper surface is cut into steps, and has evidently been exposed to the weather, and after a time ceased to be water-tight. The first attempt to remedy this was by laying tiles upon the stone, fastened only with mortar; this not being found to answer, another roof was built over them, the exact form of which cannot now be ascertained. This was replaced by the present roof, which is modern, and is carried on side walls, not from the ground, but resting on part of the old work.

The choir and apse are in the style of the fourteenth century, but appear to have replaced an older structure.

There are apsidal chapels to the transepts, one of which has been restored; the other has been built up. The interior of the church is remarkably plain. Pilasters are used against the flat walls only, not against the piers. Most of these pilasters are square, with quasi-Corinthian capitals of peculiar character, not at all like the work of the twelfth century. But those pilasters which are placed against the east wall of the transepts are half-rounds, with richer capitals, and with small shafts one over the other at the openings of the apsidal chapels. These features seem to indicate a re-building of this part, and, as the character of them is not later than the twelfth century, it seems to follow that the original parts must be earlier. Yet the main arches are all slightly pointed; and this feature is clearly original, as the domes are carried on these pointed arches.

The tower stands at the west end of the present nave, and perhaps was the original termination of it; but a continuation of the nave has been commenced, and a west doorway built of late Norman character. The tower is a very curious structure, evidently of two or three different periods, and the original part early. The exterior has a good deal of Roman look about it, one range of windows having pediments over them, with a Roman ornament. The lower part has square pilasters; the upper part round ones. Several of the pilasters have flat bricks, resembling Roman tiles, introduced between the joints, and the window-arches have wide joints at intervals similar to tiles. The windows have all been partially filled up, and this filling-up work appears to be of the twelfth century. The tower is finished at the top by a cupola, carried on a series of small pillars or shafts, placed as closely together as possible; but originally these shafts were only one-fourth of the present number, three new ones having been introduced between each pair of the original. The masonry of the tower is good and not wide-jointed; the mortar has pounded brick and charcoal mixed with it, and this in the oldest parts.

All the main arches under the cupola are pointed; the minor arches and window-heads are round. The stones appear to have been purposely arranged in such a manner as to give the effect of layers of tiles, but really formed by different-coloured stone.

The eastern part of the chancel is inclosed by high walls of the period of the Renaissance, apparently part of a plan for rebuilding the whole church, which was fortunately abandoned.*

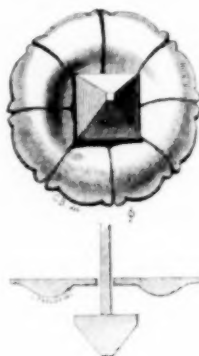
* The beauty of the French ironwork has often been observed. Most Englishmen who have visited France at all have noticed the very rich doors of Notre Dame at Paris; and, though such rich work as this is not

M. Felix de Verneilh,^a in his valuable work on the Byzantine Architecture of France, has shown so remarkable a resemblance of plan, dimensions, and details between the cathedral of S. Front and the church of S. Mark at Venice, that it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion at which he arrives—that they were either the work of the same architect, or that S. Front was built by workmen from Venice in exact imitation of S. Mark's. Almost the only difference is, that the arches of S. Front are pointed.

The recorded dates of the two buildings also agree remarkably with the hypothesis that they were in some degree the work of the same hands. The first stone of S. Mark's was laid in 977, that is of the new building, on an enlarged plan, after the great fire; and, though the ornamental work was carried on through the whole of the eleventh century, yet the main structure, the shell of the building, was finished in a few years, and it is with this shell only that we are concerned. The church of S. Front was commenced in 984 by Bishop Frotaire, and finished about 1047, in which year it was dedicated by Archbishop Aymon.

There is no distinct record of any Greek or Venetian colony at Perigueux, but it is well known that there was such a colony at Limoges in the tenth and eleventh centuries, who carried on a large trade, receiving the productions of the East from Venice by way of Marseilles, and distributing them extensively in the north of France and in England. In the beginning of the eleventh century also two Greek

often met with anywhere, yet the generality of French churches or houses of the middle ages have ironwork worthy of attention. The singular variety and beauty of their nail-heads especially attract English eyes, as something to which we are not accustomed at home. The specimen here given from the church of S. Front, is a specimen of a form not uncommon in France.



^a The beautiful and accurate engravings with which M. Verneilh's work is illustrated render it quite unnecessary to give any engravings here of S. Front at Perigueux.

monks resided for a considerable period at Angoulême, and attended the second Council of Limoges in 1031. By a singular coincidence also, in 1847 twelve copper coins were found in a burial-ground at Périgueux, of the Greek Emperor John Zimisces, who reigned from 962 to 975, so that these coins are precisely those which would have been in circulation at the time that the Greek workmen are supposed to have been at Périgueux.

The question still remains whether the church has been subsequently rebuilt or not. A great fire is recorded to have taken place in 1120, in which the monastery of S. Front was burnt, and many persons lost their lives; but M. de Verneilh considers that the church, from its peculiarly massive character,* could not be destroyed, though it might be injured by fire, and that it bears evident marks of this injury and the subsequent repairs, especially the tower, which may have been most exposed to the fire. He also shows, by documentary evidence, that some of the country churches, which are evidently copied from S. Front, were built in the early part of the eleventh century, and in these the pointed arch is used equally with S. Front. It appears, therefore, more probable that the original structure was preserved and repaired than that all these churches should have been rebuilt a century after their foundation; neither is the character of S. Front at all what we should expect to find after 1120: its very remarkable and almost unique features seem to agree much better with the earlier period. M. de Verneilh has shown that the lower part of the tower and some other work joining on to it westward of the present church belong to a still older church, supposed to be of the sixth century; and two small chapels which form part of the work are said to be the shrines of the martyrs S. Severin and S. Aignan. I cannot say much from my own observation on this part of the subject. When I was at Périgueux I had not the pleasure of being acquainted with M. de Verneilh, and his work had not then appeared; but I consider him a very careful observer, and not one who arrives hastily at a conclusion; and, without knowing anything of the supposed history of the building, I observed the mixture of debased Roman work in it, very similar to that of S. John at Poitiers. The lower part of the tower particularly struck me by its curious plan and details, and my notes agree very well with M. de Verneilh's plan and description.

In the lower town of Périgueux, called the City, because this was the Roman city, is another church of Byzantine character, dedicated to S. STEPHEN. This was

* This extremely massive character may, however, frequently be observed in churches of the early part of the twelfth century, especially when rebuilt after a great fire or a fall of the tower, as at Winchester. The monks appear to have been determined that the church should not again be destroyed in the same manner, and it is often curious to observe the mass of materials they have piled together to make sure of this object.

originally the cathedral, though very inferior to the great monastic church of S. Front, which has now succeeded to it in that dignity; but this is only a modern arrangement. S. Stephen's was the cathedral down to a recent period: it is, however, evidently of later work than S. Front, and copied from it.

This church consists of two square bays only, each with its dome, and what renders it valuable is, that these domes, with their casing of tiles, are still its only covering; they still serve both for vaults and roofs. The two bays are not of the same age, one is considerably older than the other; one appears to be of the eleventh century, the other of the twelfth. The domes, instead of being solid, as at S. Front, are double, with a space left between the inner and outer shell. This arrangement has probably preserved them, and enables them to be still used as roofs. It is probable that the inconvenience of the water penetrating through the single layer of stone at S. Front was perceived at an early period, and the evil guarded against here, by making it double. The church was originally much larger, and had a tower similar to that of S. Front, but was nearly destroyed by the Protestants, in the wars of religion, and these two bays are all that remain of it. This church is said to have been begun in 1013, and finished, so far as to be consecrated on the same day with S. Front in 1047.

The eastern bay is of a much lighter and later style than the other; the arches carrying the dome are comparatively slender, pointed, and the edges recessed. The windows and arcades are round-headed, with shafts and ornaments of rather late Norman character. The western bay is much earlier and more massive, the arches slightly pointed, but the whole of the work very plain, and very like to S. Front. The domes are built of rather larger stones than is usual for vaulting, and on the top of each dome is a small sort of temple with a cupola. The remains of a third bay westward shew it to have been of rather smaller dimensions and quite as early character as the second. In the second bay is a good tomb of late Norman work, in the form of a doorway, richly ornamented, and with a long inscription giving the date of 1169, to the memory of John of Asside. A facsimile of this inscription has been engraved by Willemin in his "*Monumens Français*." The style of this tomb is altogether that of Poitou, of which country the bishop was a native.^a

In the eastern bay, incised on the south wall, is a very curious perpetual calendar for finding Easter, and the other moveable festivals. This has been engraved by

^a Of this tomb an engraving is here given, with so much of the inscription as is of importance for our object, the remainder consisting only of a prayer for the soul of the departed. The ornaments of this dated example are very valuable for comparison with others. They agree with what we should expect to find in England at the same date, being of very late Norman, almost of Transitional, character.



Tomb of John of Asside in the old Cathedral of Perigueux, A.D. 1160.

M. de Caumont, but very badly, and I obtained a tolerably careful rubbing of it. This remarkable inscription has also been described and commented on by Scaliger, the Abbé Lebœuf, and by M. Taillefer.

In the outskirts of the lower town, standing in a vineyard, is a large and lofty round tower of Roman work. A breach has been made on one side, where apparently was the original entrance; the rest of the wall is perfect, and about a hundred feet high. It is of rubble, faced with small Roman ashlar, on both sides. Various fragments of pillars, capitals, and other details, have been found and placed in the tower. The French antiquaries are not agreed as to the use of this tower. The tradition of the country is, that it was a tomb, and it appears so exactly to agree with the family burying places in the neighbourhood of Rome, as shown in Mr. Gally Knight's work, that this seems to me the most probable destination. But my friend M. de Verneilh, who has studied the matter much more carefully than I had the opportunity of doing, says he cannot agree with this explanation.

At a short distance from this are some remains of the fortifi-

cation of the lower town, or the City as it is called. The walls, for some feet above the ground, are Roman, the superstructure partly of the twelfth century, and another part of the fifteenth, with a picturesque tower of Flamboyant work built of very small stones, probably the Roman ashlar facing used up again.

In the town of Perigueux there are several medieval houses. One in the Rue des Farges is a valuable specimen of the style of the twelfth century, the upper part being nearly perfect, with an arcade or range of windows, and doorways at each end a little below the level of the windows, and which must have opened to an external stair or ladder. These windows are ornamented with the billet and zigzag. The lower story has a series of pointed arches walled up.

I will now return to my actual route, from which I have digressed in order to describe Perigueux, on account of its greater importance. After leaving S. Savin, with which I concluded my last letter, the next place of any interest is MONTMORILLION, where there is a small Transitional church, with a pointed barrel vault, the shafts having capitals with late foliage. The doorway is singular, being pointed and deeply recessed, with shafts having sculptured capitals without any abacus. There is also a curious range of sculpture in sunk panels just under the corbel table, with small figures of the twelfth century, but mutilated.

The octagonal chapel or chapter-house (?) is of a Transitional character, with a good corbel table and pointed arches recessed in the outside of the wall. I was not able to get inside of it; but was informed that it has a crypt, and that the vault of the upper chamber is carried on a central shaft. This gives the idea of a chapter-house, a use to which it is again applied. On one side of the octagon is a bell-turret for two bells.

LUSSAC LES CHATEAUX has a plain small church of Transitional character, thoroughly modernized in the interior, and with a modern tower, but with two good doorways, and some rich sculpture in the capitals, and bases with the foot ornaments. The west window is a good specimen of the Transitional work of this district, with a pointed arch, and shafts with capitals of foliage.

The ruins of the two castles from which it derives its name are more picturesque than valuable for any architectural character. The remains of the bridge across a ravine and over a small river, which served to connect these two castles, is curious and interesting, both for its position and historical associations, as being the scene of a battle between a party of French and English, in which Sir John Chandos was killed, owing chiefly to the nature of the ground, which is high and rocky on each side of the river. This is graphically described by Froissart in his Chronicle.

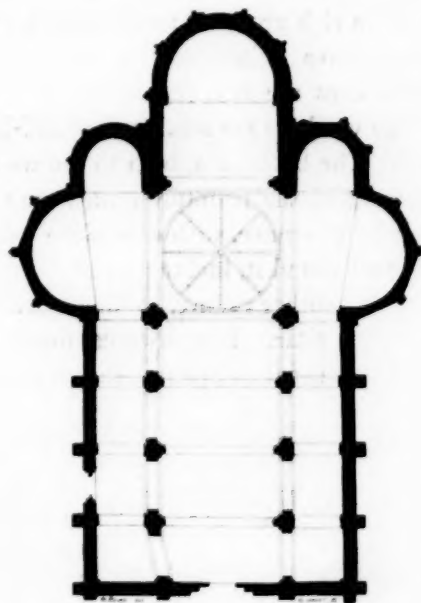


The remains of the bridge now consist of four plain square towers rising out of the water, and another at each end, forming the piers of the bridge. As there are no remains of arches, the bridge itself was probably of wood.

The castle of GENÇAY is finely situated, and extremely picturesque from its numerous round towers and singular plan, which is triangular. It is of the thirteenth century. The lower rooms in the towers have domical vaults, with ribs meeting in a central boss. The staircase is outside of the main wall of the castle, but is itself protected by another external wall. There are remains of fire-places and chimneys in the upper rooms.

The church of Notre-Dame at Gençay is a small plain structure of the thirteenth century, with a good doorway of that period, the shafts of which have capitals of the stiff-leaf foliage.

The church of S. MAURICE, near Gençay (Plate I.), is a fine rich example of Romanesque work; the plan cruciform, with short transepts, and octagonal apses to



Plan of the Church of St. Maurice.

the choir, transepts, and chapels; the nave has aisles, but there are none round the choir. The apses are round within, though polygonal without, and have shafts in the angles, with good corbel tables and arcades between, and arches sunk in the wall

below. The south side, which is not exposed to view, is much plainer than the north side. It has a central tower, square, with the angles rounded off, within which is a domical vault, with ribs united in the centre. The other vaults are of the pointed barrel shape, and the apses have the semi-dome vaults. The arches are pointed. The capitals are richly sculptured, in designs of the same early character as is general in Poitou, but the work evidently late; the bases also are ornamented, and there are some good rich strings. The doorway is very wide and low, with short shafts, having large capitals sculptured, and very thick abacus, also enriched. The corbel-table is also richly carved. The exterior of the nave is plain. Altogether it is a good example of rather early Transitional work.

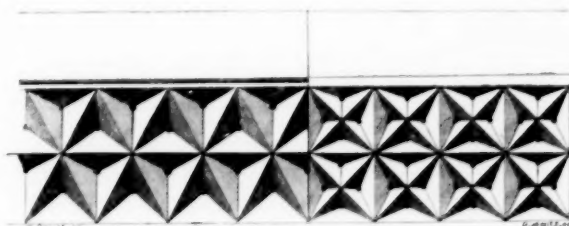
The church of *Nôtre Dame at CIVRAY* is another fine example of Romanesque work, with a very rich front, resembling that of *Nôtre Dame at Poitiers*. The plan is cruciform, with aisles to the nave, choir, and apse, and apsidal chapels to the transepts. The central tower is square below, octagonal above, with a domical vault, the arches on which it is carried are slightly pointed. The interior of the church is plain, but one capital has a rich group of small figures, apparently representing a legend; the other capitals have foliage only. All the other vaults are of the pointed barrel-form; the arches are low, slightly pointed, on massive square piers, with shafts attached. The windows are small and round-headed, with arches over them recessed in the wall. The buttresses, both to the west front and to the tower, are round. The arrangement of the furniture struck me as singular; the choir of the monks being entirely in the nave, with a separate railing east and west, and space for the congregation all round it, including the space under the tower. The altar stands in the apse with another railing, so that part of the congregation are between the singers and the altar. I afterwards found other examples of this arrangement, and am told it is usual in Spain. In the west front there is an orna-



Norman Ornaments from the Church of Civray.

ment resembling the tooth ornament, but with eight leaves instead of four; and several other very good Norman ornaments, amongst which occurs the ball-flower, exactly of the same form as afterwards used so commonly in England in the time of Edward I. and II., and sometimes supposed to represent the pomegranate, in compliment to queen Eleanor of Castile. This ornament is occasionally to be found in the west of France, in work of the latter half of the twelfth century, as in the present instance.

The church of RUFFEC has another remarkably good and rich west front of late Romanesque work, filled with sculpture, with foliage and figures in high relief, but unfortunately much mutilated. The doorways have been altered in the beginning of the period of the Renaissance, and nearly the whole of the interior has been almost rebuilt at the same time; the same rich style of ornament occurs here as at Civray. I have selected for engraving a very beautiful variety of the star ornament, which seems to have been one of the steps by which the tooth ornament was arrived at.



Norman Ornament from the Church of Ruffec.

The cathedral of ANGOULEME (Plate II.) is a very remarkable and striking building, and a good specimen of the Byzantine style in France. The plan is a Latin cross, with a long nave, and very short transepts. The nave is of three square bays, without aisles, vaulted by their domes; the westernmost of rather plainer and earlier character than the others. The central compartment is also vaulted by a dome, considerably more lofty than the others; the form of which is not round, but a kind of irregular octagon, like some of the German churches on the Rhine; it is carried on four plain arches, which are wide, slightly pointed, and recessed; the lower part of the dome forms a kind of lantern, with small windows and arcades.* The piers are massive and square, with shafts attached, which have capitals of rather late-looking foliage, a good deal under-cut, and of the character rather of the south

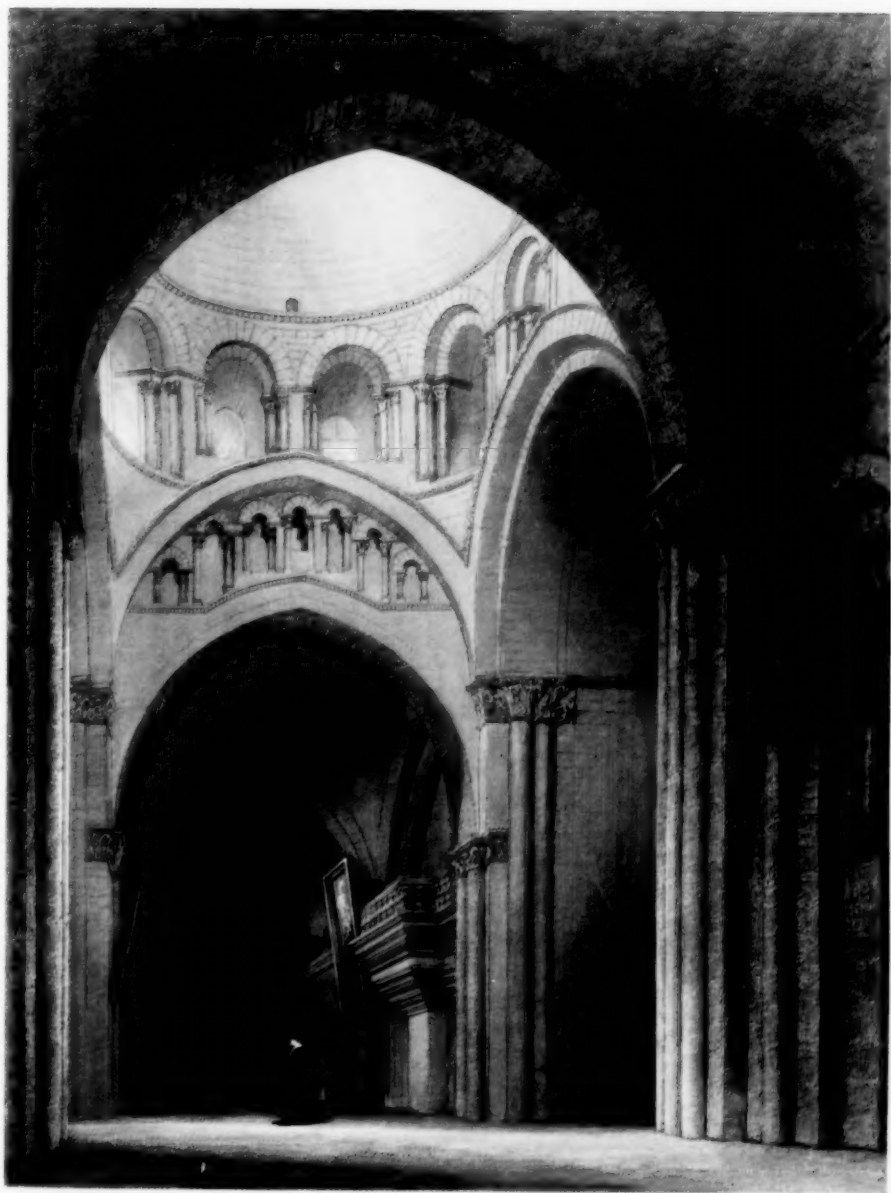
* These are very irregular, as represented in the annexed engraving.

of France than of the north. The choir has aisles of Flamboyant work, and its original character is destroyed. At the end of each transept was originally a large square tower; the northern one remains, the southern one has been destroyed, except the lower part of it, which is turned into a vestry. The west front is very rich, filled with sculpture representing the Last Judgment, in the style of Nôtre Dame at Poitiers: the gable has been destroyed, and the corner turrets altered.

This church appears to be an imitation of S. Front at Perigueux, and its plan and dimensions are almost identical with Fontevault. It is recorded to have been rebuilt, from the first stone, by bishop Gerard, who was elected in 1101, and occupied the see thirty-five years. Notwithstanding this positive assertion of the monkish historian, M. Verneilh considers that the western bay and some other portions belong to the previous edifice, which is also recorded to have been built about a century earlier. There is certainly some difference of style; but it appeared to me more likely that the richer parts are of later date, and the earliest parts are the work of Gerard. These rich fronts of Romanesque work, of which we have so many in this part of France, seem to be always late work, hardly earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

The chapel of the Cordeliers, now of the hospital of Angoulême, is of the early French style of the thirteenth century, with a good vault, and vaulting shafts, and long, narrow, lancet windows. The end window is Flamboyant, of the form of a spherical triangle. On the south side stands a small octagonal tower, the lower part of which is of Romanesque work; the upper part, later, with a crocketed spire.

The church of COGNAC has originally been very similar to that of Angoulême, both in style and in dimensions; but it has been much altered at several different periods. It was originally vaulted by a series of domes, like the other Byzantine churches in this part of France; but these have almost disappeared, and the interior is now chiefly modern work, in the Flamboyant style, well executed. The work was unfinished when I was there in 1850. The plan is cruciform, with the tower on the west side of the north transept. This tower is now the most remarkable feature in the building, and is very curious: in plan, it is not square, and the two wider arches are round, the narrower ones pointed; they are all remarkably lofty, higher than the nave of the church, to which this tower is evidently an addition. The pillars which carry these arches are not attached to the walls, but stand clear of them. The tower is surmounted by a small dome, or cupola vault, over which another story has been added in the fourteenth century, or later: the style is Transition



St. Peter's Basilica

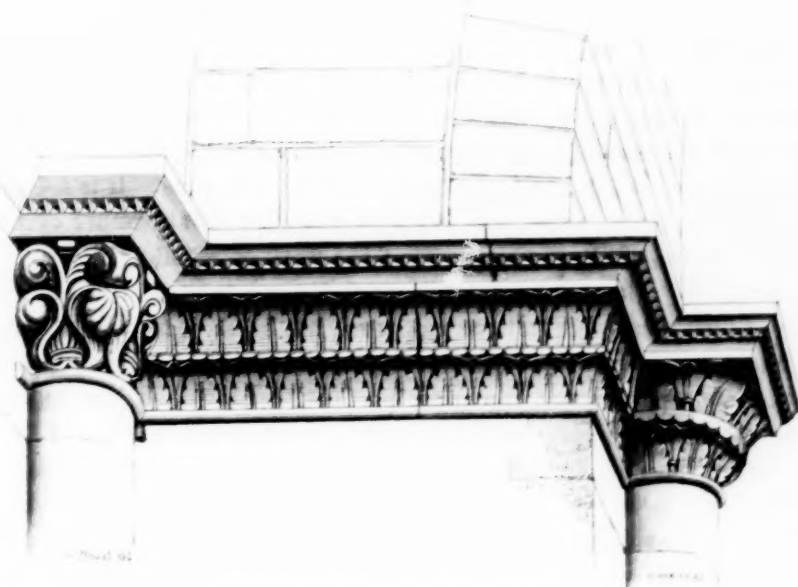
J. H. St. John

Engraved by J. H. St. John from a drawing by J. H. St. John

Norman, with some rich ornaments.* A window of the church, which is blocked up by this tower, is also of Transition Norman character; at least it has a pointed arch, and ornaments resembling the tooth ornament; yet the tower is evidently considerably later. The Transitional style would appear to have continued for a long period in this part of France. The west front of the church is of the same rich character, filled with sculpture, as many others that have been mentioned: most of the figures are mutilated; the foliage is boldly undercut, which generally indicates a late date, but perhaps not so late here as it would do further north. A round Flamboyant window has been introduced in the west gable.

TOURIERS is a village church of the twelfth century, but very plain, and of no particular interest; nevertheless, there is a remarkable ornament on a moulding of

* The cornice and capitals represented in the annexed woodcut afford a good specimen of the foliage and



Cornice and Capitals in the Church of Cognac.

mouldings usual in the Transition Norman work of this part of France. There is a junction in this work at this point, and the two capitals are not exactly of the same age, the one belonging to the work of the church, the other of the tower; but the difference of date is probably not many years, and they are made to harmonize remarkably well, though a difference in the mouldings, as well as the foliage, may be observed on close examination.



Norman Ornament from the Church of Touriers.

the doorway which is very uncommon, if not unique, though it resembles what is called the scallop ornament in England.

The town of SAINTES contains several fine and interesting churches. The cathedral is of two periods: the original parts belong to a Byzantine church of the twelfth century, of which the domes remain on the transepts. It is a large cruciform church with apse, aisles, and chapels—the exterior altogether of the Flamboyant style of the fifteenth century; but the work of rebuilding or altering was never completed. The buttresses and pinnacles are built at the sides, but the clerestory, which these were to have supported, has never been built. The tower is a very fine one, of the Flamboyant style, remarkably massive and grand in its effect; the lower part square, the upper part octagonal, with flying buttresses and numerous pinnacles on every projecting point; altogether it is, perhaps, one of the finest towers of this style in France. There is an Early French cloister, with a good vault, carried partly on corbels and partly on shafts.

St. Pallais is a small cruciform church without aisles, of Transitional character: the choir is later than the nave, and is of the Early French style, as are the vaults; the west doorway is of plain Transitional work, with shafts, which have very singular bases, resembling in form those of the English Perpendicular style.

Near this church is another, of which I could not learn the name, which is desecrated and turned into stables for the cavalry barracks. It is in the Romanesque style, with a fine central tower, and a very rich doorway at the west end, the sculpture of which is free and appears late in the style.

St. Eutrope consists of the choir only of a fine Romanesque church, of which the nave has been destroyed; under the choir is a very fine crypt, extending under the whole choir, with its aisles and the transepts. It has some remarkable features, especially the stilted arches. The choir has a Flamboyant apse, but the rest of the work is original, and the exterior is very good and uncommon, having a series of arches over the windows carried on round pillars instead of buttresses. The apsidal chapel is quite round, like the base of a round tower, and covered with arcades. The south transept remains and forms the basement of a fine Flamboyant tower with a crocketed spire. At a short distance from the church, in the outskirts of the town, are the remains of a large Roman amphitheatre.

I shall be happy to continue these notes on French Architecture at any time that may be convenient to the Society, and I have some hundreds of Mr. Bouet's drawings to illustrate them.

I remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged and obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

VI.—*Remarks on the Angon, or barbed Javelin of the Franks, described by Agathias.*

Read Jan. 20, 1853.

U. University Club, Dec. 6, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,

I told you I had found the *angon*, and you will be able to judge of the correctness of my statement from the accompanying notes and drawings, which you can lay before the Society.

As a sequel of your paper, and bearing also on an historical fact, the subject may interest those of our Fellows who do not usually give their attention to this branch of antiquities.

I am very glad to see from the letter to you of M. Troyon of Bel-Air, and the drawing sent by him, in consequence of your paper on the Teutonic arms, that these subjects excite so much interest among the continental antiquaries.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

W. M. WYLIE.

To J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary.

In Mr. Akerman's paper "On some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races," read here in May, 1851,^a our attention was called to two remarkable weapons mentioned in the works of the old historians, but which had not hitherto been discovered, or at least had not come under the notice of our own or the continental archaeologists. These weapons (the ἄγγων, or barbed javelin, and the πέλεκος ἀμφίπτομος, the *bipennis*, *anceps securis*, or double-edged axe) are mentioned by the later Greek and Latin writers, and more especially by Agathias. Now, when an historian speaks decidedly on any point, and is as precise as Agathias has been in his description of a certain kind of warfare, and the use of a weapon which he certainly deemed very formidable, it is always satisfactory to find his statements confirmed by some positive evidence. Historians lend the light which guides us

^a *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIV.

through the obscurity of the past, and we love not to fancy our sole conductor is beguiling our confidence with tales of what never existed, save in the conventional language of poetry. Agathias is an important historian, to whom the works of Procopius owe their completion; and it is in the hope of removing a seeming obscurity in his narrative that I presume to lay these notes before the Society.

The occasion taken by Agathias to thus describe the *ἄγγων*, or barbed javelin of the Franks, was the battle of Casilinum, in Campania, where Narses overthrew the Franks and the Alemanni, A.D. 554. Gibbon, who here follows Agathias, says, "The hosts of the Franks and the Alemanni consisted of infantry; a sword and buckler hung by their side, and they used as their weapons of offence a weighty hatchet and a *hooked* javelin, which were only formidable in close combat, or at a short distance."^a This javelin appears, from the narrative of Agathias, to have been of moderate size,^b and used more especially in close combat. The shaft was protected by thin iron plates, so as to be quite secure from a sword-blow, while the barbs of the spear-point were curved like hooks, and inclined downwards. Hence a dreadful and fatal wound was inflicted if the body of an enemy was struck, as the form of the weapon prevented its removal. If it was fixed in his shield it became an equally irremovable and dangerous appendage, for as the long shaft swept along the ground the Frank fixed his foot upon it, and thus bearing down the shield by his weight, was easily enabled to deal a fatal blow on his uncovered foe.

^a Decline and Fall, c. 43.

^b "Medium fuisse videtur inter lanceam majorem et minorem."—Cluverius, Ph. Germ. Ant. lib. i. c. 44.

^c The original passage is so interesting that it will be more satisfactory to give it at length, as the History of Agathias is not always readily accessible.

"Βουτελῖνος μὲν οὖν ταῦτά τε καὶ τοιάδε παραινῶν τοῖς πλήθεσιν οὐκ ἀνείει. Οἱ δὲ ἐπερρώκνυντο ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ὥς πη ἐκάστω φίλον, παρεσκευάζοντο. ὧδὶ μὲν γὰρ πελέκεις ἰθὺγόνοιο πολλοί, ὧδὲ δὲ τὰ ἐπιχώρια δόρυτα οἱ ἄγγωνες, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων αἱ διερώγνυται πρὸς τὸ ἐνεργὸν μετεποιῶντο, καὶ ῥῥδίως αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα παρεσκευάστον· λίτη γὰρ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔθνους ἡ ὅπλισις, καὶ οἷα οὐ τέχνητων δεῖσθαι ποικίλων, ἢ μόνον ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἶμαι τῶν χρωμένων διακοσμεῖσθαι, εἰ καὶ τι διαφθαρεῖ. Θωράκων μὲν γὰρ καὶ κνημίδων ἀγνώστες τυγχάνουσιν ὅντες, τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀσκεπεῖς ἔχουσιν, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ κράνη ἀναδούμενοι, μάχονται. γυμνοὶ δὲ τὰ στήρνα εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ νῶτα μέχρι τῆς ὀσφύος, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀναξυρίδας, οἱ μὲν λιγᾶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ σκυτῖνας διαζωννύμενοι τοῖς σκέλεσι περιεμπέσχονται. ἵπποις δὲ ἥκιστα χρῶνται, πλὴν σφόδρα ὀλίγων, ἅτε δὴ αὐτοῖς τὸ πεζομαχεῖν σύντροφόν τε ὦν καὶ πάτριον καὶ ἄριστα μεμελετημένον. ζῖφος δὲ τῷ μηρῷ καὶ ἀσπίς τῇ λαίᾳ πλευρῇ παρηώρηται. καὶ τοῖνον τόξα ἢ σφενδόνας ἢ ἄλλα ἅττα ἐκρηβόλα ὅπλα οὐκ ἐπιφέρονται, ἀλλὰ πελέκεις γὰρ ἀμφιστόμουν καὶ τὸν ἄγγωνα, οἷς δὲ καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατεργάζονται. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἄγγωνες δόρυτα οὐ λίαν μικρὰ, οὐ μὲν οὖν ἄλλ' οὐ δὲ ἄγαν μεγάλα, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀσπερίσθαι τε (εἶπου δέησοι) καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀρχεμήχων παρταλεῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἐφικνεῖσθαι. τούτων δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος σιδήρῳ πάντοθεν περιέχεται, ὥς ἐλάχιστόν τι διαφαίνεσθαι τοῦ ξύλου, καὶ μάλιστα ὅλον τὸν σφυρωτήρα. ἄνω δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς αἰχμῆς καμπύλαι τινὲς ἀκίδες ἐξέχουσιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐξ αὐτῆς δὴπου τῆς ἐπιδορυτίδος, ὥσπερ

While in France this summer I took the opportunity of making inquiries for the *angon*, but it was unknown. The French antiquaries contentedly give the name to another Frankish weapon (fig. 2), of which I have seen examples from the Merovingian cemeteries of Douvrend, Londinières, and other places. The sketch at once shews that this weapon is altogether deficient in the characteristics of the ἄγγων of Agathias. No human arm could impel this ponderous weapon, with its hooked cross-bar, through the body or the shield of a foeman, and I felt assured the *angon* yet remained to be discovered. Accordingly, at Paris, in the exceedingly interesting Musée de l'Artillerie, I observed what I conceive to be the object of our research (fig. 1) under a glass case with other rare and precious antiquities. It lies, curiously enough, side by side with a specimen of the other spear (fig. 2), which is there labelled *angon*. The description in the catalogue is as follows: "No. 690. Deux fers très anciens, l'un de javelot, l'autre de lance; le premier donné par M. Schuster, garde du génie attaché à l'Ecole d'Application de Metz, a été trouvé au Mont St. Jean près Marsal. Le fer de lance, donné par l'Académie Royale de Metz, a été trouvé dans un tombeau, dans le département de la Moselle." This latter is apparently the true *angon*. It is about 22 inches long; the stem is very slender, and at first quadrangular, till near the ferrule, when it becomes

ἀγαστραὶ ὑπογναπτόμενα, καὶ ἐς τὰ κάτω νεκέουσι, καὶ οὖν ἀφίησι τυχόν ἐν συμπλοκῇ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄγγωνα Φράγγων ἀνὴρ, καὶ εἰ μὲν σώματι που ἐγχρίμψαιεν, εἰσδύεται μὲν εἰσω, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, ἢ αἰχμῇ, οὔτε δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν βληθέντα οὔτε ἄλλον τινα ἐρύσαι ῥάδιως ἐνεσσι τὸ δόρυ. εἰργονσι γὰρ αἱ ἀκίδες ἐνδον ἐνεχόμεναι τῇ ταρμῇ, καὶ πικροτέρας ἐπάγουσι τὰς ὀδύναις, ὥστε εἰ καὶ μὴ καιρίαν τὸν πόλεμον τρωθῆναι ζυγνεχθεῖη, ἄλλα ταύτῃ γε διαφθαρήναι. εἰ δὲ γε ἐν ἀσπίδι παγείῃ, ἀποκρέμαται μὲν αὐτίκα ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐνυπεριώχεται, συμρομένη ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει τοῦ ἀπολήγοντος. ὁ δὲ βληθεὶς οὔτε ἐξελεύσασθαι τοῦτο δὴ δύναται τὸ δόρυ διατῆν εἰσδύσαι τῶν ἀκίδων, οὔτε ζῆφι διατεμεῖν τῷ μὴ ἐφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ ζύλου, ἀλλὰ τὸν σίδηρον παρατετάσθαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τοῦτο εἰσίδοι ὁ Φράγγος, ὁ δὲ ἀθρόον ἐπιβλῆς τῷ ποδὶ καὶ ἐμπατήσας τὸν σφυρῶν, καταβρίθει τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ κατάγει, ὡς ὑποχαλάσαι τὴν τῶν φέροντος χεῖρα, καὶ γυμνωθῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ στήρνον. τότε δὲ οὖν αὐτὸν ἀφρακτον ἐκείνου ἔλθων ῥάδιως ἀπολλυσιν, ἢ τὸ μέτωπον πελεκεῖ πατάζας, ἢ δόρατι ἐτέρῳ τὴν φαρυγγὰ διελάσας. τοιαύτη μὲν τοῖς Φράγγοις ὅπλισις, καὶ ἐν τοῖσδε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζοντο."—Agathias, Hist. lib. 2, c. 5.

The apparent discrepancy between this account of the Frankish arms, and that given by Procopius, only fifteen years previously, may, I think, easily be explained. Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, speaking of the Franks who invaded Italy, A.D. 539, says, "οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἅπαντες οὔτε τόξα οὔτε δόρατα ἔχοντες." *De Bell. Goth.* l. 2, c. 25. As bows are also mentioned Procopius may allude to missiles generally, and mean us to understand rather *δοράτια*—spicula or darts thrown at a long distance. Agathias expressly says there were no *ἐκρηβόλα ὅπλα*—missiles for distant fighting—among the Frankish arms. But the Frankish confederacy was not formed of *one* German tribe, but of many, and no doubt widely differing. Their armies, therefore, drawn at different times from different places, would very probably exhibit different arms and modes of fighting. How widely different, for example, are the spears we find in different parts of England.

round. I have endeavoured to give the sketch as exactly as possible, not having immediate access to the object.

It is precisely the slender, keen-edged, barbed weapon requisite for the purpose described by Agathias. The curved barbs—*χαμπύλαι ἀχίδες*—incline downwards to the shaft, and, oddly enough, this solitary example of the weapon is twisted, almost at right angles, as though some Frank had violently wrenched down with it his adversary's shield, in the very words of our author:—"ὁ δὲ Φράγγος ἀβρόν ἐπιβάς τῷ ποδὶ καὶ ἐμπατήσας τὸν σφυρωτῆρα καταβρίθει τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ κατάγει."



Fig. 1. Angon of Agathias. One-third of size.



Fig. 2. *Lancis uncala* of Sidonius Apollinaris, from a specimen found in a Frankish interment at Douvrend. One-third of size.

The iron sheathing, or laminæ, that protected the spear-staff, do not appear. Such iron plates, from the nature of this missile, must necessarily have been extremely thin, and would rapidly corrode; or, even if met with, would scarcely attract the notice of an ignorant discoverer. We have, moreover, no account of the many other relics which were probably found in this Merovingian grave.

The *angon* may never have been a common arm, but solely given to picked troops destined to break and disorder the front ranks of an enemy's line. This indeed seems to have been the usual mode of fighting with the Franks.

"Ludus et intortas præcedere saltibus hastas,
Inque hostem venisse."—Sidon. Apoll. Paneg. in Marjoriano.

Still it may be a matter of surprise that this specimen of the *angon* should at present seem unique, or that no examples have hitherto been met with in England of the similar barbed javelins which the drawings in old MSS. would lead us to suppose were then in use.

The delicate unsubstantial form of such barbs may go far to account for the rapid obliteration of their distinctive form by corrosion, for the wet earth is the only arsenal where they may be found. But, of the many antiquities daily discovered, it is to be feared very few indeed are preserved for the study of the archæologist, from the want of a proper system which should claim and hold such property rather as belonging to the nation than to individuals. If it be then thought we have obtained a true illustration of the text of our author in this matter, there is surely reason to hope that attentive observation will one day show him to have faithfully mentioned also the *πελέκεις ἀμφιστόμους*^a as weapons of the sixth century.

Whether the *angon* was originally a Frankish arm, or borrowed by them from the Celts on their arrival in Gaul, does not immediately appear.^b Agathias calls them *ἐπιχώρια ὄπλα*,—they may have been the peculiar arm of *one* Frankish tribe, and not of the general nation.

Figures 3 and 4 are from specimens of barbed javelins found in Norway and Sweden.^c



Fig. 3. From Sweden. Half-size.



Fig. 4. From a tumulus at Høla, Norway. One-fourth of size.

^a The following extract from Procopius seems strongly in favour of the double-edged axe: “φέρων ἑκαστος καὶ πέλεκυν ἑναί, οὗ δὲ ὁ μὲν σιδηρὸς ἄνδρός τε καὶ ὄξυς ἑκατέρωθεν εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ἦν, ἡ λαβὴ δὲ ἐξ ἑύλου βραχεῖα ἐς ἄγαν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν πέλεκυν ῥίπτοντες, ἀεὶ ἐκ σημείου ἑνός, εἰώθασιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ τὰς τε ὑσπίδας διαρρηγνύναι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αὐτοὺς κτείνειν.”—Procopius de Bell. Goth. l. 2, c. 25. How is *ἑκατέρωθεν* to be understood unless it be spoken of a double-edged axe?

^b It is worth remarking that Diodorus Siculus ascribes a very similar weapon to the Lusitanians, “*χρῶνται δὲ καὶ σπυρίαισι ὀλοσιδηροῖς ἀγκιστρῶδεσι*,” lib. 5, c. xxxiv. In the preceding chapter, 29, he has also named the *σαύριον* as used by the Celts of Gaul. The *σαύριον*, however, is described as capable of being hurled a considerable distance, and would therefore have been lighter than the *angon*, and was, perhaps, one of the *minores lanceæ*, or *spicula*.

^c The original drawing was lately sent to Mr. Akerman by that indefatigable antiquary, M. Troyon of

It is certain from the traditions steadily preserved in France that the *angon* was no ideal weapon, but connected closely with the history of the origin of Frankish power and prowess. It is on this account the other spear (fig. 2) becomes interesting, and merits attention. I do not think any examples have been before exhibited here. It is almost undoubtedly the peculiar spear spoken of by Sidonius Apollinaris^a as forming part of a Frankish warrior's equipment, in company with the dreaded battle-axe which from the Franks obtained the name of *francisca*.^b The words of Sidonius just referred to are "*lanceis uncatis, securibusque missilibibus dextræ refertæ*." The term "*lanceis uncatis*," which a French translation renders "*piques à crochet*," seems exactly to point out this spear. From the substantial form of the strong round hooks below the cusp, we may suppose their use also to have been to haul down an enemy's shield, and render him more easily assailable. It will be remarked that Sidonius Apollinaris does not call it the *angon*, and had he meant to allude to that weapon he would assuredly have used the word *hamatis* rather than *uncatis*, as Ovid does, speaking of barbed arrows or darts.^c However, it has always passed in France for the real *angon*, either from want of attention to the minute description of Agathias, or the want of examples of the true weapon. They have assumed it to be the model whence was taken the *fleur-de-lis*, the emblem of French dominion, and in this statement they have been followed by Fosbrooke and other English writers. This idea, however, was powerfully combated by the learned Montfaucon.^d He has shewn that the *fleur-de-lis* was assumed as an ensign of royalty not only by the Frankish, but also by the Lombard and other Teutonic princes. Montfaucon, however, is disposed to consider the emblem adopted in the spirit of imitation, the *fleurs-de-lis* being sometimes seen in the crowns of the Byzantine empresses, and often met with at Constantinople in the paintings of the early Greek

Bel-Air. They are thus described in his letter, "*La figure 3, de grandeur naturelle, est un point de trait en fer, de la forme du harpon, et pareille aux dessins que vous donnez dans votre dernier mémoire (Mr. Akerman's paper of May, 1851). Une pièce analogue mais plus longue, représentée dans sa demi-longueur (fig. 4), provient d'un tumulus Norvégien, ouvert dans la paroisse de Hola, district de Riagerike; le même tumulus renfermait encore trois fers de lance, un umbo en fer de forme demi-sphérique, un couteau en fer, et les fragments d'un vase en bronze.*"

^a Lib. 4, epist. xx. ad Domnitium.

^b Isidor. lib. 18, c. viii.; Procop. rer. Goth. lib. 2, c. xxv.

^c "Quid juvat in nudis hamata retundere tela
Ossibus?"—Ovid. Amor. Eleg. lib. ii. 9, 13.

^d "Pars cadit hamatis miserè confixa sagittis."

Trist. lib. iii. Eleg. 10, 63.

^e Monumens de la Monarchie Française, tom. 1.

artists. But the Byzantine monarchs were scarcely likely to have assumed such an emblem as a mere capricious unmeaning decoration, for in that case it might perhaps be as reasonably ascribed to the inventive fancy of some Teuton as to that of a Greek. The fleur-de-lis must have had a more remote origin and mystic import. Its first adoption by the Teutonic princes generally, on their first efforts to emerge from barbarism, would lead us to suspect it was connected with some old tradition of the race possibly derived from an ancient and eastern source.^a In support of this theory I may be permitted to state that paintings of the fleur-de-lis, faded but not effaced, will be found on remains lately brought from Babylon (fig. 5), and the same emblem figures at the base of the sacred tree (fig. 6) in sculptures from Nineveh.^b It will be observed too, in the British Museum, on fragments of glazed pottery lately sent from Arban by Dr. Layard (fig. 7).



Fig. 5.

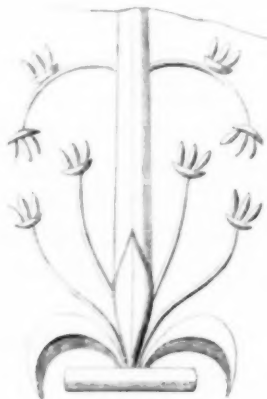


Fig. 6.

Fleurs-de-lis.



Fig. 7.

The fleur-de-lis is so closely connected with the subject of the angon before us, that I trust this allusion to it will not be deemed out of place, and that it may lead to further inquiry.

^a The fleur-de-lis is visible in the rich ornamentation of a bronze-gilt fibula I found at Fairford, in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. To these remains a very early date must be assigned, long prior to the common adoption of the fleur-de-lis as a distinctive emblem of Frankish royalty.

^b Musée du Louvre; collection of Assyrian antiquities.

POSTSCRIPT.

Read January 20, 1853.

On the morning of Dec. 7th I left this paper at Somerset House, and the same afternoon Mr. Akerman, on looking over the new edition of Mr. Collingwood Bruce's Roman Wall, not then issued, found an engraving of a weapon strangely resembling the *angon* at page 434. It is there stated to have been found at the Magna station, Carvoran, in a well 36 feet deep. Its length is 2 feet, and the only observation is, that it is probably not Roman. Without consulting me, Mr. Akerman, who felt a strong interest in the matter, at once wrote to Mr. Bruce for further information respecting this remarkable weapon.

Mr. Bruce, in reply, states it was found in 1833, and is now in the possession of Colonel Coulson of Blenkinsopp. Mr. Bruce also kindly sent a sketch of the weapon, full size. It very nearly resembles the example at Paris, the only variation being that the barbs appear somewhat less curved, and more open. The fact of the shaft being quadrangular at its commencement would show it to be designed for the same weapon. It must doubtless have belonged to some Teutonic soldier, brought over to Britain in the Roman service; and the discovery is interesting, as showing the Romans allowed their foreign troops to use the *ἐπιχώρια ὅπλα*, in the use of which they were of course most skilled. The circumstance, too, proves the *angon* to have been an accustomed arm of a German tribe; for, though we cannot prove when the weapon became deposited in the well, it was most probably prior to the departure of the Romans from Britain.

Between this date, then, and the account given us by Agathias, of its appearance at the battle of Casilinum in 554, there is a very long interval, during which we cannot but suppose the weapon to have been constantly used by some part of the tribes composing the Frankish confederation.

WILLIAM MICHAEL WYLIE.

VII.—*Account of further Excavations on the site of two Roman Villas at Box Moor, Herts. By JOHN EVANS, Esq. F.S.A.: in a Letter to Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N. F.R.S., Vice-President.*

Read Feb. 3, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR,

Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead, Jan. 8th, 1853.

IN a former communication read before the Society of Antiquaries in December, 1851 (*Archæol.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 394–398), attention was called to the existence of two Roman Villas, one in the immediate neighbourhood of Boxmoor Station, on the London and North-Western line of railway, and the other at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from it. On the present occasion an account will be given of the result of subsequent excavations carried on at both these spots, and at one of them, as you are aware from personal observation, with some very interesting results.

The very small portion of the villa at Boxmoor Station that has been uncovered lies on the northern side of the railway (which, at this point, runs nearly due east and west), and is included in the garden of the station-master, Mr. Byles: a great part, if not the whole of the remainder of the building, being hopelessly buried under the road forming the approach to the station, and under the railway itself, which is here carried along an embankment of considerable altitude. With a view to discover whether the buildings had extended as far as the other side of the railway, a trench was sunk on the southern side, and carried along for some distance as close as possible to the embankment; but no trace whatever of foundations, or indeed of any other indications of Roman occupation, was to be found. The well or pit on the northern side of the railway, mentioned in the former communication, was next re-opened, with the intention of thoroughly exploring it to the bottom, which, on the former occasion of its being examined, had, owing to the water making its appearance, been left undone. It proved to extend to a depth of fourteen feet from the surface, or about eight feet below the water level, the lower part being filled with a kind of chalky marl, interspersed with layers of vegetable matter. Numbers of oyster-shells, mussel-shells, and fragments of pottery were discovered, but none of them of any particular interest. There were also two fragments of the handles of glass vessels of a light green colour and of small size. Pieces of wood and sticks,

the latter still retaining the bark, and shewing the marks of the instruments with which they had been cut, were thrown up plentifully. On drying them they shrank to less than one-half of their original size, and at the same time acquired a great degree of hardness, so as in this respect, and in their small specific gravity, nearly to resemble jet, though their fibrous nature was to a certain extent retained. One piece of wood had evidently been shaped with a knife and perforated,—the plaything probably of some Roman child, whom it was destined so long to survive.

The most interesting object discovered was the sole of a Roman sandal, in very perfect preservation, though without any part of the upper leather attached to it. The under surface has all the appearance of having had another thickness of leather sewn on to it. From its length, 8 inches, it would appear to have been adapted for a lady's foot: other specimens already known,^a and which it much resembles in shape, are as much as 11½ inches in length.^b

These were indeed but small returns for the trouble and expense that had been incurred; but the disappointment to antiquarian research on the site of the first villa has been amply compensated by the gratifying and unexpected results of the excavations at the second.

This villa is situated in the garden of Boxmoor House, the residence of Thomas Davis, Esq. at whose expense nearly the whole of the excavations have been carried on, and to whom the thanks of all lovers of antiquity are due for the liberal manner in which he conducted the researches, to the success of which his son, Mr. George Davis, also mainly contributed. The house lies on the left hand or eastern side of the road from Boxmoor to Bovington, known as Box Lane, and which, from the straightness of its course, might itself be of Roman origin. At this part, however, it slightly diverges from its direct course to follow that of the valley branching into the Great Berkhamsted valley, (along which the railway passes,) a little to the west of Boxmoor station. The villa stood on the level ground at the bottom of the valley, at the distance of about 300 yards from the railway, and about 40 yards from Box Lane, to which the line of rooms that has been explored stood as nearly as may be at a right angle, and in a S.E. and N.W. direction.

Its situation was both sheltered and picturesque, and must have been more so when the hills by which it is surrounded on three sides were covered with woods, while on the fourth side was opened an extended view of the opposite side of the

^a Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vol. v. 334.

^b I am informed by Mr. Franks of the British Museum, that many Roman leather soles have been found on the site of Roman stations in Northumberland, especially during the recent excavations at Bremenium (High Rochester).

valley of the Bulbourne. At the distance of a quarter of a mile to the south-east is a farm known by the still mysterious name of Cold Harbour.

The excavations were commenced about the centre of the line of rooms, of which four were successively laid open. A large space of ground to the right hand of these rooms, and immediately in front of the present house, was cleared and permanently lowered; and, in addition to a detached corner about 37 feet to the west of these rooms, another portion of a wall was discovered, but in no way, so far as could be perceived, connected with the main building. In the neighbourhood of this wall was a large deposit of black mould, in which many of the objects that will shortly be described were imbedded. It may here be observed that beside the rooms we had an opportunity of examining there were, no doubt, many more in the villa which still remain unexplored. Owing to its position in the centre of the flower garden in front of Mr. Davis's house, it was of course a great object that the ground should be as little disturbed as possible; and it was therefore only in those places where, upon sinking trenches of observation, pavement was discovered, that the soil was removed. The walls of the villa were from 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 6 inches in thickness, and constructed of the rough flints of the country laid in mortar, which being probably made of chalk-lime, but imperfectly burnt, and without pounded tile, had not set to anything approaching the degree of hardness so frequently found in Roman mortar. It was owing to this circumstance that the position of the walls could hardly be determined with accuracy, the whole interior of the rooms being filled with the flints and mortar rubbish from the fallen walls, from which the flints still remaining *in situ* could with difficulty be distinguished. Three of the rooms were floored with the ordinary red pavement of one-inch tesserae, still in a very perfect state, at the depth of about two feet below the surface of the surrounding soil; and it is somewhat remarkable that the foundations of the walls, with one exception, did not go down below the level of the pavement.

The following are the dimensions of the rooms taken in order from west to east: No. 1, 23 feet 6 inches by 15 feet 6 inches; No. 2, 23 feet 6 inches by 18 feet; No. 3, 23 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 3 inches; No. 4, 23 feet 6 inches by 17 feet.

In the narrow room or passage No. 2 there was in one part of the pavement a rude ornamental border of white tesserae, intermingled with the red, consisting of four lines of white tesserae; the outermost "embattled." It did not extend more than about seven feet along the side of the room, the remainder of the pavement being perfectly plain. In a part of the first room the pavement was defective, and had been repaired with portions of tiles. There was also in this room some appear-

ance of a cross wall or pier of bricks, which however were so much decayed that it could not be accurately made out.

The second room was that in which the pavement mentioned in the former communication as lying buried, was at length uncovered, and was found far to surpass the expectations that had been formed from the small vestige of it first seen.

Though a large portion of it has perished, yet enough remains to enable us to judge what its original appearance must have been, so that, however much we may regret the havoc that has been made, we have still the miserable consolation left, of knowing the full extent of the damage. This devastation is principally owing to the roots of an apple-tree, whose growth and removal have probably been equally destructive.

Ille et nefasto te posuit die
Quicumque primum et sacrilegâ manu
Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
Perniciem, opprobriumque pagi !

What remained was in very good preservation, for which it is indebted to a layer of decomposed mortar from the walls lying immediately upon it, and to the number of flints that had accumulated over it from the same source, and thus rendered it difficult of access by digging. The ornamental pavement was nearly 16 feet square, composed of half-inch tesserae laid in reddish cement, with the pattern worked in black upon a white ground. In the centre was a square compartment inclosing a design (which has unfortunately perished) surrounded with a border of volutes, of which one corner still remains. On each side of the square were rectangles containing guilloche scrolls, from the corners of which proceeded a system of Greek frets which formed a starlike border to four medallions, one opposite to each angle of the centre square, and left L-shaped compartments at each corner of the pavement, and a rectangular and two trapezoid compartments on each side. In each of the large number of lozenge-shaped spaces left by the fret a diamond of black tesserae is introduced. The L-shaped compartments at the corners are ornamented with a double guilloche fret in black, red, yellow, white, and blue. Each of the other compartments has its own peculiar ornament wrought in colours, as will be seen from the drawing. The medallions are surrounded with a guilloche border in the same colours as the frets in the corners, the bands alternating red and blue, and the circles within them are laid in finer tessellæ than the rest of the pavement. Only one of them remains entire, and contains an urn or diota of a graceful shape inlaid with all the colours employed. For geometrical design this pavement stands almost

unrivalled by any hitherto discovered in England, and it tends to convey the impression that the genius of mosaic work is better adapted for the more intricate combinations of geometrical tracery than for the representation of living forms or allegorical subjects. The same impression is given by the magnificent Leicester pavement, and the framework, as it may be called, of many others.

The materials of which the tesserae are composed are considered by Mr. Reeks of the Museum of Practical Geology, who has obligingly examined them, to be as follows :

White or cream colour	Limestone.
Blue or grey blue	Grey limestone.
Black	Calcareous shale.
Red and yellow or dull orange	Terra-cotta.

In a specimen of a pavement found on the site of the Royal Exchange, preserved at the above Museum, and composed of black and white tesserae, they appear to be of the very same materials, which must have been brought from a considerable distance to Boxmoor, as none of the rocks of which they are formed occur in this part of the country.

The pavement was laid on a bed of pounded chalk, which again rested on gravel, and there were no traces of its having been laid hollow for the purpose of heating it by means of a hypocaust, though in one of the walls there was a passage, quite through the thickness of the wall, 20 inches wide by 2 feet high, and below the level of the floor. There was also some appearance of there having been a flue running along by the side of the wall. The sides of the opening were constructed of tiles, about 16 inches by 11, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick; and it was covered in by gradually "gathering over" at the sides, instead of arching. None of the tiles were impressed with any distinctive marks, and this was nearly the only part of the building where any regular pier of them was found. None of the walls had bonding-courses of tiles, though their absence is probably to be attributed to there not remaining a sufficient height of wall to show them. In many of the walls at Richborough the first bonding-course of tiles was 5 feet above the bottom of the wall. The fine pavement was not in the centre of the room, but surrounded on three sides with a border of common red one-inch tesserae, about 4 feet wide at each end of the room, and 2 feet 6 inches at the side, the size of the room being about 23 feet 6 inches by 18 feet. On the other side the fine work abutted on the wall, the plastering of which actually overhung it. From this fact it would appear not improbable that the pavement originally belonged to an earlier villa upon the same spot, which having by some means been destroyed,

the edifice whose ruins have now been uncovered was erected in its stead, with a different arrangement of rooms. Unfortunately the plaster on the wall, the prevailing colour of which was white, was not in a sufficiently perfect state to shew the patterns with which it had been decorated. In some of the trenches sunk in other parts of the garden a large number of fragments of plaster were discovered with the colouring upon them as brilliant as ever, though the pieces were too small to shew much of the method of decoration. The following colours appeared on the pieces of plaster in a great variety of shades,—white, red, black, green, purple, olive, yellow, brown, chocolate, buff, blue, and pink. Some of the fragments are not flat on the surface, but returned at an obtuse angle, having probably been thus shaped to give a splay round the windows and doors. The conclusion derived from an examination of the colouring on the fragments is, that the walls were painted in panels in the same way as we know to have been the case at several of the Anglo-Roman villas, since many of them shew two colours side by side, with a stripe of a third colour about a quarter of an inch wide, either a little way from the line of junction or immediately upon it. The following list will shew most of the varieties :—

Colour on the Left.	Colour of Stripe.	Colour on the Right.
Purple	White	Red
Yellow	Olive	Red
Chocolate	Brown	Yellow
Chocolate	White	Red
Yellow	Olive	Green
Yellow	Green	Light Green
Green	Black	Light Blue
Yellow	White	Dark Red
Buff	Pink	Dark Red

From the colouring of other pieces they appear to have formed part of arabesque and florid ornaments in which many tints were intermingled.

It has been observed that there were no signs of the room in which the chief pavement was discovered having been warmed by means of a hypocaust; but that some parts of the villa were heated by this means, the number of fragments of flue-tiles discovered to the right of the line of rooms and near the foundation previously described can leave no doubt. In the wall too of another room

to the left of the four first opened, and subsequently partially uncovered, a flue-tile, nearly perfect, was discovered *in situ*, placed vertically. It was connected at base with a small flue, which about a yard from the wall and within the room became forked like the letter Y, but neither branch could be traced for more than about a yard. The sides and bottom of this flue were formed of rough pieces of chalk, and it was covered in with tiles of various shapes and sizes whose upper surface was level with the floor. One of them was as large as 2 feet by 1 foot 2 inches; others were $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches square. The tops of the flue-tiles were ornamented in various ways, most commonly by scoring the top with a toothed instrument while the clay was still soft. One specimen is remarkable from having the orifice for the escape of the hot air round, instead of the more usual form—square. The tops of other tiles were impressed by blocks of wood with zig-zag patterns cut upon them. The ornamentation of two specimens very nearly resembles that of some flue-tiles discovered in the neighbourhood of Reigate, which are described in the sixth volume of the Journal of the Archaeological Institute, and of which a perfect specimen has lately been presented to the British Museum. It is a pattern of very unusual occurrence; but another, consisting of stars and diamonds, is probably still more rare, though some fragments of tiles of nearly the same pattern were found in the Hartlip villa,^a and at Ridgewell, Essex.^b Beside flue-tiles there was a great number of fragments of the ordinary flange-tiles discovered, some of them applied, in the same manner as those in the Roman villa at Wheatley, Oxfordshire, for supporting the foundations. Many pieces of tiles in shape much resembling modern draining or ridge-tiles were also found.

Among them was a part of a mill-stone of coarse grit, probably the lower stone of a quern, which has afterwards been applied to the purposes of a whetstone, as the wearing away of the under-side testifies.

Among the miscellaneous objects discovered was a small spherical bell in bronze, neatly ornamented. It might from its form have been considered mediæval, but it was discovered in such a situation as to preclude the idea of its being otherwise than Roman. The incised pattern seems to have been cast upon it; at the bottom is a small heart in low relief, with its point towards the slit for the emission of the sound. The corresponding part on the other side has been broken off. Bells of similar shape, and the same character of ornamentation, have been found at Heydon and Chesterford, by the Honourable R. C. Neville, and at other places.^c The

^a Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. 8.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. XIV. p. 64.

^c *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. v. p. 56.

head of a hind or fawn, in bronze, was also found. The neck is cast hollow, and there is a small perforation at the top of the head, but for what purpose it was intended it is difficult to say. The following objects in bronze may also be enumerated. A small ligula or spoon, 4 inches long, used probably for extracting the contents of narrow-necked vessels. An elegant pin in bronze, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and beautifully patinated. Of these many fragments were brought to light, but twisted and bent into various shapes; from the regularity of form of one of them its curvature was probably intentional. Several embossed strips of bronze, which were probably ornamental parts of furniture. One is inlaid with ribs of silver or some white metal alternating with the brass. An instrument, constructed like a pair of very broad tweezers with serrated edges, but whether it has been used as an ornamental pendant or as an instrument for culinary or other purposes cannot be determined. A ring set with a piece of greenish glass of circular form, which appears to have been shaped in a mould. An enamelled fibula, which is unfortunately much decomposed. The ground of the outer circle is of red enamel, in which were inlaid eight rosettes of varied design and in different colours. The centre contains a small four-leaved flower in red and yellow on a blue ground. A part of a bronze armilla, a needle or bodkin 5 inches long, and many small articles of unknown use, may conclude the list.

Several pins in bone of the usual character were found; one of them with a nearly hemispherical end would seem to have combined the uses of a hairpin and earpick^a (*auriscalpium*), unless possibly it may been a stylus. A fragment of a hairpin in jet, with a faceted head which still completely retains its polish, and a fragment of another, were also discovered. They are not of very common occurrence, though one exactly similar is given in Lee's *Caerleon*.^b A portion of an armilla carved in Kimmeridge coal has lost its polish completely and assumed a brown tinge, while the fragment of another, in jet, remains as brilliant as ever. A disc of red pottery covered with black glaze, and with a circular mark at the centre on either side, and another in grey pottery and perforated, were also found. A number of these discs were exhibited at a meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1849, having been found in the neighbourhood of Colchester and elsewhere; but their purpose still remains to be ascertained.

A piece of window-glass of greenish hue and about three-sixteenths of an inch in

^a Si tibi morosa prurigine verminat auris

Arma damus tantis apta libidinibus.—Mart. Apophoreta.

^b Pl. xv. f. 10.

thickness is of considerable interest. The sheet of which this was the corner appears to have been manufactured by pouring the glass in a state of fusion upon a stone slab and flattening it out by repeated blows, as the lower surface is perfectly flat, though at the same time very rough, while the upper surface, though smooth, shows a series of indentations of a mallet or hammer.

Two knives of ordinary Roman types, the blade in each case about five inches long, were the only objects in iron worthy of notice.

We now come to the pottery, of which a vast number of fragments was collected, some of the more remarkable of which may be specified.

The first is of red clay covered with a red glaze in imitation of Samian, and ornamented with an incuse pattern of semicircles inclosing radial lines like the spokes of a wheel. These have evidently been impressed with a stamp while the clay was still moist, as it is bulged in behind the impressions. Another specimen is of a very similar pattern, but showing the whole wheel, and a third is of the same ware, but ornamented with a repetition of curved and grooved indentations. This species of pottery is of very unusual occurrence, and is considered by Mr. Roach Smith* as of provincial manufacture, and probably of late date. Some very similar specimens were found in the excavations at Richborough. Another fragment is of light-red clay, coloured black on both sides, and with a pattern in white slip running over it. Like some of the other specimens, it would appear to have emanated from the Northamptonshire potteries. Another is of light-red earth, coloured red on the inside and a dark chocolate on the outside, which is moulded to resemble leaves overlapping each other. The next is of the same material and colours, but the dark glaze has in places a metallic lustre. There is a single row of engrailing or engine-turning running round it, and a pattern in white above. The next that may be noticed is a fragment of a capacious vessel with its upper rim rebated for the reception of a lid. It is of pale ware, coloured red on both sides, which occasionally runs into black. It is engine-turned, as it has been termed, on the outside. The vessel of which it formed part must have been eleven inches in diameter, and have somewhat resembled in character that discovered at St. Alban's, and engraved at p. 331 of vol. iii. of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. Several other fragments of engine-turned ware both red and black were discovered, the patterns varying considerably in fineness. The method by which pottery was thus decorated does not seem to be satisfactorily ascertained. It would appear as if in some instances it had been produced by the application of a rosette or milling-tool to the vessels while still on the wheel; but in other cases this method, simple as it is, does not

* See his *Richborough, Reculver, and Lynne*, p. 73.

seem to have been employed, but another still simpler put in practice. This was probably as follows. The potter was provided with a small cylindrical instrument made square at one end, which he applied to the vessel while in slow rotation, leaving the tool free to turn round in his hand. The angles of its square part then produced indentations in the clay at regular intervals as the vessel and instrument revolved in contact like a wheel and pinion. One row of indentations having been completed, the position of the tool was changed, and as the part of the vessel to be ornamented was larger or smaller in diameter, so tools with the square of a larger or smaller size were employed.

Other specimens are formed of light-red or buff unglazed ware, decorated with straight and waved lines in red. Among these is the bottom of a bowl or patera, with a starlike figure in the centre, surrounded with a border of scrolls, and with a moulding round the exterior rim, where it turns upwards, also coloured red. Buff ware, painted with patterns in red of this kind, has been discovered at Headington and Woodperry, near Oxford. There is also a part of an open vase of coarse reddish-grey unglazed ware; the mouldings round which have been indented at intervals with the fingers of the potter, in the same way as the lower rims of many specimens of mediæval pottery are impressed. A fragment of a Samian mortarium, the bottom of which has been inlaid with coarse sand, and bears evidence of having long been used for trituration; fragments of vessels of apparently the same character, but of pseudo-Samian ware, their overlapping rims painted with a scroll-pattern in white; and fragments of mortaria of stone-coloured ware, the bottoms of which are thickly inlaid with fragments of quartz,—may also be mentioned.

Among the smaller and less remarkable pieces of pottery was a fragment of a dark chocolate-coloured cup of the hunting pattern, and a part of an indented vessel (type 37 of Akerman's Arch. Index), with a line of engine-turning round it. It was of chocolate colour, lined inside with red.

Other pieces consisted of grey ware, lightly scored in diamonds; pottery made of a dark clay, interspersed with fragments of shells, some pieces rudely scored with straight and wavy lines; a light stone-coloured ware, containing a large proportion of sand; grey ware, coloured black on the outside; stone-coloured, painted red; lips of ollæ, in grey ware; the bottom of a grey open pan scored with a looped star-shaped ornament, &c. &c.

The bottom of a vessel of brown glass, with a spiral of bluish-white running over it, is rather singular. It is slightly indented towards the centre, and shews where it was attached to the glass-blower's rod. From the position in which it was found it must

be of the same period as the other remains. Beside window-glass, this piece, and a part of the rim of a vessel of a light green colour, were all the glass that was discovered.

Of animal remains, a number of fragments of the horns of the *cervus elephas*, some boar's tusks, oyster-shells, and mussel-shells were the most remarkable.

We now come to the coins, of which a considerable number were found, ranging from the time of Domitian to the latest barbarous imitations of Roman coins. In the following list are included a few found near the other villa and at different times on Mr. Davis's estate:—

Family Coin.

POMPONIA or CLAUDIA. Much obliterated. Denarius.

Imperial.

NERO.

REV. SALUS. A seated figure. Denarius.

VESPASIAN.

S. C. Hope standing. 2nd brass.

DOMITIAN.

FORTUNAE AUGUSTI S. C. Fortune standing. 2nd brass.

MONETA AUGUSTI S. C. Moneta standing. 2nd brass.

NERVA.

FORTUNAE AUGUST. Fortune standing. 2nd brass.

HADRIAN.

Illegible. 1st brass.

HILARITAS P. R. S. C. Exergue, COS. III. Hilaritas standing with a cornucopiae and palm-branch between two children. 2nd brass.

AURELIUS.

SALUS AUG. S. C. Salus standing. 1st brass.

CARACALLA.

ABUNDANTIA AUG. Female standing. Silver.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

ROMAE AETERNAE. Roma Nicephora seated. 1st brass.

MAXIMINUS.

PAX AUGUSTI S. C. Peace standing. 1st brass.

VALERIAN.

PIETAS AUGG. Gallienus and Valerian at an altar. 3rd brass.

GALLIENUS.

- APOLLINI CONS. AUG. (EX. H.) A centaur. 3rd brass.
CONSERVAT. PIETAT. (EX. XII.) The Emperor raising a child. 3rd brass.
NEPTUNO CONS. AUG. (EX. N.) A sea-horse. 3rd brass.
SECURIT. PERPET. (H on field.) Security standing. 3rd brass.
VIRTUS. AUGG. A military figure. 3rd brass.

POSTUMUS.

- LAETITIA AUG. A galley. Plated.
MONETA AUG. Moneta standing. Billon.
SALUS AUG. Æsculapius standing. Billon.
VICTORIA AUG. Victory marching. Billon.

VICTORINUS.

- PIETAS AUG. A figure standing at an altar. 3rd brass.

TETRICUS PATER.

- FIDES MILITUM. A female with two standards. 3rd brass.
PAX AUG. Peace standing. (3) 3rd brass.
Illegible. A military figure. 3rd brass.

TETRICUS FILIUS.

- COMES AUG. A Victory. 3rd brass.
SPES AUGG. Hope walking. 3rd brass.
SPES PUBLICA. Hope standing. 3rd brass.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

- Obv.—DIVO CLAUDIO.
PIETAS AUG. A figure holding a cornucopiæ, and standing at an altar. 3rd brass.
VICTORIA AUG. Victory standing. 3rd brass.
VIRTUS AUG. A soldier standing. 3rd brass.

CARAUSIUS.

- PAX AUG. Peace standing. (2) 3rd brass.
Obliterated. 3rd brass.

CONSTANTIUS.

- MEMORIA FELIX. EX. PLN. An altar between two eagles. 2nd brass.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

- SOLI INVICTO COMITI. The Sun standing. (On the field TF. Exergue, PTR.)
3rd brass.
PROVIDENTIAE AUGG. Exergue, PA[~]RL. Prætorian Gateway. 3rd brass.
PROVIDENTIAE AUGG. EX. S CONST Prætorian Gateway. 3rd brass.
GENIO POP. ROM. (EX. PLN.) Genius standing. (2) 3rd brass.
GLORIA EXERCITUS. Two soldiers. (2) 3d brass.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

Figure as usual. Ex. TRP. 3rd brass.

Figure as usual. Ex. TRS. 3rd brass.

URBS ROMA.

Reverse of the Constantinopolis coins. 3rd brass.

CRISPUS.

BEATA TRANQUILLITAS. An altar inscribed VOTIS XX. (Ex. PTR.) (2) 3rd brass.

CONSTANS.

VICTORIAE DD. AUGG. Q. NN. Two Victories. (3) 3rd brass. (Ex. TRS.)

CONSTANTIUS II.

FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. (Ex. TRP.) A Phoenix. (3) 3rd brass.

FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. The Emperor drawing a captive from under a tree. 3rd brass.

FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. A soldier pursuing a fallen horseman. (2) 3rd brass.

GLORIA EXERCITUS. The labarum between two soldiers. (Ex. SLC.) (2) 3rd brass.

GLORIA EXERCITUS. A standard with the letter M between two soldiers. (Ex. TRS. —) 3rd brass.

GLORIA EXERCITUS. A standard between two soldiers. (Ex. TRS.) (2) 3rd brass.

MAGNENTIUS.

VICTORIAE DD. NN. (AUG. ET CAESS). Two Victories bearing a shield inscribed VOT. V. MULT. X. (2) 2nd brass.

FELICITAS REIPUBLICAE. (Ex. TRS.) (A. on fd.) The Emperor standing; in his right a Victory, in his left the labarum. 2nd brass.

VALENTINIAN I.

Illegible. 3rd brass.

VALENS.

SECURITAS REIPUBLICAE. A Victory. 3rd brass.

GRATIANUS.

Illegible. 3rd brass.

ARCADIUS.

VICTORIA AUGGG. Victory standing. (Ex. T CON.) 3rd brass.

BARBAROUS.

Six. One weighs only $2\frac{1}{4}$ grs. 3rd brass.

INCERTA.

Eleven. 3rd brass.

Hardly one of these offers anything remarkable in type or inscription; but one of the barbarous coins is curious from its having been struck on a small brass coin of Constantius II. with the legend VICTORIAE DD. AVGG. Q. NN. a part of which still remains legible amid the rude imitation of the Gloria Romanorum type of Magnentius. One of the barbarous coins was found immediately above the ornamental pavement, and gives a clue, though faint, to the period of the destruction of the villa.

The discovery of the sepulchral urns in 1837 has already been alluded to in connexion with this subject. It only remains to say that the spot from which they were disinterred is in a line with the part of the villa that has been excavated, and at a distance of about fifty yards. An engraving of the urns is given in the twenty-seventh volume of the *Archæologia*.

Believe me, My dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

JOHN EVANS.

To Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N.
&c. &c. &c.

VIII.—*Observations upon William Penn's Imprisonment in the Tower of London, A.D. 1668: by JOHN BRUCE, Esq., Treas. S.A. With some new Documents connected therewith, communicated by ROBERT LEMON, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read March 17, 1853.

MR. HEPWORTH DIXON'S very able and interesting biography of the great Quaker philanthropist, William Penn, contains the best account which has yet been published of the circumstances under which he was imprisoned in the Tower of London in the year 1668. That imprisonment was an event which exercised a most important influence upon the whole of Penn's after life. It attached him to the faith of Quakerism by the strong link of a public persecution suffered on its behalf, and the leisure which it afforded him sobered and matured his mind, and led to the production of a valuable addition to the library of practical Christianity. Up to the period of this imprisonment it seemed not impossible that under judicious treatment William Penn might have been won back to the church from which he had strayed. He had, indeed, openly avowed himself a Quaker, and had published his controversial pamphlets, entitled "Truth Exalted" and "The Guide Mistaken," but nothing had rendered his adoption of the tenets of "The Friends" too decided to be retreated from with honour. To cut off this retreat was the effect of his imprisonment as a state criminal in the Tower. It pointed him out to the world as one of the heads and leaders of a sect then generally contemned. It nailed his colours to his mast, to borrow a metaphor from the profession of his father, and bound him either to discredit himself by a public recantation under the influence of persecution, or to fight out the battle which was thus openly thrust upon him. Nor was the effect upon his co-religionists more injudicious than that upon himself. The followers of George Fox, disgraced by the wild profanities of such persons as Solomon Eccles, were popularly regarded with scorn. To single out the first man of education and station in the world who had joined their ranks, and to send him to the Tower as a state prisoner, for publishing an ill-considered and abstruse controversial pamphlet, gave importance to what had been previously in the general estimation merely contemptible; and involved the government in a dispute, in which, if it failed to produce recantation, the attempt was sure to recoil with great advantage to the public repu-

tation of both the prisoner and his sect. Viewing this imprisonment as a turning point, both in the personal history of William Penn and in the larger history of the religious community to which he attached himself, I lately received with much thankfulness from my friend and co-fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, Robert Lemon, Esq., of the State Paper Office, some valuable additional information respecting this imprisonment, and I trust it will not be displeasing to the Society of Antiquaries to listen to such an account of these new particulars as I am able to give.

In the year 1668 William Penn was in the twenty-fourth year of his age. From early youth his mind had been interested in subjects connected with religion, but it does not appear that he was ever brought into acquaintance with people who strove strictly to regulate their lives by the principles of Christianity, until about his sixteenth year. Certainly there was nothing of the kind amongst the persons who composed the household of the admiral, his father. It was in 1660, when Penn was a gentleman-commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, that he was first thrown in the way of people of exalted piety. From the character of his mind, and from what is continually taking place in similar instances, it may not unsafely be concluded that, whatever had been the distinctive creed connected with the first example of vehement religious feeling with which William Penn became intimately acquainted, he would probably have adopted it. Had he been thrown amongst the rapt and enthusiastic votaries of St. Francis or St. Dominic, his mind and affections were so entirely attuned to chime in with any lofty religious passion, that difficulties of doctrine would have been slurred over. The Church of Rome, and not the sect of Quakers, would have had the benefit of his courage and his zeal, and Pennsylvania, instead of justly priding herself upon her charter of universal freedom, might have been the humblest and the most obedient of the servants of the triple crown. But it was not the sublime ardour of a devoted monk, it was the simple piety of an obscure Quaker, which touched the heart of William Penn. In some mean quarter of the splendid Oxford, then just recovering from the effects of the civil war, Thomas Loe, "some time," says Anthony Wood,^a "a laick of Oxon, but then a most noted Quaker," was accustomed to hold religious assemblies. Penn, who had hitherto distinguished himself at the university principally by his great delight "in manly sports,"^b was led—it does not appear how—to attend one of these humble meetings. He went perhaps to scoff, but remained to pray. Truths which had affected him but lightly when enforced in a more stately formal manner, completely subdued him when uttered by a simple earnest teacher under circumstances probably of a little

^a Athenæ, iv. 645, ed. Bliss.

^b Ibid.

concealment and difficulty, in view of persecution, and under the consciousness of contempt. Penn's attendance at this conventicle led to his expulsion from the University. His father, a man full of the wisdom of the world, supposed that his son's conduct was a mere boyish freak, the result of the easiness of his nature and his peculiar susceptibility to external impressions. He sent him to the Continent. He placed him for the completion of his education under the celebrated Moses Amyrault at Saumur, and two years afterwards immersed him in the gaities of Paris, and excited his imagination by an acquaintance with the wonders of nature and art to be seen in Switzerland and Italy. At the end of four years Penn returned, conspicuous for elegance and manly beauty, and to all outward appearance as little of a Quaker as could be imagined. "Mr. Pen," says Pepys, "Sir William's son is come from France, and come to visit my wife; a most modish person; grown, she says, a fine gentleman." Four days afterwards the same superficial but invaluable sketcher records that the young beau had been to visit him. "I perceive," he says, "something of learning he hath got, but a great deal, if not too much, of the vanity of the French garb, and affected manner of speech and gait. I fear all real profit he hath made of his travel will signify little."^a Mr. Pepys, with his acute perception of the follies of other people, evidently could see nothing in young Penn but a mere fop. Penn's father, who was looking forward to a peerage as the reward of his naval services, was delighted with the success which had attended his parental management. He kept his son in town for several months, entered him as a student of Lincoln's Inn, took him for a few weeks on board the great channel fleet, equipped against the Dutch in 1665,^b and finally sent him to the south of Ireland to attend to family business in that country. A mutiny in the garrison of Carrickfergus, in the suppression of which young Penn distinguished himself, gave him an incipient desire towards the profession of arms—so entirely did he seem to have forgotten his Quakerism. This warlike inclination is commemorated by the observable circumstance, that at that time he had his portrait painted in the combined armour and military costume of the day. "It is a curious fact," as Mr. Dixon has well observed in his biography, "that the only genuine portrait of the great apostle of peace existing represents him armed and accoutred as a soldier."

All such feelings were banished by Penn's chancing (as we are accustomed to speak) to fall again in the way of Thomas Loe. Driven from Oxford, this devoted man had betaken himself to Ireland. He landed in Munster, and travelled on foot, "through great hardships,"^c from Cork to Ulster, preaching, as he went, throughout

^a Diary, August 26th and 30th, 1664.

^b Ibid. 25th April, 1665.

^c *Piety Promoted*, Part I. p. 85, edit. 1759.

the whole island, from south to north, in the streets of the towns and in the high-roads, wherever he could find an audience. He is described by the contemporary Quaker memorialists, in terms of affectionate remembrance, as having "had an excellent gift, sound and clear in the ministry, powerful in speech, sharp and quick in his understanding, and many people flocked after him. . . . His company was very desirable, being pleasant and sweet in conversation; and sympathising with his friends in affliction so accomplished him, that he could speak a word in due season."^a Penn met with him at Cork; former impressions were instantly renewed, and the heir-apparent to the prospective barony of Weymouth became the first-fruits of Loe's Irish mission. One cannot but believe that Penn would not have returned to Quakerism so easily, if the effects of the incident at Oxford had been so entirely eradicated as his foppery and his ambition to become a soldier seemed to indicate. The animation and excitement of the scenes in which he had mixed might have made him forget the solemn teaching of his spiritual guide; but it was only for a time. The arrow had entered his heart, and under the gayest costume and the brightest armour he had borne that about with him which, sooner or later, would assuredly remind him of better things.

From the time of his second meeting with Thomas Loe, Penn openly avowed himself to be a Quaker. In December, 1667, he returned to London, and Pepys records, to his evident satisfaction, that he had heard that the recent coxcomb had become a Quaker again, "or some very melancholy thing; that he cares for no company, nor comes into any, which," he charitably adds, "is a pleasant thing, after his being abroad so long."^b Penn's disappointed father viewed the result in a very different light. With the practical shrewdness of the men of his profession, he tried the young disciple upon one of the chief external difficulties of Quakerism—the question of the hat. He asked him, would he take off his hat to the king? After a time given to solitude and prayer, the young man answered in the negative. "The indignant admiral," says Mr. Dixon, "turned him out of doors."^c

Penn now devoted himself entirely to the promotion of the interests of his sect. He published the two pamphlets to which I have already alluded; the first being a startling and somewhat arrogant call to the examination of Quaker doctrines;^d the second an answer to a work by the Rev. Jonathan Clapham, rector of Wrampling-

^a *Piety Promoted*, Part I. p. 86, edit. 1759.

^b *Diary*, 29th December, 1667.

^c *Dixon's Life of Penn*, p. 42.

^d He assumes in this publication, which was greatly enlarged by him when in Newgate in 1671, the attitude of a prophet, and likens himself to Moses. He styles himself on the title-page "William Penn, whom divine love constrains in a holy contempt to trample on Egypt's glory, not fearing the king's wrath, having beheld the majesty of him who is invisible;" an allusion to Heb. xi. 27.

ham, in Norfolk. He also accompanied George Whitehead to a conference and disputation, held, for the purpose of explaining the Quaker doctrines, at a chapel in Spital Yard, of which the minister was the Rev. Thomas Vincent. It was out of this disputation that the imprisonment of William Penn arose. In treating of it his biographers seem to me to have fallen into two very natural mistakes. In the first place, they have attributed too great an importance to William Penn's share in the disputation: they have made him the hero of the incident. This is scarcely correct. Whitehead, an older but not a better soldier in the Quaker cause, took, as was natural, the lead of the younger disciple; and, if Vincent is to be believed, William Penn, although he occasionally volunteered a remark, distinctly stated, when pressed in the course of the disputation, that "he did not come thither to dispute, but left it to George Whitehead:"—a man, I may observe, every way competent to the task, and an arrangement certainly, under the circumstances, the most probable. The second mistake into which Penn's biographers have fallen arises out of their unacquaintance with the biography of Vincent. Not having inquired into his previous history, nor referred, as it would seem, to his own account of this very transaction, they take everything for granted that they find stated to the disparagement of a man who opposed their hero. They speak of him as "this man," and as "one Thomas Vincent," as if he were some unknown and insignificant person, and attribute to him actions and speeches which he himself has distinctly disavowed. In justice to a man who evidently possessed many admirable qualities, I would beg to be allowed to say a few words about Thomas Vincent.

His father, whose name was John, was born in the west of England. He was bred originally as a lawyer in Lincoln's Inn; but being a man of Puritan principles, and devoted to the study of theology, he exchanged the law for the church. This occurred during the ecclesiastical administration of Archbishop Laud, by whom Vincent was subjected to considerable persecution. The notice taken of him by the archbishop was so constant, and compelled him to remove from diocese to diocese so frequently, that of his numerous family of children it is said that no two were born in the same county. This cannot have been literally the case, if it be true, as we are told by Wood, who, however, in the case of a nonconformist is not the best authority, that Thomas Vincent, who was John Vincent's eldest son, and Nathaniel Vincent, who was his second son, were both born at Hertford. During the Civil War, when the Church of England was overthrown, John Vincent was rewarded for his past sufferings with the rich living of Sedgefield, in Durham. There he died, before the Restoration.* In the meantime, his son Thomas, born in

* Surtees, iii. 32. His appointment to Sedgefield was by the authority of the Parliament, and bore date 29th November, 1644.

1634, after spending some years at Westminster School and at the well-known free-school at Felstead, in Essex, the same in which Dr. Wallis, Isaac Barrow, and the three sons of Oliver Cromwell were educated, became, says Wood, in 1648, a student of Christ's Church, Oxford,—Penn's own college,—“by the favour of the parliamentary visitors then and there sitting.” In 1654 Vincent took his degree in arts with unusual credit. Shortly afterwards he received Presbyterian ordination, and was appointed minister of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, in the city of London, being at the same time chaplain to Robert Sydney, the second Earl of Leicester of that family. On the Restoration, and the passing of the St. Bartholomew Act, Thomas Vincent was ejected from his parish, and, like many others of the displaced ministers, sought a livelihood in tuition. He was occupied as an assistant at a school in Islington, when the city was visited with the great plague, in 1665. The disease increased with sudden and fearful rapidity. Many of the city clergy died; many continued at their dangerous posts throughout the visitation, and laboured in their parishes with most exemplary devotion; but it is also true that very many forsook their flocks and fled from the infected city when the plague was approaching its greatest height. “Fears there are amongst us,” to use the language of Vincent, “that within a while there will not be enough alive to bury the dead, and that the city of London will now be quite depopulated.” Several of the ministers recently dispossessed of livings in the city, seeing multitudes, not only of the people at large, but even of their own late congregations, crowd so fast into the grave and eternity, “who seemed,” as Vincent remarks, “to cry as they went for spiritual physicians; and perceiving the churches to be open, and pulpits to be open, and finding pamphlets flung about the streets of *pulpits to be let*, they judged,” continues Vincent, “that the law of God and nature did now dispense with, yea command, their preaching in public places, though the law of man (it is to be supposed in ordinary cases) did forbid them to do it.” Vincent, who was at this time little more than thirty years of age, not only determined to join his fellow-ministers in their resolution to preach to the dying citizens, in spite of the law, but even devoted himself to attendance upon the sick. Disregarding, as we are told, the intreaties of his friends, he returned among his old parishioners, visited them in their infected houses, stood by the beds of all who sent for him, braved dangers from which clergy, medical men, relations, nurses fled, and Sunday after Sunday joined his excluded brethren in preaching in some one of the deserted churches. Amongst the people who remained in London his preaching became so popular that it was a constant inquiry during the week where Vincent would preach on the following Sunday; and, wherever it was, multitudes flocked to hear

him.^a "Now," as he himself describes the very scene, "Now is there such a vast concourse of people to be found, that they [the ministers] cannot many times come near the pulpit doors for the press, but are forced to climb over the pews to them: and such a face is now to be seen in the assemblies as seldom was seen before in London—such eager looks, such open ears, such greedy attention, as if every word would be eaten which dropt from the mouths of the ministers. If you ever saw a drowning man catch at a rope, you may guess how eagerly many people did catch at the word."^b

When the plague subsided, Vincent established himself in a residence at Hoxton, within the parish of Shoreditch, and such was the universal respect in which he was held, that although his brother Nathaniel was subjected, like many other people, to long imprisonments and persecutions for his non-conformity, Thomas Vincent was, by common consent, overlooked. It is said of him that he committed the whole of the New Testament and the Psalms to memory, "not knowing," as he remarked, "but that they who had taken from him his pulpit and his cushion, might demand his Bible also." In Thomas Vincent Penn evidently encountered a man of equal energy with himself, and, although some of Vincent's expressions applied to the Quakers are such as in these days of better taste and more Christian feeling would occasion him regret, it is not for the benefit of humanity that in our admiration for the character of William Penn we should consider all those who opposed him to be mere vulgar fanatics, or overlook the philanthropy and courage, joined to the sincerest piety, which were the distinguishing characteristics of Thomas Vincent.

It is not my intention to detail the history of the controversy which occasioned the disputation between Vincent and Penn, or rather between Vincent and Whitehead, with Penn as an assistant: all that I will remark upon it is, that I have not seen any modern account of it which does not require reconsideration. It involved the accuracy of the Quaker views respecting the highest and most important doctrines of our faith,—the Trinity, the atonement, and justification by faith. Upon all these points Vincent accused Penn and his friends of maintaining opinions at variance with the views of Protestants; Penn in return attacked the accuracy of the views commonly entertained. Dissatisfied with the management and results of the discussion, which was conducted with great heat on both sides, Penn immediately afterwards wrote a pamphlet, in which he professed to refute the generally received view of the three doctrines to which I have alluded. This is the pamphlet ordinarily

^a Calamy, ii. 32.

^b God's Terrible Voice, p. 29.

known by its first title of "The Sandy Foundation shaken;"^a the pamphlet of which Pepys says, "I got my wife to read it to me, and I found it so well writ as I think it is too good for him ever to have writ it; and it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for everybody to read."^b

At the time when this book was published, the whole business of printing and publishing was regulated by a statute,^c which enacted that no person should presume to print any heretical, schismatical, or offensive book, or any book wherein any doctrine or opinion should be asserted which is contrary to Christian faith, or to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England. It was also enacted that no private person should print any book unless it were first entered with the Stationers' Company, and licensed, according to the subject matter; by the Lord Chancellor or one of the chief justices, if it were a legal book; by the Secretary of State, if it were an historical book; by the Earl Marshal, if it related to heraldry; or by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, if to divinity. A copy of the licence was to be printed, prefixed to the book itself. The number of master printers was limited to twenty, and that of master type-founders to four; and it was provided^d that "for the better discovering of printing in corners without license, the messengers of his Majesties chamber, by warrant under his Majesties sign manual, or under the hand of one of the Secretaries of State, or the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, should have power, with a constable, to search all houses where they shall suspect books or papers to be printed, bound, or stitched," and to seize unlicensed books, with the several offenders, and take them before a justice of peace, who was authorized to commit them for trial; and "in case the said searchers shall, upon their said search, find any booke or bookes, or part of bookes, unlicensed, which they shall suspect to contain matters therein contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or against the state and government, then upon such suspicion to seise upon such book or books, or part of book or books, and to bring the same unto the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, or to

^a The full title is "The Sandy Foundation Shaken; or, those so generally Believed and Applauded

DOCTRINES of

One God, subsisting in three distinct and separate Persons,	}	Refuted.
The impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction,		
The justification of impure persons by an imputative Righteousness,		

From the authority of Scripture Testimonies and Right Reason. By W. P. j. a Builder on that Foundation which cannot be moved. *But to us there is but one God the Father of all things*, 1 Cor. viii. 6. *Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity? He retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy*. Mic. vii. 18. *For I will not justify the wicked, &c.* Exod. xxiii. 7. London, printed in the year 1668."

^b Diary, 12th Feb. 1668-9.

^c 14 Car. II. cap. 33.

^d 14 Car. II. c. 33, sec. 14.

one of the Secretaries of State, who shall take such further course for the suppressing thereof as to them shall seeme fit."

I think we must conclude that this statute was never rigidly enforced. Certainly we meet with many books printed during this period which do not contain any entry of a licence. Of course the omission put both author and printer at the mercy of the authorities. William Penn could never have dreamt of applying for a licence for such a book as his *Sandy Foundation Shaken*; himself and his printer were, therefore, obnoxious to all the penalties of this statute. They might have been taken before a justice of the peace, committed to prison, and tried for a misdemeanor. But this was not the course adopted; and here it is that Mr. Lemon's new documents come to our aid. Penn's pamphlet was not merely unlicensed, nor was it confined to a defence of the Quaker tenets: it went further. It attacked the accuracy of the ordinarily entertained views of the most solemn and distinctive of the doctrines held by the great majority of Christians. Its publication occasioned an immediate and general outcry. It was contended that the divinity of the Saviour was called in question. The book was popularly declared to be blasphemous, and upon the supposition that it was so, some investigation respecting it was instituted by the Government. The printer was found out and called in question: Penn was no man to leave him in the lurch. He instantly came forward and surrendered himself to Lord Arlington, the principal Secretary of State. After some brief examination, Lord Arlington, of his own authority, committed Penn a close prisoner to the Tower; and John Derby, the printer of his pamphlet, to the Gate House. The Secretary reported these committals to the Council, at their next meeting, and the following entries on the Council Minutes shew clearly what was done:—

At the Court at Whitehall, the 16th of December, 1668.

Present: The King's Most Excell^t Ma^{ty}, &c. &c. &c.

The Right Hon^{ble} the Lord Arlington, His Ma^{ty}s Principall Secretary of State, having this day represented to His Ma^{ty} in Councill that William Penn, author of the blasphemous booke lately printed, intituled, "*The Sandy Foundation shaken, &c.*" had rendred himselfe unto his Lordship, and that thereupon, in order to His Ma^{ty}s service, he caused him to be committed to the Tower of London, and likewise that he had caused John Derby, who printed the said booke, to be sent prisoner to the Gate House; which His Ma^{ty} well approving of, did order that the said Lord Arlington be and he is hereby authorised and desired to give directions for the continuing the said Will. Penn and John Darby close prisoners in the respective places aforesaid, untill farther order.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 18th of December, 1668.

Present : The King's Most Excellent Ma^{tie}, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas William Penn hath by His Ma^{ties} particular command, signified by the Lord Arlington, Principall Secretary of State, been committed prisoner to your custody for composing and causing to be printed a blasphemous treatise, entituled, "The Sandy Foundation shaken, &c.;" and the said Lord Arlington having this day in Councill acquainted His Ma^{tie} therewith, His Ma^{ty} was pleased to approve well of what by the diligence of the said Lord Arlington had beene done therein, and accordingly to order that the said William Penn should remain and continue prisoner in yo^r custody. These are therefore in His Ma^{ties} name to charge and require you to keepe and detayne close prisoner within that His Ma^{ties} Tower of London the person of the said William Penn, untill His Ma^{ties} pleasure shall be farther signified. Dated the 18th day of Decembr, 1668.

(Signed)	DUKE OF ORMOND. ^a	EARL OF CARBERY. ^d
	LORD CHAMBERLAIN. ^b	LORD ASHLEY. ^e
	EARLE OF SANDWICH. ^c	LORD BERKELEY. ^f
	MR. SECRETARY TREVOR. ^g	

To the Lieu^t of the Tower.

The biographers of Penn attribute his committal to "some then at the helm of the Church," which has been supposed to be an allusion to the Bishop of London, Dr. Humphrey Henchman, appointed to that see in 1663. His imprisonment is consequently set down as an instance of clerical intolerance. It is, of course, possible that Lord Arlington may have been urged to interfere by some clerical authority, but it will be remarked that nothing of the kind appears on the Minutes of the Council. No ecclesiastical person was present at the meeting of Council in which Penn's imprisonment was ratified, nor at the other meeting in which the warrant was signed for its continuance. Upon the Council Minutes his committal to the Tower seems to have been an unpremeditated course adopted by Lord Arlington on the spur of the moment, and consequent upon Penn's probably unexpected surrender. All that is certain is, that there was a public outcry against

^a James first Duke of Ormond, 1682—1688, Lord Great Steward of the Household.

^b Edward second Earl of Manchester, 1642—1671, Lord Chamberlain.

^c Edward first Earl of Sandwich, 1660—1672.

^d Richard Earl of Carbery, Lord President of Wales.

^e Anthony first Lord Ashley, 1661—1672, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

^f John first Lord Berkeley of Stratton, 1658—1669.

^g Sir John Trevor succeeded Sir William Morice as Secretary of State on the 29th September, 1668.

the book; that inquiry was made about it by Lord Arlington; that Penn met the inquiry by voluntarily surrendering himself; that he was thereupon at once committed to the Tower, and that his committal was not for any offence under the statute for the regulation of printers, but for composing and printing a book presumed to be blasphemous.

The terrible, and peculiarly terrible because indefinite, offence of blasphemy has at all times been punishable by the law of England. It is an offence at the common law, and up to 1668 had not been dealt with by statute. Before the days of the Long Parliament cases of presumed blasphemy were frequently handled in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and in the Star Chamber. The Presbyterian party in the Long Parliament brought discredit upon itself during its temporary ascendancy by ordinances upon this subject, which it is scarcely possible to condemn too strongly. During the Protectorate the cases of Nayler, Fry, and Biddle, will be remembered with painful feelings. Under Charles II. the wishes of the King were opposed to all persecution for mere opinion, and the condition of his Court would have made anything of the kind highly offensive to public feeling. Penn's case was the first which occurred after the Restoration.

Penn's "Sandy Foundation" can only have been deemed blasphemous upon the supposition that it was blasphemy to call in question the popular notion entertained of the doctrine of the Trinity. Of scoffing or irreverence, which go to constitute our modern notion of the offence of blasphemy, there is nothing in the book. It is a weak and inconclusive production, but, with the exception of some hard words against Vincent, it is calm and argumentative; the work of a sober mind, seeking truth in reference to a sacred and deeply interesting subject. Unless it was desired to repress all inquiry in reference to the doctrine of the Trinity, by affixing to it the epithet of blasphemous, it does not appear that that word could in any proper sense be affixed to Penn's publication. At the same time it must be admitted, that, according to the popular notions and the views of the mere theological writers of that day, any doubt cast upon the doctrine of the Trinity, or any departure from the usual construction put upon the deep mysteries which that doctrine involves, was considered blasphemous, and, although the personal liberty of the writer was involved in the question, it is perfectly possible that the word may have been applied to Penn's book by Lord Arlington and the Council merely in the popular and not in any strict or legal sense.

Thomas Vincent was by no means disposed to acquiesce in Penn's account of the recent disputation, or in his views of the doctrines which had been discussed. On the publication of Penn's pamphlet Vincent instantly prepared an explanation and

refutation, entitled "The Foundation of God standeth sure."^a Vincent's pamphlet was put into the hands of Thomas Johnson, a printer. A licence seems to have been considered out of the question. Vincent argued, indeed, on that side which would be approved by the hierarchy and the government, but he was a non-conformist and out of favour. Thomas Johnson proceeded to put the work in type, and had set up half an octavo sheet, when rumour reached him that one of the King's messengers was about to search his premises. The composed type of the unlicensed work was carried off and hidden in the cellar of one William Burden. The informant of the Council was probably employed in Johnson's printing-office, for the hiding-place of the composed type was discovered, and a proof impression was taken from it, and laid before the Council. The Minute of the Council, which shows what course they took, runs as follows:—

At the Court at Whitehall, the 30th of December, 1668.

Present: The King's Most Excellent Ma^y, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas wee are informed that Thomas Johnson, printer, hath printed severall pages of a phamphlet written by one Vincent, in answer to a blasphemous booke, whereof William Penn was author, intituled "The Sandy Foundation shaken," without lycence or any lawfull authority, which pages were found in the cellar of one William Burden; these are, therefore, to will and require you forthwith to take into yo^r custody the bodys of the said Thomas Johnson and

^a "The foundation of God standeth Sure. Or, a Defence of those Fundamental and so generally believed
DOCTRINES of { The Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Divine Essence,
 { The satisfaction of Christ, the second Person of the real and Glorious Trinity, {
 { The Justification of the Ungodly by the imputed Righteousness of Christ, {
Against the cavils of W. P. J. a Quaker, in his pamphlet, intituled, "The Sandy Foundation shaken, &c." wherein his and the Quaker's hideous blasphemies, Socinian and damnably-heretical opinions, are discovered and refuted; W. P.'s ignorance, weakness, falsehoods, absurd arguings, and folly, is made manifest unto all; with a call unto all such who, in the simplicity of their hearts, have been deluded by the Quakers, to come out from amongst them.

"And an Exhortation to all Christians, as they desire their salvation, to beware of their damnable doctrines, and not to come near the tents of these enemies of Jesus Christ, lest they be swallowed up in their ruin.

"By Thomas Vincent, some time minister of Maudlins, Milk Street, London.

"1 John, v. 7.—For there are Three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are One.

"Matt. xx. 28.—The Son of man came to give his life a ransom for many.

"Rom. iv. 5.—To him that worketh not, but believeth in Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.

"London: Printed in the year 1668."

William Burden, and in your company bring them before this Board to answer the premises. Willing and requiring, &c., and to seize the copys of the said pamphlet, and to bring them to one of His Ma^{ty} principall Secretaryes of State. Dated the 30 Dec^r, 1668.

To Thomas Widdowes, one of the Messengers, &c.

I am enabled to exhibit what I cannot doubt is a printed proof copy of the portion of Vincent's pamphlet which had been set up in type; this copy of it, probably unique, having found its way into a curious collection of tracts of that period respecting the Quakers, which is now in the possession of Mr. Lemon. It contains the title-page, and six pages of the treatise. The author is described as "Thomas Vincent, sometime minister of Maudlin's, Milk Street, London." The imprint runs—"London, printed in the year 1668."

The proceeding of the Council in this case was grounded upon the want of licence, and took a course warranted by the statute for the regulation of printers. No proceeding was instituted against Vincent—why, it is not possible to tell. Let us hope it was out of respect for his general character and his recent exertions during the plague.

The printer and concealer of Vincent's pamphlet were not long detained in custody. The next entry on the Council Minutes furnished by Mr. Lemon runs as follows:—

At the Court at Whitehall, the 8th January, 1668-9.

Present: The King's Most Excellnt Ma^{ty}, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas Thomas Johnson, printer, and William Burden, were by warrant from this Board, of the 30th December last, committed to the custody of one of the messengers of His Ma^{ty} chamber, for printing and concealing several pages of an unlicensed pamphlett, written by one Vincent: Upon their humble peti^{ti}on this day read at the board, acknowledging their fault, and humbly imploring His Ma^{ty} pardon, It was ordered (His Ma^{ty} present in Councill) that the said Thomas Johnson and William Burthen be and they are hereby discharged from their restraint; and hereof the messenger in whose custody they are, is required to take notice, and sett them at liberty accordingly.

The printer of Penn's pamphlet was not so fortunate. He remained a close prisoner until the 29th January, 1668-9, when it appears from the following minute that some little liberty was given to him.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 29th of January, 1668-9.

Upon reading the petition of Joane Derby, wife of John Derby, printer, close prisoner in the Gatehouse, praying that her husband may be sett at liberty upon good and sufficient bayle, it was this day ordered that the keeper and deputy-keeper of the Gatehouse do, and they are hereby required to permitt and suffer the said John Derby to enjoy such benefitt and liberty of the prison as any other prisoners have (any former order for his close imprisonment notwithstanding), nevertheless they are to keepe him in safe custody till he shall be discharged by order of this board.

Finally on the 7th May, 1669, that is, after an imprisonment of nearly six months, he was set at liberty.

Upon reading this day at the board the humble petition of John Darby, printer, prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster, praying that His Ma^{ty} would be graciously pleased to commiserate his case, and to prevent the utter ruine of his family, to grant him a discharge from his tedious imprisonment; it was thought fitt, and accordingly ordered, His Ma^{ty} present in Council, that the said John Darby, giving sufficient security (whiche the clerke of His Ma^{ty} most Hon^{ble} Privy Councill is to take) to act nothing prejudiciall to His Ma^{ty} and his government, as also for his appearance, either at this board or before either of His Ma^{ty} principall secretaries of state, upon summons, be, and he is hereby discharged from his imprisonment, and hereof the keeper and deputy-keeper of the Gatehouse, Westm^r, and all others whom it may concerne, are required to take notice, and to sett him at liberty accordingly.

These proceedings against the printers, although commenced in conformity with the statute for the regulation of printers, cannot be distinguished, in their subsequent course, from the old authority exercised in the Star Chamber. The statute alluded to gave the Council no power of dealing at will with such cases. It prescribed that persons who disregarded the enacted provisions should be committed to prison by justices of peace, and be tried by a jury, in the ordinary way. Here we find the Council exercising an indefinite authority, committing, discharging, and binding over to future appearance at the Council board. This was the very authority which had been so much abused in the reign of Charles I.

Before the discharge of his printer, Vincent had published his pamphlet. It was newly set up in type, and printed without licence or printer's name, but probably with an understanding that it would not again be interfered with. Copies of it may be found in some of our principal libraries. I have been courteously allowed to examine the copy of it which is at Sion College. It gives an account of the writer's interviews and disputations with the Quakers, retorts their charges of rudeness and ill behaviour, and imputes to them a want of reverence and candour in the discussion of the solemn subjects which were in question. The fair conclusion seems to be,

that there was much irregularity on both sides. Vincent met the assertions of the Quakers with a syllogism. The Quakers would have nothing to do with logic, "putting by thrusts and dints of argument with diverting speeches." After a time, and on their refusing to leave the chapel when Vincent dismissed his congregation, their adversaries became irritated, and although Vincent denies that there was any striking, or that any one used the words "impudent villain," both which are asserted by Penn, it is quite clear that on the one hand the Quakers behaved indiscreetly and indecorously, and, on the other, that they received too little of that courtesy which should be extended to all conscientious inquirers.

We have now disposed of all the secondary parties to this incident. It remains to consider the course taken with the principal. Penn's situation during his long confinement in the Tower was certainly most trying, especially for a young man distinguished by activity of mind, and a love of athletic sports. Committed by the exercise of a mere arbitrary authority, not to an ordinary prison, but to the Tower; kept there month after month without open examination or opportunity of defence; placed in confinement, strict indeed, and yet not so strict but that he was well informed that he and his opinions had become the common talk, that he had been stigmatised in various books published against him by Dr. John Owen, the Rev. Thomas Danson, and others, and that in fact the world out of doors was ringing with accusations against him. In his own words, he was "most egregiously slander'd, revil'd, and defam'd, by pulpit, press, and talk, terming me," he says, "a blasphemer, seducer, Socinian, denying the divinity of Christ the Saviour, and what not." If imprisonment can try the strength of principles, Penn's were certainly now in the way of being put to the test. If his Quakerism could stand this trial, it might well be deemed fixed for ever.

His conduct on this occasion was worthy of his future fame. He had received great principles into his heart, and he clung to them. In his solitary chamber he turned his thoughts upon the true uses of adversity. He looked down with Quaker severity of judgment upon that false frivolous world from which he was excluded, and upwards to those brighter realms in which he anticipated his reward. In this mood he set himself to the composition of his "*No Cross no Crown*," a work of value even in its first brief form, in which it is a mere defence of Quaker dogmas, and, when ultimately enlarged and written upon the broad basis of our common Christianity, one of the most popular books of its kind. Several of Penn's biographers suppose that the whole work was written in the Tower, and consequently put forth the latter part of it, which consists of a collection of testimonies

to the vanity of the world and the moral benefits of affliction, as a marvellous exhibition of memory and acquaintance with books. This is a mistake. "No Cross no Crown" was altogether re-modelled and extended to at least three times its original size in the second edition, which was not published until 1682,* thirteen years after the author's release from the Tower. Besides, the first edition, although dated by his biographers in 1668, was really dated and published in 1669, and the much smaller collectoin of testimonies added to that edition may very well have been compiled after its author's release. There is nothing in the book itself, nor any evidence elsewhere, to lead to the conclusion that the first edition was either wholly written or was published whilst Penn was still in the Tower.

The hindrances to Penn's literary labours in the Tower were not many. "As I saw," he says, "very few, so I saw them but seldom." He excepts two persons who were his constant visitors. The first of them, it is pleasing to know, was his stern and disappointed father. Under the influence of other troubles, which have been well explained by Mr. Dixon, Sir William's heart relented towards the son whom he had so lately discarded, and greatly to his credit the old admiral became a petitioner to the King on his son's behalf. The nature of his petition and its results are learned from the next of Mr. Lemon's papers.

* The title of the first edition was "No Cross no Crown; or, several sober Reasons against Hat-honour, Titular Respects, You to a single Person, with the Apparel and Recreations of the Times: Being inconsistent with Scripture, Reason, and the Practice, as well of the best Heathens as the Holy Men and Women of all Generations; and consequently fantastick, impertinent, and sinfull. With Sixty-eight Testimonies of the most famous Persons of both former and latter Ages, for further confirmation. In Defence of the poor despised Quakers, against the Practice and objections of their Adversaries. By W. Penn, j. an humble Disciple, and patient Bearer of the Cross of Jesus.

"But Mordecai bowed not. Esth. iii. 2. Adam, where art thou? Gen. iii. 9. In like manner the women adorn themselves in modest apparel, not with brodered hair, &c. 1 Tim. ii. 9. Thy law is my meditation all the day. Psal. cxix. 97.

"Printed in the year 1669."

The ultimate title was very different, and shows the altered character of the book:—"No Cross, no Crown. A Discourse, showing the Nature and Discipline of the Holy Cross of Christ: and that the Denyal of Self, and Daily Bearing of Christ's Cross, is the alone way to the Rest and Kingdom of God. To which are added, the Living and Dying Testimonies of many Persons of Fame and Learning, both of Ancient and Modern Times, in favour of this Treatise. In Two Parts. By William Penn, Jun.

"And Jesus said unto his disciples; If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his Cross daily, and follow me. Luke ix. 23.

"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, &c. 1 Tim. iv. 7, 8."

The first edition of "No Cross no Crown" is not a very uncommon book. I was allowed, with great good will, to examine a copy of it in the admirable library at the Friends' meeting-house at Houndsditch.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 31st of March, 1669.

Present: The King's Most Excellent Ma^{ty}, &c. &c. &c.

The humble petition of Sir William Penn being this day read at the Board, setting forth that y^e late faylings of his son William Penn, by his departure from y^e Protestant religion, hath been and still is his very great affliction, the education which he bestowed on him being such as could have no tendency to those courses, by which he hath incurred His Ma^{ty}'s displeasure; yet forasmuch as the petitioner is not without hopes that God will in due time reclaime him, and being confident that he will act nothing to y^e prejudice of His Ma^{ty}'s Government, and being informed that he hath given reasonable good satisfaction to those worthy persons who were appointed to examine him, he most humbly prayed that His Ma^{ty} would be graciously pleased to give order for his liberty; which His Ma^{ty} having taken into consideration, and also that the booke printed and published by the said William Penn, intituled "*Sandy Foundations shaken, &c.*," conteyneth in it severall dangerous and blasphemous hæresies to y^e scandall of y^e Christian religion, did this day order and require the R^t Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London to take cognizance and to proceed to y^e examination and judging of the said hæreticall opinions, according to such rules and formes as belong to y^e Ecclesiasticall Court by the lawes of this kingdome, and in such manner as hath been formerly accustomed in like cases. And to that end it was further ordered by His Ma^{ty} that Sir John Robinson, Kn^t and Bar^t, Lieut^{nt} of y^e Tower of London, be, and he is hereby required freely to permit citations and processes to be served upon the said William Penn within y^e Tower of London, which shall be issued out by the Bishop of London in this cause of hæresy, and also to suffer y^e said William Penn in company of a keeper and sufficient guard to make his appearance in y^e consistory of y^e said Bishop.

Penn attributes to the bishop of London a strong feeling against him. "That which engaged him," he says, "to be warm in my persecution, was the credit some Presbyterian ministers had with him, and the mistake they improved against me of my denying the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity." Penn's biographers also set down to the bishop a rough speech, in which he expressed that he was resolved that Penn should either recant or die a prisoner. The authority for this speech is a rumour brought to Penn in the Tower by his servant. It seems to me that there is very little foundation for all this presumed hostility of the bishop of London. At any event, it is certain that when the bishop had Penn in his hands, turned over, as we see, by the King and Council to the tender mercies of the Consistory Court, he took no steps against him. By the kindness of Mr. Shephard, the registrar of the Bishop of London, whose liberality to all literary inquirers stands in honourable contrast to the opposite treatment they experience at the office of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, I am enabled to state that there is not the slightest trace on the Bishop's register of any proceedings whatever against Penn.

In the meantime an influence was growing up with Penn which ultimately procured him his release,—an influence which I am willing to attribute to the good temper and kindness of the King himself. The great popular outcry against Penn was occasioned by the notion that he had denied the Trinity and also the divinity of the Saviour. This was, to a certain extent, a mistake. Penn, like a true Quaker, had denied the separate existence of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but he had not denied that these three are one, or that they are one divine Being. The Quaker objection turns upon the strict formal accuracy of various words used in our creeds and elsewhere, in reference to this great mystery, such as “substance,” “person,” “essence,” “union,” and so forth. To discuss these points publicly with young Penn, either in the Consistory Court or elsewhere, would have been attended with many inconveniences. The King adopted another and a far more sensible course. He sent to him in the Tower one of his own chaplains, one of the best theologians and most skilful controversialists of his day, and left Penn and this often-selected champion of orthodoxy to discuss the recondite matter between them. The clergyman alluded to was the celebrated Stillingfleet, in whom were combined, as his works testify, the varied talents of the antiquary, the metaphysician, and the divine. His “*Irenicum*” and “*Origines sacrae*” had made his name known to the world whilst he himself was still the incumbent of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, a retreat well fitted for a studious man. Sir Harbottle Grimstone drew him into more active life by giving him the appointment of preacher at the Rolls, and procuring for him the lectureship at the Temple, whilst Lord Southampton presented him to the living of St. Andrew’s, Holborn. Settled in London, bishop Henchman employed his talents against various sectaries. It was he who procured Stillingfleet to write his defence of archbishop Laud’s conference with Fisher; and, in all the controversies of that time, Stillingfleet was looked up to as the invincible defender of the Church. It is no slight testimony to Penn’s reputation that such a man was selected to confer with him.

It is not perhaps usual, in papers read before this Society, to comment upon the moral and pictorial phases of the incidents which are brought before our notice. But in such an instance as the present it seems impossible to mention the meeting of these two celebrated men without pointing out what a striking scene it recalls. The place was probably one of those narrow cells, the walls of which are covered with inscribed memorials, as touching as they are indelible, of their former occupants. Here, throughout a tedious winter, had been found a man, young indeed in years, but prim, formal, and unfashionable in costume and appearance. His character is plainly written upon his soft and almost beautiful countenance, which evidently

betokens a large and generous heart, activity and courage the most unquestionable, and a disposition ever placid, hopeful, and cheerful. In his drear cell he occupies his lonely hours, and solaces his prison cares, not by registering his name and sorrows on his prison walls, but in the composition of a work calculated to strengthen his patience, and arm him to endurance by the loftiest of human motives.

After his imprisonment had been prolonged for many months, he is suddenly called upon to lay aside his pen, and the Bible, which probably constituted all his prison library. He rises from his work to receive an unexpected visitor. It is a man about ten years his senior, of presence almost as handsome and far more stately than his own. He is a dignified clergyman, dressed in the most approved clerical costume of the day—periwig and all. His name is familiar to everybody, and some people deem him reserved and haughty; but he is admired by Hale and Vaughan and Grimstone, the leading lawyers of the day, for the subtlety of his metaphysical intellect; he is listened to with delight by Matthew Henry for the largeness of his Christian charity; and, years before, his skill in controversy had earned for him from bishop Sanderson, himself the acutest of casuists, the epithet of "the great." In that melancholy chamber the sun may have shone on scenes more sad, but seldom on one more striking, than when these two men—so different, yet both so skilful and so honest—sat down quietly together to their first discussion.

Of the particulars of their conferences we know but little. No one can doubt that Penn received much kind and judicious advice. We may even conclude, without seeking to disparage the Quaker doctrine of the internal light, that his intellect was instructed on the points in difference by conversations with a man like Stillingfleet. He visited the Tower frequently. Penn puts him in that respect on a par with his father: "The one came," he says, "as my relation, the other, at the King's command, to endeavour my change of judgment: but, as I told him, and he told the King, that the Tower was the worst argument in the world to convince me, for, whoever was in the wrong, those who used force in religion could never be in the right; so neither the doctor's arguments," Penn continues, "nor his moving and interesting motives of the King's favour and preferment, at all prevailed; and I am glad I have the opportunity to own so publicly the great pains he took and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning, and kindness I will ever hold myself obliged."^a

This was written many years afterwards. Without imputing anything like deception to the writer, or supposing that Stillingfleet really induced him to abandon any

^a Trans. Hist. Soc. Pennsylv. iii. p. 239.

of his Quaker principles, it may well be supposed that such an adviser may have taught him how to shape his course and plead his cause to the greatest advantage; how best to explain away those assertions—injudicious I should call them at the least—which had excited against him so much popular dislike. It is clear that they discussed the subjects in dispute. Stillingfleet gave Penn some of his recent books. Penn studied them; and, after discussion and perusal, the result appeared in the immediate publication by Penn of a brief pamphlet entitled “Innocency with her open face, presented by way of Apology for the book entitled ‘The Sandy Foundation Shaken.’” In this pamphlet Penn stated, “That which I am credibly informed [probably by Stillingfleet] to be the greatest reason for my imprisonment, and that noise of blasphemy which hath pierced so many ears of late, is my denying the divinity of Christ, and divesting him of his eternal godhead, which most busily hath been suggested as well to those in authority as maliciously insinuated amongst the people.” He then goes on to admit and prove the divinity of the Saviour in the most ample manner, and by arguments the acuteness of some of which seems to me more like Stillingfleet than Penn. With respect to the errors charged against him in connection with the doctrine of Atonement, he distinctly relies for an answer upon Stillingfleet: “I am prevented,” he writes, “by a person whose reputation is generally great amongst the Protestants of these nations;” and then he proceeds to quote from Stillingfleet’s discourse upon Christ’s sufferings against Crellius. On Justification he says, “Here again the same Dr. Stillingfleet comes in to my relief,” and then he gives various further quotations from the same work. There follows an ample, and what would seem to readers unacquainted with verbal disputes, a very orthodox confession of his belief, and the pamphlet concludes with a vindication of himself for having written at all upon such subjects. The rude entertainment which he and his companion had met with from Vincent and his friends gave him, as he thought, a “just call” to interfere. “But, alas! how have those two or three extemporary sheets [his *Sandy Foundation Shaken*] been tost, tumbled, and torn on all hands, yea, aggravated to a monstrous design, even the subversion of the Christian religion, than which there could be nothing more repugnant to my principles and purpose; wherefore how very intemperate as well as unjust have all my adversaries been in their revilings, slanders, and defamations, using the most opprobrious terms of seducer, heretic, blasphemer, deceiver, Socinian, Pelagian, Simon Magus, impiously robbing Christ of his divinity, for whom the vengeance of the great day is reserved, &c. Nor have these things been whispered, but, in one book and pulpit after another, have more or less been thundered out against me, as if some bull had lately been arrived from Rome.” After some remarks upon the

alleged inconsistency of such conduct in the followers of a suffering Saviour, he concludes, speaking on behalf of his sect: "But if you are resolved severity shall take its course in this, our case can never change nor happiness abate, for no human edict can possibly deprive us of his glorious presence who is able to make the dismalest prisons so many receptacles of pleasure, and whose heavenly fellowship doth unspeakably replenish our solitary souls with divine consolation; by whose holy, meek, and harmless spirit I have been taught most freely to forgive, and not less earnestly to solicit the temporal and eternal good of all my adversaries. Farewell!"

The explanation of his opinions contained in his new pamphlet was probably judged to be as much as was likely to be obtained from the young would-be martyr. Stillingfleet reported favourably of the result of his conferences. The influence of Penn's father and that of the Duke of York were exerted on his behalf. The matter was again brought before the Council, and the following paper, which is the last of those furnished me by Mr. Lemon, explains the result:—

At the Court at Whitehall, the 28th of July, 1669.

Present: The King's Most Excellent Ma^y.

His Ma^y being pleased this day to declare in councill that he is satisfyed as well by y^e report of Dr. Stillingfleete, who was appointed to conferre with William Pen concerning some hereticall and blasphemous opinions he had vented, as by what the said William Pen hath since published in print, that he is sensible of the impiety and blasphemy of his said hereticall opinions, and that he doth recant and retract the same, did order, that the said William Penn be, and he is hereby released from his imprisonment in the Tower of London; whereof Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and his Deputy there, are to take notice and to cause him to be forthwith set at liberty and delivered to his father Sir William Pen.

Penn's imprisonment in the Tower lasted seven months and twelve days. Stillingfleet without the Tower would probably have brought him back to the Church; but that worst of arguments having been tried first, the prisoner left his cell a confirmed Quaker. In the year following Newgate was tried upon him, with no better success.

JOHN BRUCE.

IX.—*An Account of Excavations on the Site of some Ancient Potteries in the Western District of the New Forest: by JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

Read Jan. 13, 1853.

IN the spring of the past year I received information from my friend the Reverend J. Pemberton Bartlett of the discovery of what appeared to be the site of potteries during the Roman possession of Britain, in the western district of the New Forest. Mr. Bartlett, at the same time, forwarded a hamper of the shards which had been turned up, and also a number of vessels which he had succeeded in obtaining by excavations on the spot. These examples were exhibited to the Society, and excited much speculation among those members who had made the subject of Roman fictile ware their study. At a subsequent period I had the gratification of exploring the localities, and in the succeeding autumn I again paid a visit to the Forest in company with my friend, whose zeal for the acquisition of all possible intelligence regarding these remains I cannot too much commend. But I must give, in his own words, the particulars relating to the discovery, and his account of repeated visits to the spot, which were continued until the close of the past year.

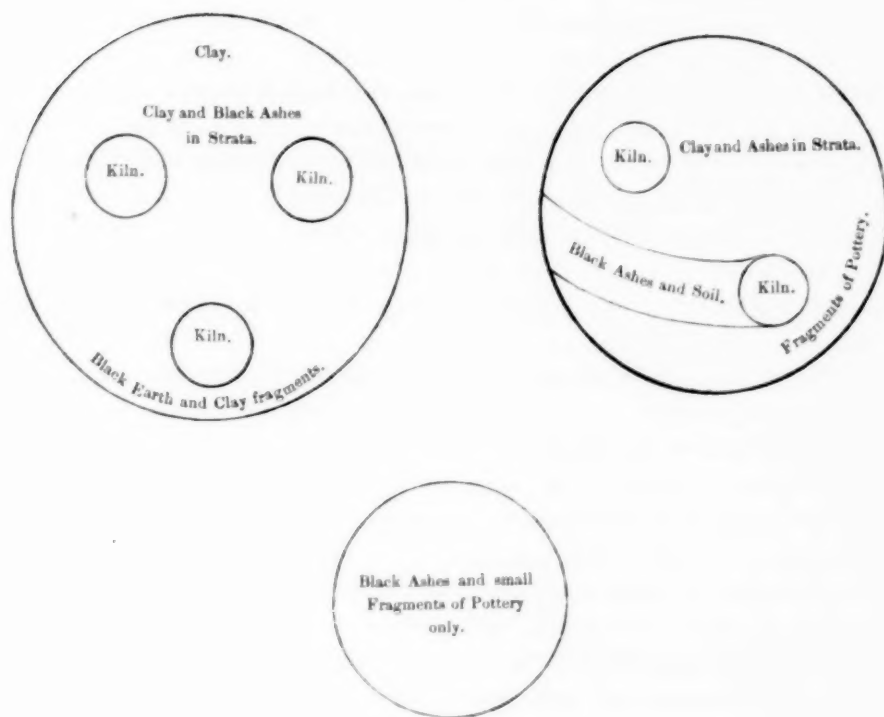
“DEAR MR. AKERMAN,

“Having at length concluded my excavations among the sites of the Romano-British potters’ kilns in the New Forest (at some of which you were present both in the summer and in the autumn), I am enabled to give you a detailed account of the results. It may not be uninteresting in the first place to mention that, had it not been for the previous operations of moles and rabbits, I should never have made the discovery of these interesting relics. In the spring of the present year, having heard that extensive draining operations were being carried on in the New Forest, I proceeded thither, with a view of inducing the workmen to keep a look-out for coins or other objects of antiquity likely to be found. Among some of the newly cast-up soil I speedily detected fragments of pottery, which instantly struck me as being Roman—an opinion you afterwards confirmed. Upon inquiring of the workmen if they had found anything like these pieces, one man, with evident surprise at my interest in such common-looking fragments, informed me that ‘at Crockkle’

there were plenty of shards like those I had in my hand. Upon making inquiries where the spot alluded to was, he directed me to a hill about a mile off, in the midst of the wooded part of the Forest, whither I instantly proceeded, and soon discovered what at first sight appeared to be three large depressed barrows. After searching among the grass and decayed fern, with which they were thickly covered, I found several mole-casts, which indeed consisted of numerous small pieces of pottery mingled with a fine, black, ash-like mould.

"Upon digging a few feet into the apex of one of the mounds, the spade brought to light innumerable fragments of different kinds of pottery, which convinced me I had discovered the site of a potter's kiln. Having obtained permission to explore from J. H. Cumberbatch, Esq. the Deputy Surveyor (from whom I have received every kindness), I at once commenced my researches, which were continued at intervals as my more important avocations allowed. It may be interesting to remark, that the name of the spot where the kilns were found,—viz. 'Crockkle,' as it is pronounced by the workmen,—is an evident corruption of Crock Hill; and, although the spot is not so named in either the Ordnance or the Forest Map, yet probably it is an ancient traditional name among the workmen and residents in the Forest, and had its origin from the fact of 'crops' being found here, the hill having at one time been the site of a Roman pottery.

"The circumference of the three mounds varied considerably. The largest was rather more than 100 yards, the next between 70 and 80 yards, while the third, which consisted chiefly of ashes, and small fragments of pottery, but bore no traces of a kiln, or any perfect specimens, was about 50 yards in circumference, and more depressed than either of the others. It was probably merely an accumulation of refuse ashes thrown from the kilns. Having opened a trench about three feet wide at the base, the workmen proceeded to undermine the artificial soil of which the mound was composed, and then by driving strong stakes into about two feet of ground at a time, the stakes being then pushed forward, the mass fell gently into the trench, yet in a sufficient body to prevent any perfect vessels that might be contained in it from breaking. By these means many good specimens were afterwards got out with the aid of a light garden prong, which would otherwise have been destroyed by spade or pickaxe.



"In the accompanying slight sketch of the ground plan, I have marked the relative position of the actual sites of the kilns, which were, I regret to say, only to be traced by a mass of crumbling red brick-like soil. The few bricks which were found at all perfect appeared to have been of a very rough description, probably moulded by the hand. Around the mass of decayed brickwork, we found in two of the kilns a circle of large sandstone boulders. I was in hopes that more perfect traces of the masonry of the kilns might have been discovered, similar to those brought to light by Mr. Artis in Northamptonshire, but in this I was disappointed. From the decayed state of the bricks of the kilns, the general coarseness of the pottery, and the fact that among the immense mass of fragments dug out not a single specimen was found with any figures or device (the only ornaments consisting of circles, lines, and dots variously arranged, burnt in with some white pigment, or indented with some tool), it would seem not probable that these kilns were of

an earlier date than those of Northamptonshire. The fragments, as also the more perfect vessels discovered around these kilns, consisted of the remains of variously shaped vases, urns, pateræ, mortaria, and one example of a fragment of a vessel which had probably been used as a colander, the bottom of which was perforated with small holes. I believe no specimen unique in form has been discovered.

"The most frequently occurring form, both in a perfect and in a fragmentary state, was a vase similar in shape to that found by Mr. Artis in Northamptonshire, and figured Plate X, No. 41, in your work the *Archæological Index*. These vessels were found of various sizes, from nine to three inches in height, and capable of containing from a quart to a gill in measure. They are for the most part made of a hard, dark, slatecoloured ware, which, when exposed to the action of fire, snaps and flies out like a flint, from whence I conjecture the clay was mixed with a large portion of silicious matter. Some of them, however, were formed of a red porous clay.

"The indentures in the sides of many of these vessels were evidently formed upon them when unbaked by the pressure of the thumb; in others, more neatly made, the indentations were probably formed by some instrument. A smooth, hard-polished stone which I found near one of the kilns, and which exactly fits some of the hollows in these vessels, was, I suspect, used for this purpose.

"I must not omit to mention here that some Roman coins were found at Cadnam, in the Forest, which were contained (as one of the men informed me) 'in just such a thumb-pot' as those I have described. A similar one was also dug up some years since in Winchester; and, what is still more interesting, I find in the volume of the *Archæological Institute's* proceedings, when they met at Sarum in 1849, a drawing of a vessel found in a barrow almost precisely similar to these discovered in the pottery. The following is the description given:—'A well-burnt urn of thin red pottery, found in a barrow south of Beckhampton, at the head of a skeleton lying at full-length; round it were nail-heads as if of a coffin; a few feet from this was a similar skeleton doubled up.' The height of this urn was $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, largest diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Now it happens curiously enough that I have an almost exactly similarly formed vessel, 'a well-burnt urn of thin red pottery.' In height it is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, while its largest diameter is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; a very trifling variation from the size of the one found in the barrow. I also find at p. 104 of the same volume the drawing of a fragment of a small ampulla, of somewhat coarse pottery, found in a barrow near Silbury Hill. This is precisely of the same shape as several specimens discovered in these kilns.

"A few years since a small vessel full of silver Roman coins was dug up in

Amberwood, only about half a mile from the site of the pottery. One of the workmen who saw it before it was (as is too often the case) broken to get at the contents, informed me that it was the exact shape, not of the 'thumb-pots' just described, but of a vessel of which we had found several nearly perfect specimens.

"From these coincidences, do you think it would be too much to infer that probably all these vessels were originally manufactured at the Forest pottery? But to return for a moment to the actual digging operations. I found, as you will remember, that the bases of the artificial mounds which surrounded the sites of the kilns were composed, for the most part, throughout about half of the circumference, of a mass of fragments of variously formed vessels. In working further we found that a mass of black ashy soil (occasionally varied by strata of a yellow putty-like clay) ran up to where once had been the brickwork of the kiln. In the black soil and the clay the most perfect vessels were for the most part discovered. On the opposite side the fragments were not so numerous, but a mass of the same stiff clay, sometimes to the depth of three feet, extended throughout the remainder of the mound.

"I was disappointed in my hope of finding any remains of tools used in the pottery, as Mr. Artis succeeded in doing in the Castor pottery. About a pound of much corroded sheet-lead, and a lump of iron (about half a pound in weight), but so corroded as to render it impossible to form an opinion as to its use, were, however, dug up near one of the kilns. I have found no more coins (save one that crumbled to pieces on being touched) than the three brass ones you saw when you visited the pottery, two of which you pronounced to be Hadrian's, the other of Victorinus.*

"While engaged in working the sites just described, one of the Forest woodmen reported that he had discovered another mound containing fragments about a mile off. Upon going to the spot I found a mound about 70 yards in circumference, which proved to be also the site of a pottery. Having since explored it, I found evident traces of two kilns; the brickwork, however, was in the same mouldering state as at the other pottery. Around these kilns I found several vessels differently shaped from any met with in the first pottery. The indented vessels before described were here also the commonest, both in a nearly perfect and a fragmentary state. I have not as yet been able to discover the clay of which the vessels were made in

* Two of these coins were exhibited to the Society on the 9th December last (see Proceedings, vol. II. p. 278). They are of Valens and of Julian the Apostate; and, if their deposit may in any way be connected with these kilns, they support the view I have taken as to the age of the latter.—J. Y. A.

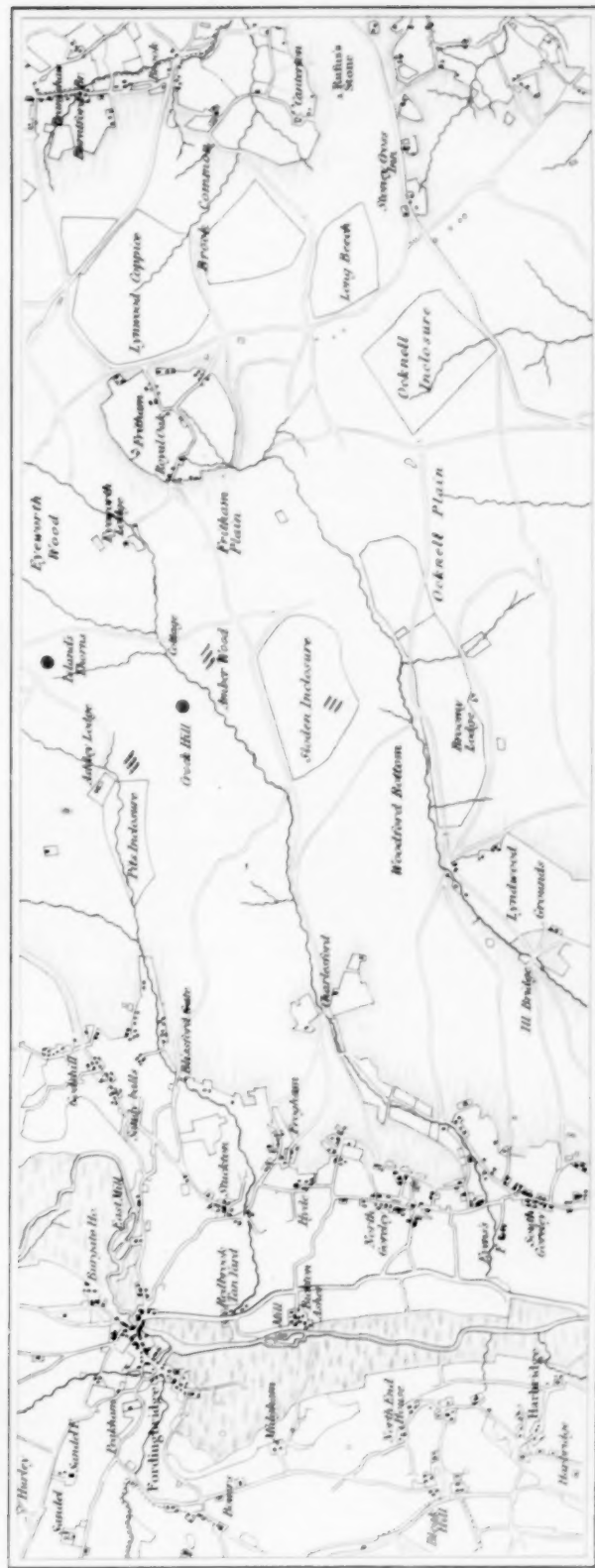
the immediate vicinity of the pottery, but most probably it is to be found somewhere in the Forest.

"J. PEMBERTON BARTLETT."

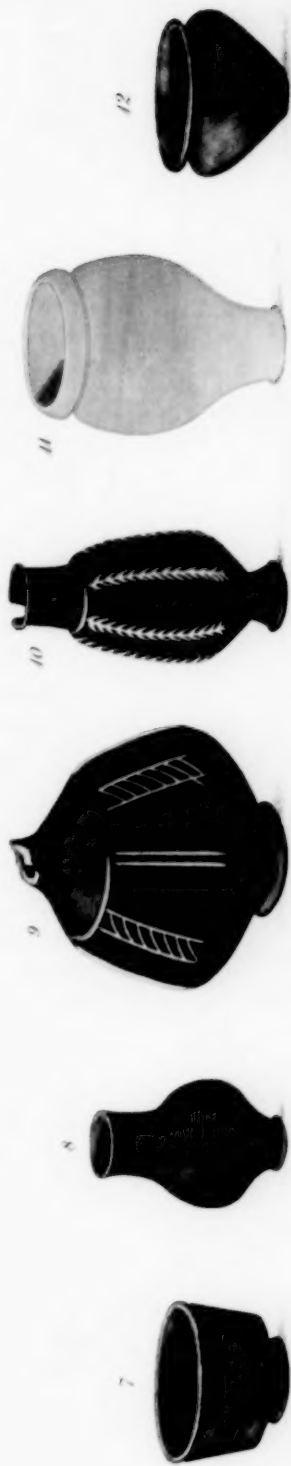
Such is Mr. Bartlett's account of the various excavations made under his directions, at several of which I was present. Of the vessels thus brought to light it may be observed that, with scarcely an exception, they appear to have been the rejected of the kilns, either rendered unsightly by over-baking, or cracked and unfit for use in consequence of their not withstanding the action of a strong fire. This over-baking has, in fact, imparted to many of them an appearance which caused some of our antiquaries at first to regard them with suspicion, since, owing to the vitrification of their surfaces, they have acquired a glaze, which has not hitherto been observed on Roman pottery. Thus changed, they have resisted decomposition, and appear as fresh as some of the ruder vessels of the present hour.

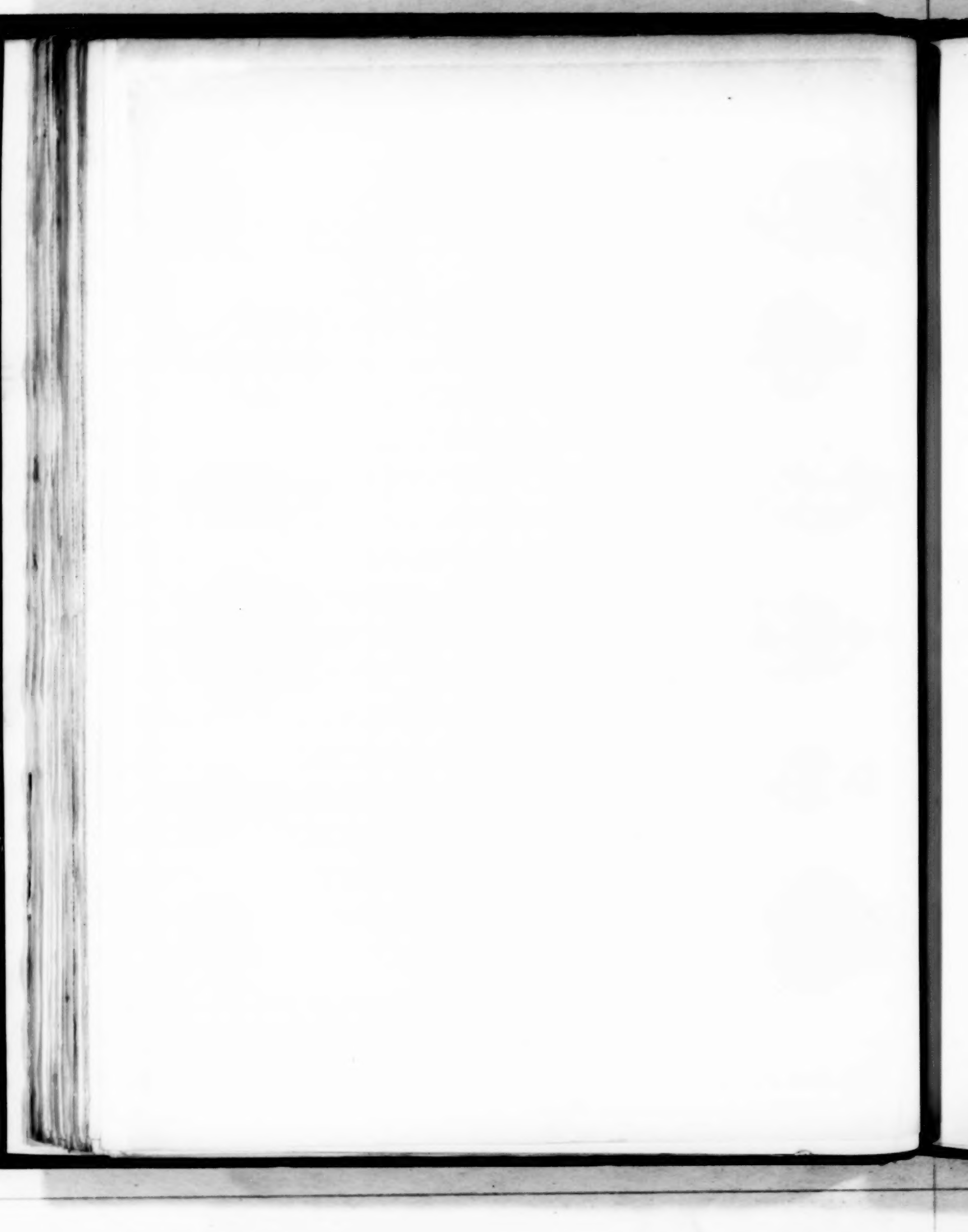
Diligent search was made for coins, or any objects which might assist us in forming an idea as to the age when these kilns were in operation; but in this we were doomed to disappointment. With the exception of two pieces of Hadrian, in large brass, and two small-brass coins of the lower empire, nothing was brought to light which could be regarded as affording a sufficient clue to their precise date. These coins are, nevertheless, of some value in the inquiry. Those of Hadrian, besides being much corroded, by lying in the earth, had evidently been for a long time in circulation, their devices being nearly obliterated by friction, and the portraits only just recognisable. The small-brass coins were also much corroded, and likewise bore marks of wear. One of them appears to be of Victorinus, who reigned in Gaul, and probably in Britain, from A.D. 265 to A.D. 267; but, bearing as it does evident traces of its having been long previously in circulation, we may safely conclude that it was lost on this spot at least as late as the end of the third century. How long these potteries continued to be used after this period must be left to conjecture; but it is not improbable that they existed here until the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans. Not a single fragment was found bearing a potter's name.

I cannot conclude these remarks without an observation or two on the localities in which these potteries are situated, and on the various specimens of fictile ware found in them. And first of the vases recovered: If the view I take of their probable age be incorrect, and they may be referred to a yet later period, we must still regard them as of Romano-British origin, distinguished by the characteristic features of the works of the former masters of the world, whose love of elegant form evidently triumphed over utility, and led them to prefer their most ordinary vessels of a shape



Map showing the situation of Ancient Potteries in the Western District of the New Forest, with examples of Pottery discovered in 1852.





which, for common purposes, must have been exceedingly inconvenient, and which offer a singular contrast to the earthen vessels of the mediæval period.

If we may assume that the vase found with the skeleton at Beckhampton was the produce of potteries of this district of Britain, it strongly favours the supposition that they were in operation at least as late as the end of the fourth century. The interment at Beckhampton is clearly of the Roman period, and subsequent to the days of Constantine, when the pagan rite of cremation fell into disuse. In the days of Theodosius, as appears by the words of Macrobius,^a it had been entirely abandoned.

With regard to the precise site of these potteries, the accompanying Map, Plate I. will afford the best indications. It will be seen that they were situated about midway between the town of Fordingbridge and the spot on which tradition says Rufus fell by the arrow of Tyrrell. In this map the places where perfect specimens of pottery were exhumed are distinguished by *circular patches of red*, and where shards only have been met with, by *lines of the same colour*.

During my last visit to the spot, we endeavoured to discover traces of the sites of dwellings in this district of the New Forest, to form which the Conqueror, it is said, depopulated towns and villages; but, as may be supposed, the physical features of this extensive tract of land have greatly changed in the lapse of nearly eight centuries, and the debris of the Forest has doubtless obliterated many traces which might have been detected in an unwooded district. There are several spots on which it seems highly probable that there were homesteads in ancient times, and these may have been the *Tuns* of the Saxon churls after the Conquest. I cannot help thinking that the old and inveterate error of supposing that *tun* signified originally a *town*, an error which is still repeated in our cyclopædias, has, to some extent, been committed by the chroniclers in their account of the depopulation of this district by William the Conqueror. In these Saxon *tuns*, or homesteads, were fierce dogs, which the despot would justly consider prejudicial to the deer he desired to preserve, and their removal would be the consequence. The cruel mutilation to which large dogs were subjected in those days is well known. On the other hand, we can scarcely suppose that these potteries existed in old times in a spot altogether isolated, remote from any considerable town, in an age when land-carriage was subject to many serious impediments. We may infer, rather, that they were not far distant from a populous neighbourhood, dispersed at a later period of our history. Here, however, we are again abandoned to conjecture, for which there is a wide field, when

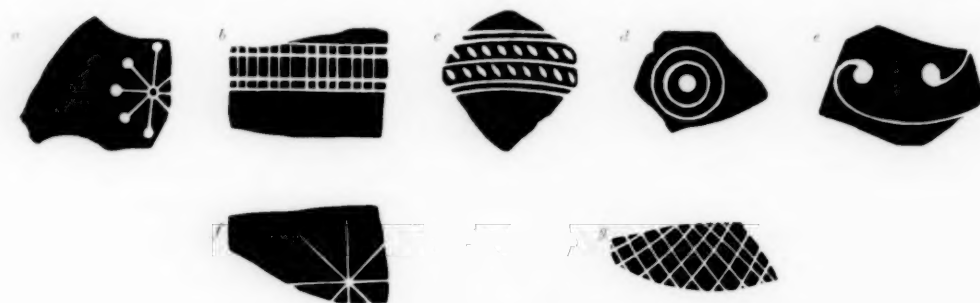
^a Saturnalia, vii. c.

we reflect that from the time of the departure of the Romans to the time of the Conqueror, is included nearly as long an interval as that from the Norman Conquest to the year of the discoveries under notice.

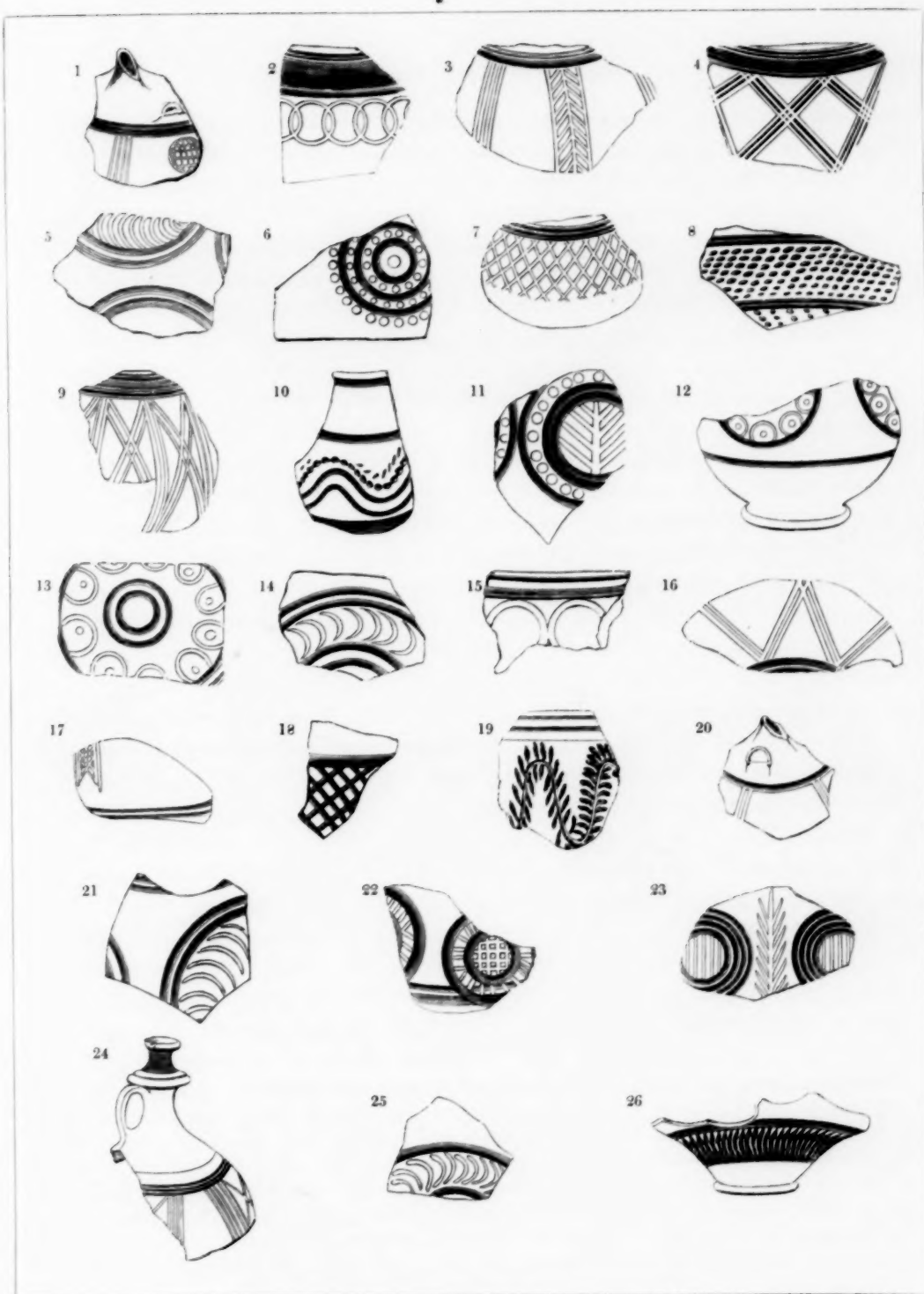
Since the foregoing was written, specimens of the vases have been submitted to the inspection of Sir Henry de la Beche, at the Museum of Practical Geology, who observes that from the distorted condition of some of them they must have been placed in the kiln in a comparatively soft state, and thus become injured either by want of proper adjustment in packing, or from some accidental pressure; a condition which would also account for the kind of cracking or separation of parts, should the firing have been suddenly applied or continued too long.

In the Plate are given representations of some of the more perfect specimens, while the various ornamental patterns selected from numerous fragments are delineated in the woodcuts.^a

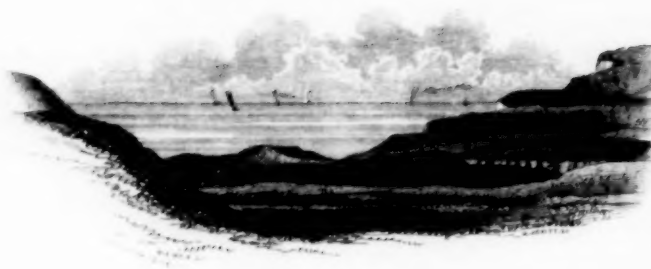
J. Y. AKERMAN.



^a Examples of the more perfect vessels are given in the Plate, and specimens of the ornamentation on the fragments represented in the Woodcuts. The first seven (*a to g*) are white on a dark ground; the others (1 to 26) are ornamented both with an indented pattern and white figures, which are represented in outline only.



FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY FROM ANCIENT KILNS IN THE NEW FOREST.



Tournoie de Belleville.

X.—*Account of Teutonic Remains, apparently Saxon, found near Dieppe. In a Letter from WILLIAM MICHAEL WYLIE, Esq. F.S.A. to JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

Read February 10, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR,

U. University Club, Jan. 23, 1853.

I am aware of the interest taken by many of our Fellows in all that tends to elucidate Teutonic antiquities, and therefore venture to request you will submit to their consideration these notes on an obscure and difficult branch of the subject.

When in France, during the last summer, I endeavoured to profit by so favourable an opportunity for observing the sepulchral remains of the Frankish race, and comparing them with those of the Saxon. It had not occurred to me that there also I might meet with traces of the Saxons, "that celebrated name in which," as Gibbon well writes, "we have a dear and domestic interest."^a From long habit, Saxon antiquities are apt to appear the exclusive attribute of our own land; yet we possess abundant evidence of the presence of the Saxons in Gaul. The old historians Saxo Grammaticus and Albert Cranzius allude to the expeditions of the Northern rovers in our seas, prior even to the Roman conquest. Without entering on this point, it is clear from more certain history, that at an early period^b the

^a Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. 25.

^b One of the earliest records of the expeditions of the Teuton pirates to the shores of Gaul is, perhaps, that of the Chauci under Gannascus, in the reign of Claudius; "levibus navigiis prædabundus, Gallorum maxime oram vastabat, non ignarus dices et inbelles esse."—Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. xi. c. 18.

The way to Gaul once marked out, that country became the frequent scene of predatory invasion, and

spoils of Britain and Gaul became such objects of attraction to the Saxons that, from the frequency of their invasions, these opposite coasts came to bear the name of "Littus Saxonicum,"^a as though it was even then by anticipation theirs. Hence the Roman emperors were at length forced to station troops and a naval force for the especial defence of these remote parts of their dominions.^b The Saxon *keols* would have had but little chance in a sea-fight when overtaken by the well-appointed Roman galleys; and a Theodosius might earn the title of "Saxonicus," and occasionally boast that —

———— "maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades."^c

Or,

———— "domito quod Saxone Tethys
Mitior."^d

But the plague was not stayed. We are apt when speaking of the "Littus Saxonicum," to confine our views to the southern and eastern shores of our own island; but we have seen the coasts of Armorica were also included in the term. Though the British Celt awaited in despair —

———— "dubiis venturum Saxona ventis,"^e

that Saxon, brought over as Gildas has it, "by the wings of oars and the arms of rowers, and sails swelling in the wind," yet also,

———— "Armoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat; cui pelle salum sulcare Britannum
Ludus; et assuto glaucum mare findere lembo."^f

If a foray failed in Britain, the richer coasts of opposite Gaul would compensate for the disappointment. "Præ ceteris hostibus Saxones timentur, ut repentini,"

we find Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. lamenting that "Gallicanos tractus *Franci et Saxones*, eisdem confines, quâ quisque erumpere potuit, terrâ vel mari, prædis acerbis incendiisque et captivorum funeribus hominum violabant."

^a "Atque ab his continuis Saxonum incursionibus litora Galliæ et Britanniae proxima cognominata fuere Saxonica."—Ph. Cluverius, *Germ. Ant. lib. i. c. 18.*

^b "Unde etiam dispositi fuere per Galliae Britanniaeque litora milites, cum præfectis, ad coercendas Saxonum depredationes, qui inde appellati sunt, teste Notitiâ Imperii, Comites litoris Saxonici per Britannias, et Tribuni cohortis Armoricae in litore Saxonico."—Ph. Cluverius, *Germ. Ant. lib. iii. c. 21.*

^c Claudian, viii. 31.

^d Ibid. xviii. 392.

^e Ibid. xxii. 255.

^f Sidonius Apollinaris, In Paneg. Aviti, 369.

is the avowal of the historian Ammianus Marcellinus.^a The light vessels of these pirates would easily ascend the large rivers; and when water failed, they were transported from one stream to another. Gibbon gives us as the result of his investigations, that "the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security. The pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine or the Rhine might descend with the rapid stream of the Rhone into the Mediterranean."^b A foray of this kind, in the reign of Valentinian, A.D. 370, seems to have been so formidable that the *comes* Nannius was forced to apply for aid to Severus, master-general of the infantry. The Saxons, overpowered by the Roman legions and betrayed by Roman treachery, fought to the last with the desperate valour of the race.^c

The Saxon rovers, whose deeds lived in illiterate Britain merely in the rude Celtic traditions, found authentic historians in the more polished inhabitants of Gaul. The pages of Sidonius Apollinaris would alone suffice to rescue their name from oblivion. A hasty sketch he gives of the pirates, in one of his letters, is far too forcible and graphic to pass by: "Hostis est omni hoste truculentior; improvisus aggreditur, prævisus elabatur; spernit objectos, sternit incautos; si sequatur, intercept; si fugiat, evadit. Ad hos exercent illos naufragia, non terrent. Est eis quædam cum discriminibus pelagi non notitia solum sed familiaritas."^d Such was the germ of the British navy.^e

Jornandes^f and Paullus Diaconus^g record the more honourable appearance of

^a Lib. xxviii. It may be as well to give the views of the French writers on this point: "Vers l'année 286 ils (les Saxons) commencèrent à investir les côtes de la Gaule septentrionale. En vain pour arrêter leurs incursions, Diocletien établit Carausius avec un flotte à Boulogne; les efforts mal dirigés de ce général furent inutiles; les Saxons continuèrent leurs pirateries pendant le reste du troisième siècle, et la moitié du suivant; mais, pendant l'autre moitié, ils formèrent des établissements si nombreux dans notre pays, qu'ils lui donnèrent leur nom, et dans la *Notice de l'Empire*, écrite sous Honorius et Arcadius, c'est-à-dire, entre les années 395 et 409, toute notre côte est appelée le Rivage Saxon."—Essais Historiques sur la ville de Caen, by M. l'Abbé de la Rue, vol. i. p. 24.

^b Decline and Fall, vol. iii. c. 25.

"The Saxons were ravaging the banks of the Rhine during Julian's reign."—Zosimus, lib. iii. c. 1.

^c Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 5. Also Orosius, "Valentinianus Saxones, gentem in Oceani littoribus et paludibus inuis sitam, virtute atque agilitate terribilem, periculosam Romanis finibus eruptionem magna mole meditantem, in ipsis Francorum finibus, oppressit."—Lib. vii. 32.

^d Sidon. Apoll. lib. viii. epis 6.

^e With this picture of the Saxon navy compare Zosimus' account of the army: "Σάξονες οἱ πάντων δὲ κατρεπώτατοι τῶν ἐκεῖσε νεμομένων βαρβάρων θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ κατρεπείῳ τῇ περὶ τὰς μάχας εἶναι νομίζοντες."—Zosimus, lib. iii. c. 6.

^f Jornandes, De Rebus Geticis.

^g De Gestis Rom. xv. 4.

Saxon valour on the battle-field of Chalons, A.D. 451, where they fought under Ætius, side by side with their kindred Goths, in defence of the Roman empire against Attila and his Huns. The appearance of these Saxon troops is very remarkable, if we may venture to suppose them drawn from the Saxon colony in the diocese of Bayeux.^a

A few years later, we find the Saxons again ravaging the coasts, and, under Odoacer,^b sailing up the Loire, and pillaging Angers.

These Saxon rovers, then, were but the prototypes of Rollo and his Normans. Their presence was not merely confined to the coast. We find them ascending rivers, sacking inland towns, present in the heart of Gaul at the great battles of the age, and even establishing colonies.^c It then becomes remarkable, not that we meet with Saxon remains in Gaul, but that we meet with so few.

It would be as hopeless to attempt to analyse the component tribes of the Saxons as it would be those of the Frankish confederation. With the dwellers on the banks of the Elbe were doubtless banded adventurers from still more northern regions, the progenitors of the hero-pirates who, centuries later, appear so prominent as the fierce vik-ings and Normans of romance and history. We can only apply to the class the generic name of Saxon which has been handed down to us. It seems probable enough that, had the Franks been somewhat less powerful, the Saxons would have established their dominion on each side of the channel, and the inhabitants of Gaul and Britain remained in the state of kindred amity exercised by their Celtic predecessors. But the contest was too unequal in numbers and position; and if, as is said, the Saxons did for a time maintain themselves in a part of the country which afterwards became Normandy, it could only have been through the sympathy of the native Gallo-Roman population, anxious to oppose one set of fierce invaders against another, under the specious name of allies.

^a "Beaucoup de Saxons vinrent s'établir en pêcheurs, laboureurs et marchands sur la côte de France, où on leur donna des terres incultes. La ville de Caen paraît leur devoir son origine. A la fin du sixième siècle, Félix, évêque de Nantes, en convertit un grand nombre au christianisme. On voit par des documents historiques, qu'ils avaient des colonies dans le Bessin, à l'embouchure de la Loire, et aux environs de Bayeux. Une partie de ce pays est appelé *Otlinga Saxonica* dans les *Capitulaires* de Charles-le-Chauve (*Recueil de Baluze*). Leurs irruptions en France ne cessèrent qu'au milieu du sixième siècle."—Hist. des Expéd. Marit. des Normands par Depping, ch. iv. Vide Gregory of Tours, v. 27, x. 9, for the Baiocassini or Saxons of Bayeux.

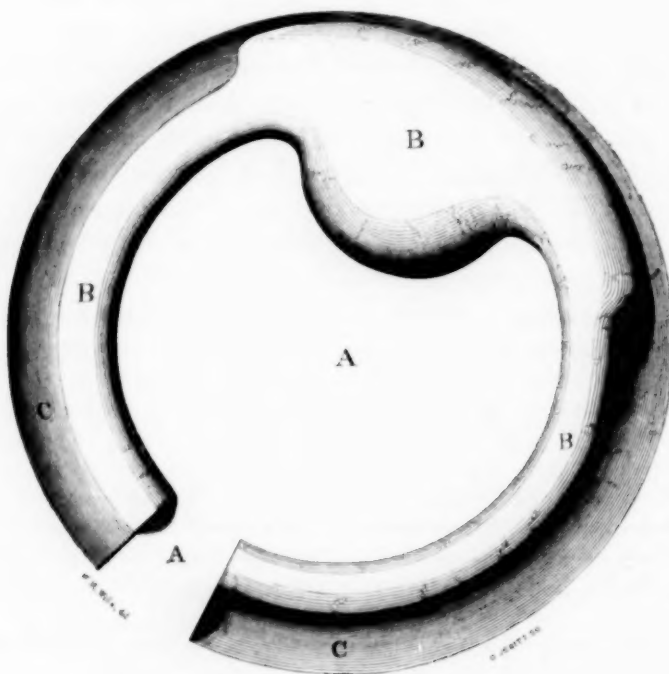
^b Gibbon is inclined to consider this Odoacer the same chieftain who afterwards became the first barbarian King of Italy.

^c Professor Leo, of Halle, observes in his treatise on "The local Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons," that "Diorvaldingatún and Totngatún, in the department of Boulogne, and Warnestún, near Terouenne, are, equally with the English *túnas*, of Saxon establishment on a Celto-Roman soil."—Part 2, sect. 1.

At a very early period, the antagonism of the Frank and the Saxon became apparent, and we may gather from the remarks of the chroniclers of the times that the characteristics of each race were as strongly marked fourteen hundred years ago as they are now. It seems probable that the "pressure from without" of the Saxons^a was the primary cause of the first emigration of those tribes, and among them the Sali, who afterwards entered the Frankish league, and possessed themselves by degrees of Gaul.

Charlemagne found the Saxons of inland Germany the most bitter opponents of his attempts at universal dominion, and they may, after all, be said rather to have been crushed than subdued by the consolidated forces of his empire. Even then, many a bold Saxon spirit took refuge in Scandinavia, and, impatient of wrongs, re-appeared, under the kindred Norman banner, to ravage France and embitter the last days of the aged Charlemagne.^b

The ancient mound and entrenchment known by the name of "La Tourniole de



A A, Entrance and Area. B B B, Mounds. C C, Fosse.

^a Cluverius. Zosimus, lib. iii. c. 6.

^b Decline and Fall, vol. vi. c. 49.

Belleville" is situate near the sea, on the slope of one of the ravines so common in this part of the coast, near Dieppe, and which runs from the sea upwards to the little village of Belleville.

La Tourniole is about four miles distant from Dieppe, and affords an object for a most interesting walk. The way, whether by the cliff, or the more circuitous route of the villages of Puys, Bracquemont, and Belleville, lies through the magnificent camp which the careful researches of M. Feret, of Dieppe, have shown to be of Gaulish origin. La Tourniole consists of a mound of considerable size, which was apparently adopted as the *point d'appui* of a strong circular entrenchment, added, perhaps, at a later period. Viewed on the outside, the mound and other earth-works would seem one work; but not so on the inside, where the mound projects considerably into the inclosed area beyond the embankment, which appears to have been built on to it. The entrance is on the west side, towards Dieppe. Except at this point, the camp is encircled by a fosse, more or less deep according to the inequalities of the ground, which slopes rapidly northward to the sea, eastward down the valley; and here, at the base of the mound, the fosse is only traced out, and can hardly be said to exist. On a very hasty admeasurement I found the diameter of the inclosed area to be about eighty-seven feet. The external circumference of the entrenchment was 480 feet, measuring in the bottom of the fosse. The inside slope of the mound was five feet in height, the outside thirty, for here the ravine falls rapidly away. On the south side towards Belleville, where the slope being slight the position is weaker, the fosse is forty-two feet wide at the top; the agger here being sixteen feet deep on the outward slope, eight on the inside.

This entrenchment has been partially examined by M. Feret. In the large mound he found a quantity of charred wood; some broken pottery much burnt, but very Saxon in appearance; the skull of a goat; a pair of very large iron shears about two feet in length; a charred wooden spoon, apparently of beech; a Roman tile; a perfectly plain round flat piece of dark green glass, about two and a half inches in diameter, and one and a quarter thick; and a very curious perforated amulet, of some polished stone, or more probably composition, of a dark brown colour, and convex form (*fig. 1*). The convex upper surface is divided into sections; some covered with oblique lines, others plain, with a zig-zag line down the centre. On the flat base (*fig. 2*) are a number of characters which yet remain to be deciphered. I believe they do not belong to the class of Danish or Saxon runes, and are perhaps not runes at all. They are said to have a certain affinity with Finnish characters, and decidedly resemble the strange emblems employed in the magic

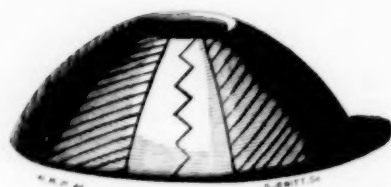


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

rites to which the people of Lapland were once addicted.^a The amulet^b had clearly been much worn, and the edges of certain chips and damages sustained were become quite smooth by use. M. Feret, whose experience and caution render his opinion valuable, considers the work Saxon, of a very early date, constructed as a stronghold during the period of Saxon forays on this coast, and preceding their probable occupation of the territory on the sea and the Seine, from Dieppe to Havre, known as the Pays de Caux. Whatever may have been the causes of the later additions of entrenchments, it seems pretty clear that the main mound was thrown up originally as the sepulchral tumulus of some Northern rover.

The site, within view of the sea, and easy of access from the shore, is just that which would have been selected for the purpose, and the contents of the tumulus afford strong indicia of a Saxon interment. That no vestiges remain of the body so interred is not an unfrequent occurrence, and for which various reasons can be assigned—moreover, the ground has not yet been thoroughly examined. On the other hand, the spot is not favourable for a fortification, and those who threw up the works were perhaps mainly influenced by the assistance afforded by the existing tumulus.

The name would indicate a still later occupation of the spot; but history is silent on the point, and so also, apparently, is tradition, for not even the peasants of the neighbouring hamlet of Bracquemont seemed to know the name of the Tourniole de Belleville. If tower or fort ever existed here in the middle ages, it probably was of wood, or if of other materials they have since been diligently removed. The earth-

^a Lapponia J. Schefferi, c. xi. p. 125. 1674.

^b That such things were worn as amulets we find often recorded in the Sagas. In Kormak's Saga, Steinar is described as tearing away from his rival Bersi an amulet, called "a life-stone," which he wore round his neck.

works remain perfect, except in two small spots where the peasants have coveted the soil for their gardens, and a covering of the finest turf is spread over this interesting memorial of a northern wanderer.

M. Feret's further examination in the inclosed area brought to light a number of flints placed together without mortar, and squared blocks of chalk, which would point out a prior Gaulish occupation of the ground—probably for the same sepulchral purpose. Nothing is more common than to find Saxons availing themselves of such spots. It is so far certain that in a small tumulus at the eastern end of the vast Gaulish barrow at Varangeville, examined by Mr. Gomonde, when I was present, the sepulchral chamber was found to have been formed of such masses of flint and squared blocks of chalk.

In another part of this country, on the other side of Dieppe, M. Feret's researches have furnished us with evidence of the presence of a race decidedly Teutonic, and, as it would seem, of the Saxon branch.

In 1840 were discovered the extensive remains of a Roman station at Sainte Marguerite, a village on the coast, some 8 miles from Dieppe on the Havre side. History, I believe, has not preserved the Roman name of Sainte Marguerite, yet M. Feret's limited investigations show it to have been a place of some importance. The *rosso antico*, oriental alabaster, and other precious decorative marbles, the mosaics, and carved ivory found here among the ruins of destroyed edifices, prove the progress not merely of Roman civilisation but of Roman magnificence, to these remote shores of Gaul.

On laying open the baths and hall of a villa, M. Feret was surprised to find remains of walls built right over the mosaic flooring, betokening some later and less classical occupancy than Roman. On proceeding to examine the villa garden, he found some twenty-eight skeletons carefully interred there, at no great depth from the surface, with the heads to the north. The relics found with them are, in their forms and ornamentation, so strongly indicative of Saxon taste, habits, and usages, that we may safely assume the invaders to have been of that race. The Roman, or Gallo-Roman station, that once existed here, probably fell like Anderida, and other towns on our own coast, before the fury of the sea-borne Saxons, ruthless as the Norsemen of a later period. The marauders would seem to have "killed and taken possession," inasmuch as we find such positive proofs of their living and dying here. Probably the fifth century witnessed this scene of violence.

I add a list of the principal relics, and sketches of such as seem more rare and likely to be of use for the purpose of comparison:—

A large and heavy axe-head.

A two-edged heavy sword, three feet long, and pointed.

A heavy short sword, twenty inches long, with single edge. The remains of a wooden sheath, covered with leather, are so conglomerated with the soil of the grave and corrosion of the weapon as to render an exact drawing of the mass, as it now exists, somewhat unintelligible.

Variety of spear heads.

Small goblet of delicate greenish glass, lined or fluted.

Small vessels of grey, black, and yellowish pottery, of rather fine material.

A pair of iron shears, about nine inches long, with brass ring to attach them to the belt.

Two small iron buckles, exactly like those found at Fairford.

Two bronze buckles. The small one (*fig. 3*) is of elegant design; the other (*fig. 4*), probably, is part of a belt-fastening. The upper part of the tongue bears a grotesque head within a zig-zag border, but it is nearly effaced.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

Two buckles of massive white metal, exactly resembling one found with Saxon arms, &c. at Strood, Kent. These are figured in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii.

Amulet bead of opaque variegated glass, with rudely-executed zig-zag pattern. A direct but coarse imitation of a Roman model.

Amulet bead (*fig. 5*) of opaque turquoise-coloured glass, and somewhat conical form, covered with a wavy pattern.

A fibula, richly designed, and ornamented with pale gems or ruby-coloured glass.

Finger-ring (*fig. 6*) of white metal, set with five garnets in a cluster, and bearing an indented pattern, like some found at Fairford.

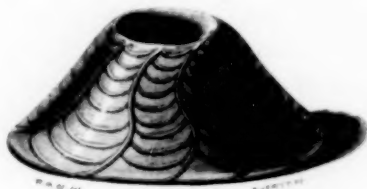


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

Ear-ring of white metal, set with garnets; and part of another.

Two belt-fastenings (*figs. 7, 8*), analogous to those found near the castrum at Lymne.^a

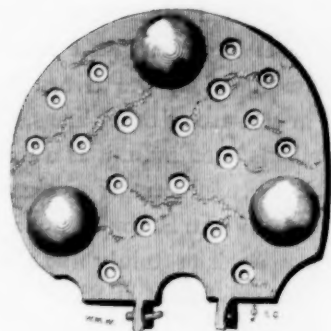


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

There is so close a resemblance between Frankish and Saxon arms and ornaments,^b that an inattentive observer might readily confound them. Such a one might ask, "Why do you attribute these remains at Sainte Marguerite to the Saxons, when others so similar are to be found in the indubitably Merovingian cemeteries of Douvrent, Londinières, Envermeu, and Lucy, within a distance of only fifteen miles?"

Not to enter, then, on the interesting subject of the possible early occupation of this part of Gaul by the Saxons, on which M. Feret, who has much evidence to

^a Antiquities of Richborough, p. 264.

^b It may be also worth observing that a glass vessel, almost the counterpart of the very curious one discovered at Fairford (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 79), was found by M. Feret in the Frankish graves at Douvrent. It was fortunately perfect, and may now be seen in the Rouen Museum. We have thus authenticated instances of these vessels being found in Saxon settlements in England, in those of the Franks on the Rhine, and also in those of the same people in Gaul, after they had slowly obtained possession of that country.

adduce in support of his views, has promised us a paper, a few brief observations may be permitted in addition to what has already been said on these relics from the graves of Sainte Marguerite. They are our only witnesses, and we must make them speak for themselves.

The arms found with the dead prove them to have been warriors, and yet neither the arrows nor the battleaxes of the Franks, so commonly met with in the graves at Londinières, Douvrent, &c., were found here. This fact alone is almost decisive against the interments being those of the Franks, for their graves, whether in France or on the borders of the Rhine, invariably disclose the dreaded *francisca*. This, indeed, seems to have been the weapon common to all the tribes of the Frankish confederation, however much they differed in the use of other arms.^a The *francisca* had a somewhat short wooden handle,^b and was used mainly as a missile, for which reason the edge was kept very sharp, the more effectually to cleave an antagonist's shield.^c The axe, at this period at least, was not the Saxon weapon; and the sole one found here, the sketch of which is before us, is certainly not adapted for the purpose of a missile. It is the counterpart of an axe found at Richborough, exhibited in this room by Mr. Akerman,^d and then stated by him to resemble "the axes in the hands of the figures in the Bayeux tapestry." This form of axe, too, has a strong analogy with those found in the Livonian graves, a circumstance which further tends to strengthen the idea of the Northern origin of its former owners.

The sword is the Saxon weapon so commonly found in England, double-edged, obtuse-pointed, heavy, and long; materially differing from the single-edged Frankish sword, or sabre, as the French antiquaries term it. "Dans les sépultures de la vallée de l'Eaulne," says M. Feret, "je ne sais pas qu'on ait rencontré une seule épée tranchante sur les deux côtés." "Il ne tranche que d'un côté; c'est le sabre."^e The sword of Childeric, the Merovingian prince, father of Clovis, found in his tomb at Tournay in 1653, was single-edged.^f

The difference is yet more striking when we compare the smaller weapon with the

^a Isidore, *Hisp. lib. xviii. c. vi.* Agathias, *lib. ii.*

^b Procopius, *De Bell. Goth. lib. ii. c. xxv.* Also, Sidonius Apollinaris, *Panegy. in Maj. Idem, "securibusque missilibus dextræ refertæ."*—*Lib. iv. epist. xx.*

^c The passage in Procopius just referred to explains the mode of fighting:—"τῶντον δὲ τὸν πέλεκυν ῥίπτοντες, ἀεὶ ἐκ σημείου ἐνός, εἰώθασιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὀρμῇ τὰς τε ἀσπίδας διαρρηγνύναι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αὐτοὺς κτείνειν."

^d *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 179.

^e Notes on "Les Sépultures de la Vallée de l'Eaulne." Par J. P. Feret, 1851.

^f *Anastasis Childerici.* Chifflet. Anvers, 1655.

corresponding Frankish war-knives; the historic "*cultri validi*," or "*seramasaxi*" of Gregory of Tours. I have never seen examples from Frankish graves of the peculiar form of that found at Sainte Marguerite; but it has a certain analogy with many knives found in England, and closely resembles one at least from the Saxon cemetery at Osengall in Kent.^a These are probably the weapons alluded to by Gotfridus Viterbiensis—

Ipse brevis gladius apud illos Saxo vocatur,
Unde sibi Saxo nomen peperisse vocatur.^b

At Sainte Marguerite, as in England, the chief weapon, however, seems to have been the simple spear. In this respect the Saxon has remarkably adhered to the traditions of his Teuton race; the *framea* of Tacitus^c we find still used at the battle of Hastings;^d and even now it has perhaps only tapered out into the form of the British bayonet.

The belt-fastening from Sainte Marguerite, as shown in *fig. 6*, is exceedingly delicate and ornamental in design. The usual shape of the Frankish belt-fastening is much more elongated and clumsy; sometimes it becomes even ponderous, and the enormous proportions of many preserved in the Museum at Rouen are quite remarkable.^e The workmanship, as also that of the fibula, evinces a much higher acquaintance with the art than any of the numerous examples from the early tombs of the Merovingians.

The fibula (*fig. 9*) is rather of a mixed character. Very similar examples occur in the Frankish graves at Selzen, near the Rhine, and also in our own Kentish barrows, though I believe never in the midland counties. The upper spiral-formed ornamentation of this example has somewhat of the Scandinavian cast.

Between the amulet beads of Sainte Marguerite and those from the neighbouring Merovingian cemeteries there is no resemblance.

^a Figured in the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. lviii. fig. 6.

^b "*Saxonum* quos ab armis ipsis usurpari solitis, nomen habere, memorat," &c. Alstorpius. Lipsiæ, 1757. On this point also see Widukind, lib. i. De Gest. Saxon.

^c "*Hastas*, vel, eorum vocabulo, *frameas* gerunt." Tacitus, de Mor. Germ.

^d "*Jactant cuspides*, ac *diversorum generum tela*." *Gesta Guglielmi ducis Normannorum*.

^e These ornamented belt-fastenings, of an elongated form, seemed to have served the Franks for purses also, and this may perhaps account for their magnitude. Beneath one, in a grave at Lucy, the Abbé Cochet found concealed five small Merovingian gold coins of the seventh century. The custom may have been borrowed from the Romans. Thus "*argentum in zonis habentes*."—Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. xxix. "*Zonæ se aureorum plenâ circumdedit*."—Suetonius, Vitell. c. xvi. Also Juvenal, sat. xiv. Plautus.



Fig. 9.

The pottery, certainly the two larger specimens, is Saxon rather than Frankish in form, and totally destitute of the usual Frankish ornamentation.

Our present experience only allows us to classify the early Teutonic antiquities of our own land as Anglo-Saxon; but all such Teutonic remains in France are not therefore to be pronounced solely Frankish because we are most familiar with that name. The French antiquaries have been making this very kind of blunder; and are now beginning to discover that in their zeal for their Gallo-Roman progenitors they have been wrongly ascribing to their epoch the remains of the Franks. The Frankish race or confederacy were doubtless the most powerful among the assailants of the Roman power in Gaul; but other Teutonic tribes have left behind them, in the graves they formed there, many a memorial which cannot fail to interest us, and assist inquiry into the history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire. There exists so close an analogy between the arms and ornaments of the cognate tribes of the Teuton race in general, and especially of those composing the Frankish and Saxon confederations, that mistakes may easily be induced. We can no more hope to understand antiquities than we can pictures by mere intuition. To arrive at any thing like a perception of the truth demands study and reflection, and an accurate observation of the points of difference and resemblance. In themselves antiquities are nothing; and it seems a contemptible matter to amass such things as mere curiosity lumber. But when the corroded spear, the glassy fabric of a vase, the first manifestation of decorative art in the enrichment of a fibula, is each found to tell its

simple tale, and point to its place in the page of history, the study of antiquities is seen to have a noble aim, and history will cherish such an assistant.

It is much to be regretted that we have not a closer intercourse with the archaeological societies of the continent. If this could be maintained, the opportunities would be afforded us of becoming acquainted with all their fresh discoveries, and more readily obtaining those illustrations which for the purposes of comparison are so exceedingly valuable. It is in vain to hope to progress in our pursuit without access to examples or good illustrations; and it is the want of these that daily induces so much difficulty and incorrectness in attempts to assign to antiquities their proper place and period.

I remain, my dear Sir, sincerely yours,

W. M. WYLIE.

To J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

XI.—*Farewell Address of GENERAL LUDLOW to the authorities of Vevay. Communicated by H. L. LONG, Esq., through J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read April 7, 1853.

AMONG the archives of the municipality at Vevay are a few notices respecting General Ludlow. He was under constant apprehension of assassination, and by way of protection he was allowed, if necessary, to ring a large bell, suspended in an old tower, since pulled down, which stood on the edge of the lake, at the south-east corner of the market-place, and which was his first habitation at Vevay. His last abode was the house adjoining the eastern gate of the town, which is still in perfect preservation, and well known as Ludlow's residence. Until within the last few years the original inscription remained over the door; it was carved on wood in the form of a scroll, and was given by the present possessor of the mansion to an Englishman travelling through Vevay, who represented himself as a descendant of Ludlow. Permission was accorded him by the government at Berne to erect a small guard-house in front of the house, in the lake, to watch any boat coming from Savoy; one attempt was made upon his person, as he was coming out of the church in which his ashes now repose, but was frustrated by the authorities of the town surrounding and protecting him. The permissions to ring the bell and to build the guard-house are recorded in the archives. There is also some memorandum relating to "Madame la Générale Ludlow," after his decease. On the 6th of June, 1832, having obtained the obliging permission of the syndic to search the records, I proceeded to their examination. One of the *conseil d'état*, and the secretary, whose name was Demontel, attended me; unfortunately there was no index, and the person belonging to the establishment, said to be the only man capable of laying his hand upon anything required, happened to be absent at Orbe. So I was left to hunt along the margin for the name of Ludlow,—a tedious and somewhat unprofitable task, for I could not find all I wanted. I have a friend here, at Lausanne, who has engaged to furnish me with some particulars respecting the investigations that followed the assassination of Lisle, in the Place St. François. It would be satisfactory to discover some remnant of the papers and correspondence of the regicides, but none are known to exist, and Ludlow's widow no doubt carried off all his literary remains when she left his mortal remains in the church of St. Martin. The epitaph she put up to him is well known: so are those of Broughton and Love. Interment in the church is no longer permitted, so the old Parliamentarians are likely to have it all to them-

selves, and to lie there undisturbed until the "crack of Doom," for we can hardly calculate upon churches being pulled down, and the dead pulled up, in this tranquil, neutralised, unchanging country.

I copied from the archives one record, Ludlow's farewell to his hospitable protectors, when, on the accession of William III. to the throne of England, he returned for a short time to his native land. This document appears to me curious as presenting a specimen of puritanical phraseology in a French dress, and I have carefully preserved, verbatim et literatim, the obsolete orthography of the original.

Adieu de M^r. le General Ludlow.

Le jeudi, 25 Juillet, 1689—estants assemblez à l'ord^{re} Mons^r le Banderet, Mess^{rs} les Con^{rs} de Toffray, De la Fontaine, Dufresne, De Montel, Moret, Du Tour, Command^{rs} Debolaz, Giguillac, Hugonin, Scanavin, et Moy.

Mon^r le General Ludlow, ayant fait l'honneur à ce corps de venir en prendre congé pour son depart d'Angleterre, a produit par escrit le complim^t cy apres.

Le Seig^r, qui m'a pourveu avec plusieurs autres de mes cōpagnons en mes souffrances et exil, pour sa parole et le temognage de Jesus, d'un asyle très favorable en nous conduisant par la colonne de feu soubz v^{re} benin et eq̃table gouvernem^t, m'appelant aujourd'hui p^r faire un tour en mon pays d'état, pour y faire mon possible p^r fortifier les mains de n^{re} Gedeon, q̃ est miraculeusem^t suscité p^r nous retirer de la maison de servitude, et demolir l'autel de Baal contre ceux q̃ prennent la querelle p^r luy et choisissent plustost de se mettre soubz l'ōbre de l'epine que soubz l'eq̃table domina^{on} du Roy de la Justice, et du prince de paix, ayant par la grande bonté de Dieu depuis plusieurs années, entre autres providences signalées et speciales, āplem^t et pleinem^t experimenté les effets de la très gracieuse reception à n^{re} j^{re} arrivée en cette ville, q̃ vous a plu de nous signifier par feu M^r le Banderet de Montel de v^{re} part, comme membre du meme corps avec vous, duquel Christ est le chef, je me trouve obligé devant que je parte p^r l'Angleterre, ignorant les choses q̃ m'y doivent arriver, de vous temogner ma très humble reconnaissance, vous suppliant de l'accepter jusques a ce que l'occasion se p^rte p^r le manifester plus reellement. Vous assurant qui je ne manqueray pas de s'en prevaloir pour vous faire voir a tous en general et a chacun en particulier que je seray toute ma vie comme obligés d'etre, Très honnorez Seig^r, votre très humble, très fidelle, et très obeissant serviteur, (Sign.) EDM. LUDLOWE.

Sur ce ord^r d'aller prendre congé de luy en corps, et s'il le souhaite luy donner un certificat au plus ample.

XII.—*The Annals of THOTHMES III., as derived from the Hieroglyphical Inscriptions.*
By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum.

Read April 7, 1853.

THE appearance of the magnificent work of the Chevalier Lepsius, containing such vast materials for the history of Egypt, a copy of which has been presented by the King of Prussia to the Society of Antiquaries, compels me to resume my labours upon the annals of the Egyptian monarch Thothmes III. I had formerly given some account of this reign, perhaps the most glorious for Egypt, in translating the so-called statistical inscription of Karnak;^a but the publication of four other inscriptions, all having relation to the same subject, renders it necessary to give a translation of the entire five, and to show their corresponding relation to each other. Unfortunately, the mutilation of this monument, either by the incursions of time, by fanatical heretics of the oldest period of Egypt itself, or by other barbarian hands, renders the text considerably interrupted and mutilated. Yet the careful reader can still follow the thread of the narrative, and study this fragment of the old colossal history of Central Asia and civilized Africa. Not, however, to dilate here too much on the historical portion, but merely warning the inquirer that the apparent incoherence is caused not so much by our ignorance of the hieroglyphical writing as by the great lacunæ in the text, and also observing that the philological observations are thrown into the notes, in order not to encumber the general remarks, I will proceed to the interpretation of these five inscriptions in their historical order. They occur on the wall of the great temple of the god Amen Ra, at Karnak, one of the quarters of Thebes, close to the granite sanctuary at Thebes, which was built by Thothmes III. and restored by the monarch Har-em-hebi, or Horus, of the eighteenth dynasty. About one half of the text is wanting.

[*Fragment. Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abth. iii. Bl. 31 b.*]

Left.

(l. 1.) the Horus, the living Sun, the powerful bull, crowned in Gam, the lord of diadems^b [whose kingdom has increased like the sun in heaven].

^a Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. New Series, vol. ii. p. 317 and foll.

^b For the uræus and vulture having this meaning, cf. M. H. Brugsch, Uebereinstimmung einer Hieroglyphischen Inschrift. 8vo, Berlin, 1849. Pl. i. No. iv.

(l. 2.) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the earth, the Sun placer of creation, the son of the Sun Thothmes (may he live for ever!)

(l. 3.) his majesty ordered to be placed on the wall the extent of his power^a

(l. 4.) a tablet at this temple which his majesty made for

(l. 5.) the expedition in her name, together with the tribute^b brought to her

(l. 6.) all [which] he gave to his father the Sun. On the day of the month Pharmuthi of the 22nd year of his reign [his majesty proceeded from the city]

(l. 7.) of Failu^c (Pelusium) in his first campaign to extend the

(l. 8.) frontiers of Egypt, through the victory^d [which his father, Amen Ra, had promised him],

(l. 9.) when it was the time appointed^e for [meeting]

(l. 10.) hastened^f each [to take . . . to]

(l. 11.) then the warriors^g and the men . . . who were

(l. 12.) in the fortress of the land of Sharuhana, commencing^h from Iuruta.

(l. 13.) continuing to the seats of the country coming to rebel against his majesty.ⁱ

On the 2nd of Pashons, the day of the festival of the royal crowns, at the

^a See the fourth inscription, horizontal line. Necht is "power." Anastasi Papyrus. In the Select Papyri, pl. lxiii. is a poem entitled *ha em s-gut nechtu nb Kam*, "the beginning of declaring the power of the lord of Egypt."

^b It is doubtful if the vase on two legs, Bunsen, 388, No. 88, should be read EN. The little vase replaces the syllable Chen (Champollion, Dict. p. 415) in *m chn* "within." It may be *mas*.

^c The flying nestling (Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 56) is replaced in the Papyrus of Ten-hesi (Brit. Mus.) by fig. 1, or fig. 2, in the places (Lepsius, Todt. xlvii. c. 125, c. 21, xlvi. c. 43), reading GAMI or GAI, in the sense of "to steal," *ꜥꜣꜣꜣ*. Hence this city may be GA-RU or GAMI-RU. Cf. Prisse, Mon. fo. Paris, 1847, p. 2, note.

^d The group *kn*, usually read "to conquer," on a tablet, Brit. Mus. p. 248, is determined by the rowing arms. Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 572-9. Apparently for KIN, to move.

^e *Ha nu*, the group is (Lepsius, Abth. K. Akad. Wissensch. Berlin, 4to, 1851, s. 42, note), Coptic *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ* (fig. 148), and means, according to its determinatives, "order, rank, time, water."

^f (Fig. 4), perhaps *hag*, *ꜥꜣꜣꜣ* to "compel."

^g The group here should be restored *mahur* "the warriors." See Rosellini, M. R. cii. for the *mahuri* of the Khita. On one of the Alexandrian obelisks (Burton, Exc. Hier. xl.) Rameses II. is called "the warrior," *mahur*, determined by a youth, (as, be it observed, is also the word *Kelasher* on Lady Tennyson's papyrus) of Anta or Anaitis. Burton, Exc. Hier. pl. xl. It is probably the Chaldee *ꜥꜣ*.

^h *S[t]* *shaa* with the antithetic *neferi*. See Trans. Royal Soc. Lit. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 221, note 13.

ⁱ (Fig. 3) *shabt*, sometimes written *basht*; cf. Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 32, l. 19; generally applied to hostile lands; cf. l. 29, *heru*; "besides, numerous."

- (l. 14.) fortress made by the ruler of Katatu
 (l. 15.) on the 5th of Pashons entering the place in triumph
 (l. 16.) with defence, and justification to overthrow the vile enemy, to extend
 (l. 17.) the confines of Egypt, as his father, Amen Ra, [had predicted to him.]
 (l. 18.) Taking^a his way on the 16th of Pashons of the 23rd year to the fortress of
 Iuhem, proceeded
 (l. 19.) discoursing^b with his brave troops to tell the vile [enemies]
 (l. 20.) of Kateshu to come and enter Maketa; it is [built]
 (l. 21.) as the place of the hours. He reviewed^c for him the chiefs of the coun-
 tries [who were]
 (l. 22.) of the race of Egypt,^d with the princes of Naharaina [of the Khita],
 (l. 23.) the Charui, the Katu, their horses and their army.
 (l. 24.) inasmuch^e as he has said, for I stand at^f [the fortress which is]
 (l. 25.) in Maketa I have told you^g
 (l. 26.) they say in reply^h to his majesty, whatⁱ is it like going on this ro-

^a (Fig. 5) *ti* "to take;" Champollion, Notice, p. 105, *ti m' pch tu nb*, "takes by his power all countries."

^b Read *net* or *neg* (Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 587. No. 27); but, as the little vase is often suffixed, perhaps rather GN. It is equal to fig. 6. Rosellini, M. C. lviii. 6. See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 364, note d. M. De Rougé (*Mémoire sur le Tombeau d'Achmes*, p. 63) reads ANET. See Champollion, Notice, p. 427. An office is called *gne-ut ru akar gut-hr n sutn* (Champoll. Notice, p. 492), quick-mouthed, clever, saying what pleased the king.

^c (Fig. 7) *shiu*.—Cf. Karnak Tablet, l. 9. This phrase again occurs, as the Papyrus roll is sometimes determinative of ideas connected with books, such as *rech*, "to know" or reckon, *ap*, "to add," &c. probably the Coptic *COOYZE*, to verify, collect, &c.

^d Probably out of the waters of Egypt, i. e. all the chiefs from the "torrens Ægypti," which was at the frontier; yet the three water lines are placed for blood or issue, as in the titles of prince, Shaemgam, at Beitoually "the divine issue." Champ. Mon. Pl. lxxi.; Rosellini, M. R. No. lxxiv.; Champollion, Mon. Notice, p. 391, "the princess issue of his body."

^e *Hna shar*, "and" or "with" the shar of Naharaina. Shar is perhaps for שר, *sar*, "a prince," such Aramaean words being introduced; as, at later times, *Sris*, for Eunuch.—Proscynema of Persians at Kosseir Road, Burton, Ex. Hier. pl. xxiv.

^f (Fig. 8) *r-nti*, "now," commences epistolary correspondence. *Su* is the detached pronoun of the third person masculine.—Cf. Champollion, Gr. p. 66.


^g Or *Gut ta na*, "tell ye to me." There is always an ambiguity about these phrases. Generally the nominative is close to the verb, and the accusative most remote, but in some sentences the *N* of the preterite seems to show that the accusative is nearest beside the verb; *gut* or *gu* has either the preposition SHR (Champollion, Gr. p. 180), or N (Ibid. 182, 311).

^h *Cheft*, here probably "facing," as M. De Rougé, *Mémoire*, p. 69; and following from the place (Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. bl. 31), and that cited by M. De Rougé (*Rév. Arch.* 1853, p. 653), it evidently means "inclusive."

ⁱ (Fig. 9) *ach* or *cha*. Champollion, *Lettres Ecrites*, p. 347, reads "turn" in the speech of the birds.

- (l. 27.) -ad which leads along to^a It has been
 (l. 28.) say the enemy let stand on
 (l. 29.) supernumerary,^b when the horse does not go behind
 (l. 30.) men also. We were
 (l. 31.) belonging, to fight^c the enemy standing at the main^d road^e
 (l. 32.) of Naaruna; they will not fight. Now [as to the course] of the roads;^f
 (l. 33.) one of the roads, it leads us
 (l. 34.) of the land of Taanaka,^g the other leads to
 (l. 35.) the north road of Gevta. Let us^h proceed to the north [of] Maketa.
 (l. 36.) Howⁱ will our mighty lord march on [the way] his heart.
 Were
 (l. 37.) us go on that winding road. Were
 (l. 38.) the guides to overthrow [the vile enemy.]
 (l. 39.) they had spoke as before; the words of his majesty, I am^k
 (l. 40.) the beloved of the Sun, praised by Amen, renewed by the Sun


Apparently the form of a verb, "they as *how* go?" interrogative. Cf. Papyrus Sallier, No 3; Select Papyri, pl. xxxv. l. 5, 10. *Who* is he like going on this road. Which, what.

^a *Au tu*, has been, or was. The paddle (fig. 10) is not *tu*, as hitherto read, but *chr*. A little tablet (Brit. Mus. No. 246) gives (figs. 11, 12) *hr-er chr* for the usual  feast of the dead. Lepsius, Einleit. s. x.; Cf. Brugsch, Lib. Met. 16; Lepsius, Todt.; and Tablet, Brit. Mus. 162; Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. pl. xvii. l. 2.—Hence it is not *ma-tu*, but *ma cheru*; perhaps the origin of the Greek *Μακαρ-ιος*, "blest."


^b See l. 13, *hr* with the lizard as a determinative.

^c (Fig. 13) *ami*, "belonging," as an adjective occurs frequently in these inscriptions, according to the usual syntax, after the pronoun, which has before it the substantive.—See Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. xxxii. l. 28-30.

^d *Naa*, the usual word for great.—Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 536.

^e Is here determined by a road .

^f (Fig. 15) *maksu*, apparently "to adjust it."—See Rosellini, M. C. cxxiii. b. cxxiv. "adjust it [the flogging] to the *ta n hat*, 'world' or 'place of his heart.'" *Mak*, "to make," is a separate independent word, as *mak kam*, watcher of Egypt. Beitoually, Rosellini, M. R.

^g *Ta-a-na ka*. The Hebrew , Taanach.—Judges, v. 19.

^h Here it must be read, *hr na r mh Maketa*, "I have proceeded to the north of Maketa (Megiddo)," which seems most correct; it might, indeed be *r mh maten*, "to the north of the road;" but the first reading is preferable.

ⁱ *Cha gu*. See l. 26.

^k (Fig. 14) *satp-sa*.—Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 39, 6, and 50 b. 74 c. "Coming in peace behind," or "beside the health," *i. e.* the king. Restore here the detached pronoun *nuk* "I."—Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 283.

- (l. 41.) with life. I will go^a on this road of Na-
 (l. 42.) runa, if there is any going on it.^b Be ye on
 (l. 43.) the roads ye mention if ye can go on them.^c
 (l. 44.) Ye can follow me, lest they feel as the
 (l. 45.) abominable opposers of the Sun. Because^d his majesty proceeds in
 (l. 46.) another direction he fears^e us. They call out,
 (l. 47.) saying to his majesty, "Thy father Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of
 the earth, who dwells in Thebes, has made thee;
 (l. 48.) let us follow thee, wherever^f thy majesty goes.
 (l. 49.) let us serve behind [thee]
 (l. 50.) in face of the entire army to
 (l. 51.) its roads leading to
 (l. 52.) alive to say. I do not
 (l. 53.) before his majesty in
 (l. 54.) coming forth himself before his troops, giving [marching]
 (l. 55.) on foot, there being a horse walking behind [him]. His majesty marched
 (l. 56.) at the head of the army. On the 19th Pashons of the 23rd year of his
 reign was^g pitched
 (l. 57.) the king's pavilion at the fortress of Naaruna. His majesty proceeded
 (l. 58.) along. I have come bearing the commands of my father Amen Ra, lord
 of the thrones of the earth
 (l. 59.) before me, oh Sun of the two worlds
 (l. 60.) power and force
 (l. 61.) over me proceeding. I have come^h
 (l. 62.) with much devastation
 (l. 63.) the southern tipⁱ from Ta[anaka]

^a *Au gu a*, "I will go."—Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 414.

^b *Amm*, the optative prefix *ammi*, a variant of *mai*.—Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 23, *amm shru nti hr f*.
 "should there be a passage which is on it," *i. e.* "should it be possible to go on it."

^c *Amm iu nti hr f*. The same,— "should there be any coming on it," *i. e.* "should the road be practicable."

^d *An*, in the sense of "that, for;" quod—occurs in many texts.

^e The word here is *hr*. See l. 13, 19.

^f *M bu (mnu) nb*, in all places, *i. e.* every where. See Transact. Roy. Soc. Literature, vol. iv. p. 243.

^g (Fig. 16) *rs* or *ls*, Coptic **POEIC**, vigilance, or to watch with the open eye, determinative of such ideas as *ptar*, "to explain."—Lepsius, Todt. Rubric, c. 17; and Bunsen, Eg. Pl. p. 540, No. 50.

^h (Fig. 17) *a* occurs in l. 52; and apparently in the sense of "hailed."—Cf. Abth. iii. bl. 31, l. 58,
 "said his majesty. Amen, &c. is before me."

ⁱ *Teb*, "the horn," wing of the army, *cornu*, as amongst the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans.

- (l. 64.) the northern tip from the southern angle^a
- (l. 65.) his majesty in its power in
- (l. 66.) they will overthrow the enemy
- (l. 67.) [The lines which are placed inversely to these are unfortunately too much mutilated to give any connected sense. They seem to refer to the spoil of the Rutennu.]

- (l. 1.) The speech. Has been set aside
- (l. 2.) from the account of the Rutennu.
- (l. 3) dwelling [in Thebes]
- (l. 4.)
- (l. 5.)
- (l. 6.)
- (l. 7.)
- (l. 8.) bearing tribute
- (l. 9.) the awe of his majesty in [their hearts]
- (l. 10.) to remain in the mouths of the living
- (l. 11.) of^b all countries, repulser of

[Fragment. Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abth. iii. Bl. 32.]

- (l. 1.) Naaruna, the troops of his majesty followed to the valley
- (l. 2.) Naaruna, the van coming forth to the valley [of Naaruna].
- (l. 3.) they filled the gap^c of that valley, and were saying to his majesty
- (l. 4.) would his majesty proceed with his valiant archers who fill [the gap of the valley]
- (l. 5.) let us listen to our powerful lord in the
- (l. 6.) let us guard our great lord: his troops and men followed^d
- (l. 7.) [after them]. The army advanced to the front, calling to fight

^a *Kaha*, probably **KAZI**, earth, land. In line 17, Abth. iii. bl. 32, *sgar m-stesi cha rami m kaha*, "topsy-turvy, like fishes on a floor," or "on the ground." See also *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 369; and *Prisse*, *Monumens*, pl. xxi. l. 31.

^b *Chas*, the form here is imperfect; part of the word *s-chas*, follower.

^c *Peka*, the gap or mouth of the valley.—Cf. Dr. Hincks's *Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. xxxi. pl. No. 43, 44. This word is subsequently used for a measure of honey (fig. 88).

^d The hind quarters of the lion; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, p. 544, No. 78, accompanies verbs of violence, as "chasing," *kfa*, taking, rushing.

- (l. 8.) at the valley of the enemy call we are not,^a we attend
- (l. 9.) our troops firm. His majesty entered on their route^b
- (l. 10.) whence guarding the advance of his valiant troops, when the capt-
- (l. 11.) ains^c advanced coming forth on that road; it was the time of
- (l. 12.) noon^d when his majesty reached the south of Maketa^e on the shore of the waters of Kaina, it being the seventh hour from noon. His majesty pitched [his tent] to make a speech before his whole army, saying,^f Hasten ye, put on your helmets, for I shall^g fly to fight with the vile enemy directly,^h because I
- (l. 13.) at rest at the lintels of the king's tent,ⁱ made by the of the chiefs of the followers to open; the watch of the army, who say, Firm, firm, watch, watch, watch actively at the king's pavilion. The land of Meru,^j and the born of the south and north, have come to address his majesty. Moreover on the 22nd day of the month Mesore, the day of the festival of laying^k the royal crown, then in presence of the entire army to open [the watch]

^a (Fig. 18) *ka* here and in the next line looks like a grammatical form; the army rushed forward, as, *ka-kar an*, they would fight; *ka tum n*, we would not. Cf. l. 46, Lepsius, Abth. iii. bl. 31, *ka sn gut sn*, "would they say to his majesty."

^b (Fig. 19) *bnr*, here and in l. 22. Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 32, determined by the house, "the (*bener*) dromos behind this wall." In the Sallier Papyrus III.; Select Papyri, pl. xxiv. l. 9, determined by the road. Bunsen, Egypt's Place, pp. 546, 100, "on his course to the pursuit of all the warriors of the Khita," &c.

^c Restore here *hau*, either "leaders" or "guides."

^d *Mr m mu*, the going round of light; Coptic *μερι*, "*mere-dies*," which is the more probable, as there are expressions already known, such as *ubn* for sunrise, *hetp* for sunset.

^e (Fig. 20) *chnu*, *kinnu*, or *hnnu*: the doubt is whether this means a river, brook, or lake; either the river *Kanah*, or else the lake of Gennesareth, in Egyptian *Kin-ruta*. *Chen* means literally "within"

^f *R tgu kar tn*, "to tell you to hasten;" *kar* is to do a thing secretly, lie in ambush

^g (Fig. 21) *sspt*, to supply, adjust; Cf. Champollion, Gr. Egypt. p. 356; applied to the adjustment of horns. The word *shau*, "crowns" or armour, has the determinative of iron; (Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 90), which is placed after various portions of armour. See below. *Au tu*, shall I (?), see *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 365. Champollion (Mon. t. iii. pl. ccvi.), *Tu cha Mentu*, "I am like Mentu."

^h (Fig. 22) *sba*, with the preposition *m-sba*, the Coptic *ⲙⲥⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ*.

ⁱ (Fig. 23) *ꜥꜥ*, *aun*, "the quarter," the place where the king's tent was pitched; see, however, the left and right lintels of the door.—Lepsius, Todt. xlix. 125, l. 54, 55.

^j Or else, restore *meru n st tn*, the chiefs of that country.

^k The group wanting here is *ut*, which occurs in inscription, Lepsius, Abth. iii. bl. 32, l. 21, as applied to the building of a wall. See also Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 29, d., "surrounding the gate of this temple with a wall laid *n-utt* with carved stone-work." The determinative is two fingers, which also occurs after the word *uttr* or *chetr*, which has some such sense as to place, dispose.—See *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 365, note ^b.

(l. 14.) His majesty proceeding in his chariot of gold, distinguished by the decorations of wood,^a like the terrible Horus the lord who makes things, like Mentu lord of Gam, like his father Amen Ra through the might of his arms, the south horn of the army of his majesty was at the shore [of the lake] of Kaina, the northern horn [extending] to the north-west of Maketa, his majesty being in the midst of them, the god Amon being in his limbs [wounding them with]^b

(l. 15.) his arms. His majesty prevailed over them before his army. They saw his majesty prevailing over them, they fell prostrate on the [plains] of Maketa on their face through terror; they left^c their horses, their chariots of gold and silver drawn by them, and fled^d in their clothes to that fortress. The men shut up in that fortress took off

(l. 16.) their clothes to haul them up to that fortress. Then the troops of his majesty took no heed of capturing the things of the fallen. The [army reached] Maketa at the moment^e when the vile enemy of Kateshu and the vile enemy of the fortress were crossing to enter the fortress. His majesty frightened [them]

(l. 17.) their arms, he prevailed by his intelligence^f over them. Their horses and their chariots of gold and of silver were captured, were brought [to his majesty] their [dead] lay in ranks^g like fishes in ditches. The army of his majesty turned away from counting the things captured. Then the camp was captured in which

^a (Fig. 24.) The king here is described as standing in his war-chariot, *sab m shau nu-ru-a-sha* "distinguished with his ornaments of" It occurs in another form (Lepsius, Auswahl, Taf. xii. 1), "their ornaments of" What this substance was is not known—Select Papyri, xxiv. l. 2.

^b (Fig. 25) *rutai*, add *sen*, "they;" probably 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 , to wound.—Cf. Champollion, Mon. p. 105.

^c (Fig. 26) *cha*, 𓂏𓂏 , to leave, relinquish; here it is evident that the account refers to the flight of the army.

^d The word *athu* is applied, Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 7, l. 3a, to the "drawing" of the stone from the quarries by oxen. See also Champollion, Notice, p. 105; *mn athu pt f m mah f m hk st*, not drawing his bow to his troops, to the chiefs of countries. The word *tb tb* (fig. 27) seems here to mean "hailed," as it is said in the next line that the garrison let down their vesture, *r tb tb*, to haul them up to the fortress.

^e *m*, "in;" *ta*, "the;" *at*, "moment" The last word is that in Lepsius, Einleit. s. 127.

^f *Pechm chut fam sn*, "his spirit prevailed over them;" or even, possibly, "the lustre of his diadem prevailed over them."

^g *Sgal m-sts*: these two words are generally applied to burials; here, each has a man laid on his back as the determinative. The first group (fig. 136) *s-gal* has generally as determinative a man laid on a couch—Bunsen, Egypt's Pl. p. 541-547; Champollion, Gr. p. 26, p. 426. The second (fig. 137) *stsi* is also generally used for the transport of the dead, Lepsius, Todt. taf. i. c. I, horizontal line, "the commencement of the chapters of the procession on the day of transporting the beatified into Hades." This has been read "manifestation to light," which is wrong, as *hr*, to come forth, has *m*, from, and *r*, to, after it.

(l. 18.) was [his] son of his whole army for mercy or ordering. His majesty ordered should be given to his son [the troops] of his majesty, praising his power. They were bringing the spoil they took of hands, living captives, horses, chariots of silver and gold of

(l. 19.) of his troops^a in your power give ye the Sun upon that day, inasmuch as every chief of the countries and places came submissive into it, inasmuch as the fullness of a thousand fortresses, is the fullness of Maketa, the fullness worked^b by the Sun [in heaven]

(l. 20.) the chief of his troops^c to return all . . his place . . they measure the fortress in (or of . .)^d laden^e with the green wood of their beautiful woods.^f His majesty himself went into the eastern citadel of the fortress to watch

(l. 21.)^g with the wall of the^h his which he made in the name of Sun placer of creation of the plainsⁱ of the North East, giving persons to watch at his majesty's tent, saying to them, Steady, steady, watch, watch.

(l. 22.) them at the road which is behind this wall, guiding them to come forth to^h attack the gate of their citadel. For his majesty strengthenedⁱ this fortress against the vile enemy, and his vile troops placed on the day, in his name in the name of the port^m

(l. 23.) their placed on a roll of leatherⁿ in the temple of Amon, on that day when the chiefs of that land come, bringing the usual tribute, adoring the spirits

^a Apparently *utlb*; see Lepsius, Ausw. taf. xii. 2: *sha n utb*, "food of for the army."

^b *Gal*, "work," applied to *carpentry* and *gems*, M. De Rougé, Mém. p. 78, the work of the sun.

^c (Fig. 28) *menf*, "soldiers," or "a division of troops."—Champollion, Mon. t. ii. cexviii.

^d *M-shiti*, probably שדה, *shedah*, the plain.—Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 573, No. 5; *ibid.* p. 561, No. 1, and p. 541, No. 53.

^e (Fig. 29) *anhu* is applied to driving or leading horses.—Select Papyri, xxiv. 9.

^f *N shau in bnr*. The last has only its determinative.—Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. iv. p. 249, note 101.

^g Remains only . . . h of a verb.

^h *M sbti nut*, "in the wall placed;" the object below ought to be the tips of the two fingers. See note f. p. 123.

ⁱ (Fig. 30) phonetically, *anana*.—Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 10, a.e. (fig. 31.) It seems to mean the plain, cf. l. 31. The "amount of corn bought from the tract or plain, *anana* (fig. 30) of Megiddo was," &c.—Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. Bl. 30, a.

^k *Abb*, to butt, to offend

^l Here the group for wood.—Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 44, 203.

^m A doubtful group, *mnna*.

ⁿ Although written *hr arit n t . . r*, it is necessary to correct to *ark*, roll, fold (fig. 32), אר, *areg*; the following word from the determinative of skin must be leather. Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 543, No. 72. אר; and the obliterated hieroglyphic, is an *h*. See the leather *thr*, bucklers, and quivers, Lepsius, Abth. iii. bl. 64 a.

of his majesty, asking breath to their nostrils of the greatness of his power and the importance of his spirits

(l. 24.) come to his spirits, having their tribute, of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and copper, bearing vessels ^a of wine to the army of his majesty, making ^b the prisoners bear the tribute in the galley,^c when his majesty faced the chiefs as afore-said of

(l. 25.) living captives 240, hands 83, mares 2041, fillies 191, 6,^d plants chariots plated with gold, 1 gold ark^e of the enemy, an excellent chariot plated with gold of the chief of

(l. 26.) 882 chariots of his vile army, total 924; 1 excellent suit ^f of brazen armour of the enemy, a brass suit of armour of the chief of Maketa, 22 suits of armour of his army, 502 bows, 8 poles ^g of the pavilion of the enemy plated with silver, when the army took

(l. 27.) 296, bulls 1,949, black goats ^h 2,000, white goats 20,500. The total amount of things led behind by his majesty from the power of the enemy [who was in the land of the Ruten], from the fortress of Nunaa, from the fortress of Anaukasa, from Hurankar, with the things which belonged to the fortresses placed in the waters brought by

(l. 28.) 38ⁱ of their family, 87 sons of chiefs of the enemy and of the leaders

^a This group of the twisted cord and the block for stone is probably a variant of *ges*.—Champollion, Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxxii; *ges-baku*, an earthenware altar, *ges-mcht m gt ab nti put*, "earthen vessels filled with oil of the daimons."

^b *Ta at Katu*, the enemy of the Katu.

^c M. de Rougé, Rev. Arch. 1853, p. 679, reads *went* for "a galley," as "keeps the wicked of the Sun out of his boat or barge;" however, rather "sailing," *sen ti*; for on the Flaminian obelisk, *sen-sen* is "to sail."—Tr. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. ii. new series, pl. xli. The determinative boat generally, but not always, has the sails set. Champollion, Notice, p. 407, *sm h au m su ti*, the boats watering and sailing—Rosellini, m. e. civ. ev. 2, cvii.

^d (Fig. 33) *abru* or *abelu*, some animal, cattle, horses(?) There is an oil called *abru*.—Lepsius, Todt. lxii. 145, c. 19. Sel. Pap. xviii. l. 9, "the" chief *abru* of the Khita are mentioned with good bulls produced in Saenkar and other animals of Arsa. *אבר* is a strong horse or bull.

^e (Fig. 34) *thu*, a box, **TAIRE**. See l. 33, probably some part of a chariot, as always mentioned with them and counted in as a part of them.

^f *mess*; Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 564, No. 13, determined by the skin. Ibid p. 543, l. 72, literally a good brass *mess*, "strap," "girdle," Coptic **ⲙⲟⲩⲥⲥ**, "for fighting."

^g *Ucha bk m hut n amm*, "poles plated with silver of a pavilion." See Rosellini, M. R. cii. "in the fifth year, second expedition, then his majesty is in the pavilion."

^h It is uncertain what hieroglyph comes after "goats," possibly *ur*, "great goats," or *mut*, "she-goats."

ⁱ *Ami*, "to them belonging." See note e. p. 119. (Fig. 13)

with him,^a 5 others, slaves male and female, including ^b children, 1796, prisoners starved out ^c of that chief 103; total 2503; besides gems, gold dishes,^d and polished vases^e

(l. 29) a cup^f the work of the Kharu, dishes polished vases, an ewer^g for great ceremonies of washing, 97 swords weighing 1784 mna, gold in rings^h fashioned by the hand of the workman, and silver in rings 966 mna, 1 kat,ⁱ a silver statue made

(l. 30) the head of gold, waggons^k of men of ivory, ebony, and cedar,^l inlaid with gold, chairs^m of the enemies 6, footstoolsⁿ belonging to them 6, 6 large tables of ivory and cedar inlaid with gold and all precious stones, a stick^o in shape of a sceptre of that chief, inlaid with gold throughout, a statue

^a *Mru*, perhaps "lords," מר *mar*, "to them belonging," *ami*

^b *Ch ft*, "inclusive." See note b. p. 118.

^c *Hetpi am hrt n hkar*, "those who gave up and came out through starvation."

^d (Fig. 142) *tt t*, the determinative, is a dish or patera, bowls

^e (Fig. 79) *un* occurs as a measure of a quantity of bread; here an adjective after dish, "polished."

^f (Fig. 35) *akena*, a two-handled cup. Judges, iv. 11, נֶכֶסֶת אֶכָּנָה.

^g *Sari*, an ewer. Among the donations made by Thothmes III. to this temple, Champollion, I. Mon. pl. xxxvi. is seen a silver *sari* or ewer.

^h *s-sh*, a ring (fig. 122). Vide Lepsius, Auswahl, Taf. xii. l. The expression here used coincides with that on the Lateran obelisk.—Ungarelli, Int. Ob. I. Mus. Class. Arch. iii. p. 217.

ⁱ From the new value of this character, which was supposed to be *as t*. (Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. ii. p. 367), it appears that it must be read *kat*; probably **KITE**, a drachm. The highest number mentioned is 15; if it be, *mna* is the mina or half talent, then the *kat* is the pound. The *mina* or *mnah*, which was $\frac{1}{5}$ of the talent, = 1 lb. 9 oz Troy, or, taking gold at 4*l.* per ounce, = 7*l.* sterling, for the gold *mnah*, and the silver *mnah* at 5*l.* 5*s.* nearly, which will convey some idea of the immense tribute to the empire. Hussey, Anc. Weights, p. 37.

^k (Fig. 36) *masht [sh] m*, "going waggons;" perhaps some article of furniture, such as high-backed chairs, which are found in the tribute of Ethiopia

^l (Fig. 37) *ss*, some kind of tree or wood; the determinative being a pod like the mimosa. Tables were made of it. In Coptic there is **CEI**, "cedar," and **CACOY**, "oak;" besides in Africa a wood called *xesso* wood. See Lepsius, Abth. II. bl. 75. *ant. COM*†, the pine, or possibly acacia, so called by the Arabs, which this group may be, in which case *ash* is the cedar.

^m (Fig. 38) *kna*, a chair. The ritual of Penra.—Salt, Papyrus, B.M. 1251, calls that officer, *hr, abu, kna*, (fig. 39) "over the priests of the sella gestatoria."

ⁿ (Fig. 40) *ht n sn ami*, "the foot-stools to them belonging." The water lines here are determinative of the sound **ZOT**, "scala nautica," or **AYIT**.

^o *Ha m scher n karkar*. See *ha*, "a stick," Lepsius, Todt. lxi. 145, c. l. 4, in likeness of a *karkar*.—Champollion, Notice, p. 279, has the word *karkaru* as a standard with arms, and some uncertain object, perhaps a cylinder.

(l. 31.) of the fallen chief, of ebony inlaid with gold, of which the heads are of gold that vessels of brass, an infinite quantity of the clothes of the enemy. When the fields of the district^a were taken to calculate^b their produce to the king's house, to lay down their quota, the total of the quantity brought to the king from the [plains] of Maketa was^c 2,800,000 bushels of corn,

(l. 32.) besides what was cut and taken away. His majesty's army came the tribute of the Ruten on the 40th year, brought by the chief of As-suru, 1 great stone of lapis lazuli, weighing^d 20 mna 9 kati, 2 stones of true lapis lazuli, total 3; 30 mna of total 50 mna 9 kati, good lapis lazuli of Babel, 3 heads,^e vases of Assuru of stone [?]

(l. 33.) very many, the tribute of the chiefs of the Rutenu, the daughter of a chief^f silver, gold, lazuli lapis of the country, . . . persons . . . 30, the slaves of his tribute 65 100, 4 boxes of gold, a chariot of [silver inlaid] with pure gold with boxes of^g 5, total 10; bulls^h and steers 45, bulls 300, 1200

(l. 34.) which could not be weighed,ⁱ silver dishes with cover^j 104 mna, 5 kati, a gold makargina^k inlaid at the border with lapis lazuli, a brass harp^l inlaid with gold a brass numerous suits of armour,

(l. 35.) 823 mna of incense, 1718 mna of sweet^m wine, numerous cut and

^a The plains.

^b *auau*, De Rougé, *Mémoire*, p. 132, "to infest," here like **AOYU**, "a pledge."

^c The hieroglyph here (fig. 30), Bunsen, *Egypt*, p. 551, No. 147, is determinative of several measures.

^d *Chesbut* is a blue gem, turquoise, lapis lazuli, or smalt.—M. de Rougé, *Rév. Arch.* 1853, p. 395.

^e Face, two semicircles and ring, probably refers to the material of which the vases were made; and here it is to be observed, that, although the genius of the language requires the adjective after the substantive, in certain cases, as when applied to precious metals, it is placed first.

^f *Geru nu ru arshe*. Cf. l. 14.

^g (Fig. 41), *akat* or *kat*, some metal or stone, perhaps the achat-es or agate, called כדכד, *chadchod*, by the Hebrews. Lepsius, iii. bl. 25, occurs as an edible fruit.

^h *Tepa* or *tepau* (fig. 42), or even perhaps **THY**, "the wind," or "to sniff." Rosellini, *M. R.* lviii.

ⁱ (Fig. 43), *shai*, determinative a finger, **WI**, to measure. See l. 20, they measured, *shau sn*.

^j *Knkn*, "cover," bowls and covers.

^k (Fig. 44). *Makarugina* or *kamarugina*, some part of armour, an Aramæan word like *Makatulu* (migdol), *Makaruta*, Rosellini, *M. R.* lv.

^l *Chener*, or *chenel*, **SHAP**, a "helmet." There is an animal called *chener*, but what is uncertain.

^m The **K** here is "honey" or "sweet."

set agate stones, ivory and cedar a vast quantity of wood^a for burning of that^b country

(l. 36.) by all the places which his majesty went round, given in his camp. The amount of the tribute brought by the spirits of his majesty from the land of the Rutén, the tribute of Assuru was h[orses]

(l. 37.) bracelets^c of^d bandlets^e of^f of a chariot with the heads of wood 170 shekels^g

(l. 38.)^h 343, 50 cedars, 190 mulberry trees,ⁱ 205 340, 20

(l. 39.) of willows^h 3000 polished vases.

[Fragment. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii Bl. 30.]

(l. 1.) from the land of the Rutén, from the station^j built by his majesty belonging to him. The chief of the Remenn was pleased that its name should be that of the Sun placer of creation (Thothmes III.) chastising the^k Then^l approached the chiefs of the cities

(l. 2.) the land.^m I will celebrate to himⁿ the festival of the campaign also, when I come from the first campaign from overthrowing the vile Rutén, and extending the frontiers of Kami.

^a *Kat geru*, bored or cut agates.

^b (Fig. 45), *peska*, logs, *ṣṣṣ*, *pascha*, "to divide," wood chopped up and ready to burn.

^c *Meskut*. If this is not a bracelet as supposed (Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. ii. p. 326), it must be a collyrium pot.

^d *Mska*, a kind of stone; can it possibly be musk?

^e *n-Machu*, determined by a skin (fig. 46).

^f *M-ashta*, of the plains? Doubtful if to be distinguished from *shta*, space.—Champollion, Notice, p. 46.

^g his [the serpent's] head is in darkness, his tail in space, vacuum, *ṣṣṣ* (fig. 47).

^h Restore, *shekaru* or *shakalu*, a word very like "shekels," weights (fig. 48).

ⁱ *Nibi-kanaka* (fig. 49).

^j *Mrau*, a kind of tree, possibly the *morus*, mulberry.

^k *Mnnu*, "a station."—Archæol. XXXIV. pl. xxvii. p. 389.

^l Final part much mutilated, perhaps reading *mena*, shepherds.

^m Restore, *as.t mnau uru n bak nb*.—See Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. xii. l. 13.

ⁿ *Uah*, to add.—M. de Rougé, *Rév. Arch.* 1849, p. 560.—"I gave in addition a festival for the victories."

^o *uah n n fchr a*, the general rule of the syntax is that the nominative case is nearest the verb, the objective most remote; but there appears in this inscription to be a great ambiguity, as the sense requires that the gifts are from the King to the god, especially as Ammon is called "my father" (see l. 7); whence I connect the first *n* with *chr-a*, and read *uah n chr a n f*, "I gave in addition to him," although following the strict syntax it could be read "he [Ammon] has given to me [the King]" throughout. See also the resolution of this group in l. 12, "I will order to him," l. 13, "I have given him."

In the 23rd year of power,^a I [celebrated] to him

(l. 3.) [the festival, making it to] coincide^b with the first festival of Amen Ra, performing^c it for 5 days. The second celebration of the festival of the campaign occupied one day of the god, corresponding with the celebration of the second festival of Amen, making the performance for 5 days. The third festival of the campaign coincided^d with the fifth festival of Amen Ra, giving life

(l. 4.) a a great sacrifice for the festival of victory which I his majesty made as aforesaid,^e of food and drink, cows, calves, bulls, geese, white antelopes, gazelles,^f oryxes,^g incense, wine, fruit,^h white food, bread, and all [good and pure] things

(l. 5.) year on the 14th day of the month Choiak, when the person of that noble god is drawn out of Southern Thebes. I made to him a great sacrifice on the day when he returned to his southern quarter,ⁱ consisting of food and drink, cows, calves, bulls, geese, frankincense, and wine.

(l. 6.) on the first campaign he let me fill^j his tabernacle,^k for his beloved to make to him fine white^l linen, warp and woof^m and for stocking for working the plains to make to fill the press of his [temple].

(l. 7.) me his majesty on the good path The number of doorkeepers, male and female, which I gave to my father Amen Ra, beginning on the 23rd year [of my reign] and terminating on the setting up of this tablet, filling the cells, amounted to 878.

^a *M nechtu*, perhaps the year belonging to him. See Prisse, Mon. pl. vi. No. 5. The years (*necht*) "of his power," in a date of Apappus.

^b See l. 2.

^c *Cheper*, performing it. See my note, Trans. Roy. Soc. Liter. vol. iv p. 235; and M. de Rougé, Rév. Arch. 1853, pp. 677, 682.

^d *Sak*, or *s-ka*, "to make to go," here evidently leading or accommodating one festival to the other.

^e (Fig. 50.) "*M-mat*," "in the midst."—Lepsius (Abth. iii. bl. 32, l. 24), "his Majesty then confronts the chiefs in the midst" The taking of bricks, to build the enceinte (*haba*) in the midst (*m-mat*) of Thebes.—Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 40

^f (Fig. 51.) A kind of gazelle, perhaps a variety of *kahs*.—Rosellini, M. C. xviii.

^g (Fig. 52.) *Nahash*, the dorcas.

^h (Fig. 53.) *Tekar*, fruit.—Eprussi, Cedrenus, i. pp. 295, 296.

ⁱ *Ap. t.*, the same as the name of Thebes.—Champollion, Notice, p. 76; "great God, Lord of Heaven, who dwells in his shrine [*ap. t. f.*]"

^j The difficulty of distinguishing between *mh* "to fill" and *sh* "to make, to work," is so great as to render it doubtful which is intended; probably the first.

^k *Heba*. Vide supra.

^l *St* thread, *pk* prepared, *hut* white.

^m *Mncharu*, woof? ut *oyatze*, warp.

(l. 8.) north and south, two milch^a cows of cattle of the Tahai, one milch cow of the cattle of Kush, total four milch cows, to supply^b the milk kept in pails of gold^c at sun-set daily substances

(l. 9.) I gave to him three fortresses of the Upper Ruten; Anaukasa^d is the name of one, Nenunaa^e the name of another, Hurankar^f the name of another; compelled^g to supply a yearly contribution for the sacred food of my father Amen Ra.

(l. 10.) all [the work] of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and copper. I gave to him gold, silver, lapis lazuli, copper, brass, iron, lead, colours, and very many to make the monuments of my father Amen Ra.

(l. 11.) also I gave him goslings of geese^h to fill the lakes, to supply the sacred food daily, for I have given him two trussedⁱ geese at sun-set daily, a charge to remain for ever.

(l. 12.) of bread 1000 portions. I will order this offering of sacred food of 1000 portions to be doubled^k when I go to attack the Rutennu in the first campaign, rendering thanks in the great temple of the Sun, the placer of creation (Thothmes III.), the splendour of edifices.

(l. 13.) 632 portions of bread in loaves for the daily festivals, besides what was before.^l I assigned^m to him very many fields and cultivated gardensⁿ selected from the north and south to make a tract^o to supply corn^p 4.

^a (Fig. 54.) *Allut* or *avit*, the same as milk, but determined by a cow.

^b (Fig. 55.) *S-char*, to throw it down, to milk. See this same word, Lepsius, Todt. taf. xlix. c. 125, l. 65, "when thou hast made this passenger written on a pure ground of throw, *schar*, it on a field in which no horse has trod." Cf. Dr. Hincks's Cat. Pap. Trin. Coll. p. 30.

^c (Fig. 56.) *Hr*, a pail or vase for holding milk.

^d (Fig. 140.)

^e (Fig. 139.)

^f (Fig. 141.)

^g *Htar* (fig. 57), *htar m bak n kar renpa*, is charged, levied on the work of the yearly tribute. Cf. the Samneh Inscr. Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 55.

^h (Fig. 58.) *Atar usch*, a kind of goose; it does not occur again: from the antithesis of *usch* and *shet*, applied to birds in these inscriptions, it appears that male and female are intended.

ⁱ (Fig. 59.) *Sti* is applied to embalming, also to roasting.—Lepsius, Todt. xxxii. c. 86, l. 1.

^k For the doubling of offering. Cf. Champollion, Mon. t. ii. cxvii.

^l (Fig. 60.) *M-hau un t m tha*, on the above, of being before, l. 16, 17, 19, 30.

^m *Hnbu* (fig. 61), this word is determined by a plough.—Sarc. Amyrtaeus, B. M. 10, horizontal band, as if some agricultural operation.

ⁿ (Fig. 62) *chentū*, determined by a square block, apparently the shape of a plot of ground. After this is *chebsu*, "worked, dug" (fig. 63).

^o *Anana*, the plain.—Lepsius, loc. cit. See fig. 30.

^p (Fig. 64) *chryp*, cf. l. 19, used in the sense of "to consecrate;" with the sceptre, *бpнп*, a sceptre, apparently "to manifest" or show; *бблп*, here followed by the determinative of clothes.

(l. 14.) during the year, of food and drink, cows, calves, bulls, geese, incense, wine, fruit, and all good things charged on the yearly produce. I augmented the food^a and drink as father Amen had ordered at sun-rise.

(l. 15.) I gave him divine offerings of food and drink to do what had been ordered on the festival of the 6th of the month, at sun-set daily, as was done on the when I took to plough the corn^b [in the fields]

(l. 16.) I added sacred offerings of food and drink to the four great obelisks which I made as a gift to my father [Amen, consisting] of 100 rations of bread and 4 draughts of water, of which each obelisk had 28 portions of bread and 1 draught of water. I increased the sacred food of the statues of

(l. 17.) placed at the threshold of the door I increased the offerings to him at night [consisting] of food and drink, geese, incense, wine, white food, bread, and all good things offered at sun-set daily. I gave more than was before.

(l. 18.) I augmented to him the offerings at the festival of the bringing forth of Khem, [consisting] of bulls, geese, incense, wine, fruit, and all good things; the things offered amounted to 120 things^c on behalf of my health. I ordered that a great hin^d of wine should be added

(l. 19.) charged on the yearly revenue beyond what was before. I also made for him a meadow to be planted^e with all kinds of excellent trees whence to procure vegetables for the sacred meals daily. I augmented the gifts beyond what was before.





(l. 20.) in my benefits for the entire earth, when I made all the monuments, temples,^f erections,^g which I gave to Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth, who dwells in Thebes.^h I know his spirits, Iⁱ his opposers being at rest in the midst of the body. I know

(l. 21.) he has ordered to be done, all things he has wished done, according

^a (Fig. 64) *tn rnpu*, the annual produce — Cf. De Rougé, Mémoire, p. 48, here "produce."

^b (Fig. 66) *shr*, corn. "His majesty thought of ploughing corn."

Ha n utn kr m cht nb, (fig. 67) the number of the total offering in all pieces was 120.

^d (Fig. 68) *hbn*, a vase; this gives the equation of the  =  =  =  *hab*.—See l. 32.

Lepsius, Denkm. iii.

^e (Fig. 69) *hrt*, evidently a kind of kitchen garden in the midst of it.

^f (Fig. 70) *hp* or *hu*; Amenophis III. calls himself in his diadem title, placer of *hu*, houses, palaces. M. de Rougé, Mémoire, p. 77, reads "laws." Cf. Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. cxvii.

^g (Fig. 71) *api* or *ga*. See the great Karnak obelisk, Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 23, o. "vowed (?)" to place the obelisk."

^h *Hr n nur*, *r*, perhaps "I have adored," or "assented to" his spirits.

ⁱ (Fig. 72) *sahu*.

to the intentions of his mind,^a my heart prompting my arm to act for my father. I devise to make all things^b for my father

(l. 22.) I creating all things, enlarging the monuments, placing, increasing in proportions,^c purifying, erecting, dedicating, and supplying^d this temple of my father Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth, who dwells in Thebes, in all directions

(l. 23.) to him daily when I came to supply the festivals from the beginning of the year to the end of the year, to open^e the court^f of my father Amen Ra, who dwells in Thebes, when I directed that the things should be prepared for the libations and incense.

(l. 24.) charged on the yearly revenue.^g I do not say the contrary^h to boast of what I have done, saying that I have done more when I do it not, so causing men to contradict it.ⁱ I have done the things appointed by my father^j [Amen Ra].

(l. 25.) declaring works which have not been done to him. Inasmuch as heaven knows it, earth knows it, the whole world sees it hourly. I have lived beloved of the Sun, praised by Amen Ra, my father. My nostril is renewed with life. I have done what is proper [to him.]

(l. 26.) be awake on guard squatting on all your heart, close your mouth,^k each looking to his foot; ye priests and sculptors of divine things, come ye along

(l. 27.) ordering my images to be carried in procession across the monuments I made. I sent to you (oh! images) to come before, celebrating the festival at the door of his house; clothing^l my images with clothes. Likewise I filled the treasuries with

^a (Fig. 73) *kar* not *ka*, as hitherto read. For the equation, see Champollion, Notice, p. 440, probably "mind,"—all that his mind wished.

^b (Fig. 74), probably *chut*, things; compare l. 21, *ar chut nb n atfa*, doing all the things of my father; *nam cht nb*, taking all things.

^c (Fig. 75) *m-nta*; here *nta* is a verb with *m* participial or gerundic before it. It is applied to revenue. Trans. R. Soc. Lit. vol. iv. p. 230 n. 33.

^d *Sgfa*, to purify with *ꜥꜣꜥ*, or rather "supplying."

^e *M api* (or *ga*) *tru* (or *renpa*) *m-kar tru* (or *renpa*). M. de Rougé, Rév. Arch. 1853, p. 674.

^f *Amm chnu*, the Sanctuary; cf. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. iv. p. 237.

^g The phrase is *htar n tnnu ter*; cf. the end of the dotation of corn by Thothmes III. to Usertes II. Num. and others, where the same phrase occurs. Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 55.

^h *Aba*, to butt or oppose. Cf. Rosellini, M. R. lvi. 1

ⁱ *Chnnu*, or sit ye in your attention clean and anointed.

^j *nn*, "kind," or "order."

^k *Tum-ru*, *ᲙᲱᲣᲱ* be dumb.

^l *Mut*, clad in linen.

(l. 28.) I have presented with all kinds of vegetables; likewise I cleansed^a aforesaid meadow. I stocked^b the selected fields, which I charged on the revenue with cattle. I filled the altar with milk, frankincense [infinite].

(l. 29.) tables of silver and gold to sacrifice^c to my images, when I took^d my male issue^e to bring forth my statues the day of carrying my images in procession;^f asking my father to count the works^g which I had made in

(l. 30.) bread as aforesaid at sunset daily beyond what was before, 3305 rations^h of bread for the sacred food; 132 draughtsⁱ of drink, 2^j of *tahut* of corn, 2^k 2 of palm dates^l geese.^m

(l. 31.) geese, pigeons,ⁿ 5 aab of incense, 2 jars of wine, 4 pecks of honey,^o fruit,^p white^q beer, 3 flour and bread to the amount of 15 bushels, green^r flesh^s

(l. 32.) 2 oryxes, 6 gazelles, 9 goats, 125 geese, 1100 geese of another kind, 258 pigeons, 5237 pigeons of another kind, 1440 jars of wine, 4 obelisks of incense, 319 pyramidal piles of food, incense.

(l. 33) 103 bushels of incense, making 314 *pet*^t of incense, 31 mna of

^a (Fig. 76) *hank*, I have offered. Ch. Champollion, Mon xxxviii. l. 20, to proffer (*hank*) their children.

^b *Ata-na*, I have . . . ; restore *aha satp* "the select" or "choice fields."

^c *Uthn*, the table with service of vases; restore *r kah atnn*, "at the shoulders," or possibly *skarh*, "to sacrifice." Brugsch, Ros. Inscr. Tab. vi. l. xii. 32.

^d *Snm* (fig. 77), *snam*, to take, to eat.

^e *Au kau*, my bulls, or my male; all this is very obscure.

^f *M-hkn*, in adoration, discourse.

^g (Fig. 78) *ruga*, **ꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ** the works.

^h (Fig. 79) *un*, same as applied to dishes; some measure of, or baked bread.

ⁱ (Fig. 80) *ts*, a bottle. Champollion, Notice, p. 373.

^j (Fig. 81) *tahut*, literally "white bread," but appears to be the cake called Pyramid: see Athenæus, lib. xiv p. 647. Et. Mag. 697, 28. Champollion, Notice, p. 273.

^k (Fig. 82). *Ah-nga*, apparently a weight.—Champollion, Notice, p. 273.

^l (Fig. 83) *bnr*, palm-dates. (Fig. 84). *Nga*, a weight or measure.

^m (Fig. 84) *chena-shtu*. Cf. l. 32, where there are *chena-shtu* and (fig. 85)—Champollion, Notice, 373.

ⁿ (Fig. 86.) *Nash-sht*, and (fig. 87) *nash usch*.—Champollion, Notice, p. 373.

^o (Fig. 88) *peka*, a "peck." [?]

^p (Fig. 89) perhaps *aaah* or *hu*, corn.

^q White *men*, [manna?] (fig. 90)—Or 5 ephahs.—Cf. Champollion, Notice, p. 373.

^r The *tna* measured incense and *tekar*, fruit; the *hept* measured *hu*, corn; *aak*, rushes; *renpe*, flowers.

^s *Sht* (fig. 91) *ashr* (fig. 92), slices; *ashr n af*, slices of flesh.

^t (Fig. 93) *pt*. "a bow"

green frankincense, 5 bushels of stones,^a 236 meals of bulls, 258 meals of geese,^b 26 obelisks of food, 562 pyramidal cakes

(l. 34.) The restoration of this monument was made by the Sun, distributor of creation, whom the Sun has chosen [Horus] to his father, Amen Ra, lord of the earth's foundations; may he live for ever!

[Fragment, Lepsius, *Denk. Abth. iii. Bl. 30 a.*]

(l. 1.) of the Asi, 2 tusks^c of ivory, 40 bricks of iron, 1 brick of lead, the tribute

(l. 2.) [of Kush] that year, 144 mna, 3 kati of gold, 101 negro slaves, male and female, bulls.

(l. 3.) 35 steers, 54 bulls, total 89, besides boats laden^d [with

(l. 4.) 2 mna, the amount of tribute of the chief of the Ruten brought by his majesty's spirits [in that year].

(l. 5.) 40 bricks, falchion of^e steel,^f brass spears.^g

(l. 6.) 18 tusks of ivory, 241 mares, 184 bulls, goats.

(l. 7.) incense; also the tribute of the great Khita in that year was gold.

(l. 8.) 93 mna, 2 kati, 8 negroes, 13 eunuchs,^h for servants, total 21; bulls.

(l. 9.) 3144 mna, of gold 3 kati, 35 steers, moreover boats laden with ivory.

(l. 10.) his majesty went on the road of [towards] the sea, destroying the fort of Arantu, and the fortresses of

(l. 11.) Kanana, laying waste the fort with its mound;ⁱ approaching the land of Tulp, he laid waste the fort, took^k its corn, cutting down its groves.

(l. 12.) those alive of the troops, bringing them along in peace, approaching

^a *Ana*, or *óna*, probably something eatable.

^b *Sha ka*, food bulls, and *sha ru*, food geese; perhaps biscuits made in the shape of bulls and geese.

^c (Fig. 94) *nght*, *Ⲣⲁⲗⲉ*.

^d *Atp*, or *apt*. Hebrew, *אֶפֶס*.

^e *Chapsch*.—Cf. Champollion, Gr. p. 322.

^f (Fig. 95.) "Steel?" Champ. Notice, p. 373. A pig is called *aphu*, or *pahu*, "sharp, to cleave."

^g (Fig. 96) *hni*, a mace, or spear.

^h (Fig. 97) *gai*, *ⲭⲓⲟⲩⲉ*; as *gai* is to steal or deprive, as well as to carry.—Champol. Gr. 68; Dict. 140.

ⁱ (Fig. 98) *u* *ⲉⲟⲓ*, "a heap, mound," or "distance."

^k (Fig. 99) *uha*. Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 71 a, *r uh anr hut nfr*, to cut down the good white stone.

the mound of Kateshu, taking the fortresses in it. The number of captives led thence

(l. 13.) of the vile Naharaina, who were given up with their horses, 391 slaves, 39 hands, 44 horses.

(l. 14.) in that year 295, male and female, 67 horses, 3 gold dishes, 3 silver dishes, 3 craters, a table with silver

(l. 15.) 47 bricks of lead, 1100 mna of lead, colours, emeralds,^a all the gems of the country, brass suits of armour, wood^b

(l. 16.) all the excellent wood of that country. Then came every city contributing all good things according to^c their yearly produce. The quota of the country of

(l. 17.) with dishes, head of bulls, weighing 341 mna, 2 kati, true lapis lazuli, 1 stone weighing 42 pounds, a good waggon,^d iron, of his country.

(l. 18.) of Tanai, a silver jug^e of the fabric of the Kefau, with vases of iron-stone,^f with silver handles, 3, weighing 56 mna kati,

(l. 19.) with all the good things of the quota^g of the vile Kush; also the work of the Va in that year was 2374 mna 1 kati.

(l. 20.) Va. Then his majesty ordered that the extent of his power which he had made, commencing in his 29th and continuing to his 32nd year, should be recorded, and this tablet was set up at the sacred gate; may he live for ever!

Two scenes are here represented. 1. Thothmes standing and receiving life from the goddess Mut or Sati, with his titles. "The lord of the earth, the Sun establisher of creation, the beloved son of his race, Thothmes, the good being, may he live in health, crowned on the throne of Horus like the Sun immortal!" The goddess's name is erased; she is called Mistress of the heaven, and part of her speech, "[I give life] to thee, O perfect god," refers to the action in which she is represented. Between her and the king is, "the reparation of his monument was made by the

^a (Fig. 100) probably the *σμήρις*, or diamond stone; from this word however occurring after colours, it may be an adjective signifying "diverse, various."

^b *shau nu rua sha*, in the Inscr. Lepsius, iii. bl. 63, called "wood," or "trees of . . . work, of workmen," apparently a fancy work.

^c *Cha anta*; see fig. 75.

^d Conf. *Mash. t*; vide *supra*.

^e (Fig. 101.) One of the gifts of Thothmes I. to the person at Samneh was a gold shuabti and a pair of gold bracelets.—Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 47, c.

^f (Fig. 102) *ba*.

^g (Fig. 103) *she*, "measure."—Cf. Prisse, Mon. pl. xxxix. The chief of the granaries told them to give the heaps of their bushels of the 30th year.

king the Sun, who arranges creation [Horus], to his father Amen Ra." In the second picture the king, crowned in the cap of Lower Egypt, *teshr*, stands before Amen Ra, who also gives him life. Before the king is "the Sun, the lord of the earth, the Sun who establishes creation," and part of the speech of the God, "I give thee a sound life."

[Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. xii.]

The living Horus, the powerful Bull, crowned in Gam,^a the king, lord omnipotent, Sun placer of creation, son of the Sun of his body, Thothmes. His majesty orders that the powers which his father [Amen Ra] gave him, should be placed on the stone wall at the temple *which his majesty made alone [to his father Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth] together with the captives presented by his majesty to it, making it to^b be like*

(l. 1.) The 29th year, then his majesty was in the land of the Tahai, razing^c all the hostile lands of it. His majesty then in his fifth expedition took the fort of Ua ru [sha sha]

(l. 2.) power [in place of] his son. They being very good, his majesty preferred them to all things. After^d that his majesty went to the chamber of offering and gave a pure offering to Amen, of bread,^e of bulls, of steers, geese

(l. 3.) born of the vanquished of the country, 1 chief of the fortress. 329 warriors,^f 100 mna of gold, 100 mna of silver, lapis lazuli, copper, vessels of brass^g and iron. Then were filled boats

(l. 4.) all good things. Then proceeds his majesty^h sailing to Egypt (Kami) in triumph.ⁱ After that his majesty took away the corn of the fort of Arutatu, cutting it up in all directions. Then traversing the land of the Tahai through its length

(l. 5.) their wine^k of their waters, likewise they shipped their corn, and heaps^l of

^a There is some difficulty about this name of the Thebaid.

^b (Fig. 104) *antu*, probably a variant of the *cha antu*.

^c *Sek sek*, "to sack, destroy."—Cf. l. 4. Cf. Champollion, Mon. Notice, 348, No. 8, the *Ua sha sha*.

^d (Fig. 105) *msht nn*, evidently a grammatical form.—Cf. l. 4; after things.

^e Perhaps *chut*, "things," (fig. 106.)

^f Possibly *mahur*, "warrior," or *rut*, "men."

^g (Fig. 107), here certainly not polished, for the genitive prefix distinguishes it.

^h *Senti*, "a galley;" vide *supra*.

ⁱ *Mshu* "in triumph."

^k *Uah m nam umu*, "added from their lakes" or "wells."

^l (Fig. 108.) Cf. the word *ha*, "the heap of gold which is placed in this balance weighs 36,392 mna."—Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. Bl. 39 d. Ibid. ii. bl. 49.

their numerous grain^a to supply the troops with things necessary.^b The tribute brought by his majesty from the land of

(l. 6.) frankincense, balsams, 490 mna of honey;^c 6428 mna of wine, iron, lead, lapis lazuli, antimony,^d 618 bulls, 3636 goats, mna of bread,^e corn, flour^f all the good things^g of that country sunset

(l. 7.) daily as it is on the panegyries of Kami (Egypt). "In his 30th year his majesty was in the land of the Ruten in the sixth of his great expeditions, approaching the fortress of Kateshu, laying waste and destroying its groves,^h and laying waste the corn. Coming into the land of . . . tu. approaching the fort of. . . .

(l. 8.) brought by his majesty's spirits in that year from the chief of the Ruten; their children bringing their children and brethren to be hostagesⁱ in Egypt. If any of them was likely to die, his majesty lets^k his son be in his place. The reckoning of the number of the relatives of the chief of the Ruten was

(l. 9.) 40 (chariots) inlaid with gold and silver, and painted." On the 3rd of Pashons of the 31st year there was a revision of the captives taken in the fortress of Petrut on the shore of the Mer na, 490 captives returning^l to the son of the enemy . . . for

(l. 10.) all their^m ornaments of wood "His majesty took it like the mound of the hour, seizingⁿ all its things and leading them captive. The presents of the chiefs of the Ruten who came to adore^o his majesty in that year, were, slaves

(l. 11.) the ornaments of the wood^p of , wild bulls 104, calves of bulls 172, total 276, goats 4622, 40 bricks of iron of his country, and bricks of lead

^a *Umam*, some kind of corn, at *hr umam*, &c.

^b *R sha m uteb* After this is *hr bak htar*, which correct to *avi r satp*.

^c Or, sweet *bak*, honeyed *bak*.

^d (Fig. 109) or felspar. Champollion, Gr. p. 90.

^e (Fig. 110) *ta sam un*.—Cf. l. 12; *m ta sam un*, loaves of prepared bread.

^f *Neg* or *Gne*, *sut gne*, "ground corn," (fig. 111.) Cf. the scene of kneading.—Rosellini, M. C. lviii.

^g Or, (fig. 53,) *tekar neb nefer*, "all the good fruit;" hence *Ερωσι*. Parthey, Voc. Copt. p. 558.

^h (Fig. 112) *mn*, perhaps a pasturage.

ⁱ *M nech ut hr Kam*, "to his power in Egypt."

^k Or "causes."

^l (Fig. 113) *hn ta*, turning back, "do not turn back; they come to the waters"—Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 13, l. 6.

^m (Fig. 114.) Perhaps *geru sn m sha n ru asha*, in their adornments of trees or wood of

ⁿ *Sh-ar-au*.

^o *Sen-ta naf*, who breathed; rather *bau n chr f*, "to adore his majesty's spirits."

^p See note a, p. 123.

(l. 12.) with all the good woods of that land. Every land hastens as his majesty approaches it, supplying prepared bread, quotas of balsams, incense, wine, honey

(l. 13.) they are placed on the register ^a of the palace; they are not given, in order to avoid a multiplication of words, to make their account ^b in the place, making them

(l. 14.) bushels of corn, barley, ^c frankincense, green balsam, wine, fruit, and all the delicious things of the country, which were to be enrolled at the treasury, ^d like the account of work of the [Naharaina].

(l. 15.) of a table ^e of [gold] [and all the] good [wood] of the country. His majesty approaching Egypt (Merter), the envoys of the ^f come bearing their offerings of ana ^g and gum ^h

(l. 16.) 113 calves, 230 large bulls, total 343; besides boats laden with ivory, ebony, panthers' hides, ⁱ and [all] the products ^k [of that country]

(l. 17.) besides boats laden with all the good things of that land, the quota ^l of the Va-vat also. In the 33rd year, then his majesty was in the land of the Ruten, [approaching the fort of]

(l. 18.) the king, the Sun, greatest being in existence (Thothmes I.), then his majesty proceeded capturing the forts, and laying waste the lands ^m of the vanquished of the vile Naharaina

(l. 19.) before him on his path ⁿ springing like ^o a lion in the land of goats. The horses were frightened ^p

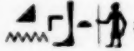
^a (Fig. 116) *hrui*. Cf. fig. 115, *ar n thar*, the roll of leather.—Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 23, 32.

^b (Fig. 117) *kar t*, havings, bearings.

^c *Su . t* is "corn," wheat. See Rosett. Ins. l. 6. *Bot* is probably barley; at all events beer (*hek*) was made of it.


^d They are to be turned to the treasury as the "sum" or "account," *Ap*, fig. 118.—Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 74. *Ap. heku*, "the number of slaves."

^e The word *uthu* here has for determinative a "fire."—Cf. Champollion, Gr. p. 99, as if a "lamp."

^f (Fig. 119) *kanbut*, determined by hair.—Cf. Burton, Exc. Hier. pl. xxvi. l. ; probably *kanbut* are some kind of troops. Cf. Lepsius, Abth. ii. bl. 124, 136, c. 138 a. 149.

^g *Ana*, stones, pearls?—Champollion, Gram. p. 90; Dict. 87, measured, however, by bushels.

^h Or *kam*, brown jasper.—Champollion, Gram. p. 90.

ⁱ (Fig. 120) a panther, see the tablet, Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 65 a; Champollion, Notice, p. 105, .

^k *Ma*, substances—materials.

^l *She* seems to mean a quota (see Prisse, Mon. loc. cit.); not rice, *milion*, as some have thought.

^m The word here, *uhut*, is uncertain.

ⁿ Restore here *hr matn*, on the path; see above.

^o (Fig. 121) *har*, like a lion in a land of goats. The usual words for lion are *labu* and *mau*. Ramses says, Champollion Mon. III., ccvi., "I intend to spring on them like a bull on goats."

^p *Shershu*; uncertain what it means.

(l. 20.) their women 30, 80 men taken prisoners, 606 slaves, males and females, with their children, surrendered^a men and women

(l. 21.) Ninii sailing,^b when his majesty comes he sets up a tablet in Naharaina, in order to enlarge the boundaries of Egypt

(l. 22.) 513 slaves, male and female, 260 horses, 47 mna, 9 kati of gold, silver vases of the work of the Tahai

(l. 23.) 28 calves, 564 bulls, 5323 goats, 828 jars of frankincense, . . . jars of balsams

(l. 24.) the cities came supplying everything which they ought, as it were, according to their annual revenue with the manufactures of Ermenn, in proportion to their annual^c produce, and the chiefs of Ermenn

(l. 25.) of that land when all things were inspected^d which were brought by the chief of Saenkar mna of lapis lazuli,^e 24 mna of prepared lapis, good lapis of Babelu

(l. 26.) 15 kati weight, and vases brought by the great land of Khita^f on that year, 8 silver rings^g weighing 301 mna, 1 great white stone,^h a *faka* wood [chariot]ⁱ [his majesty erected a tablet in]

(l. 27.) Naharaina, on account of having extended the frontiers of Egypt. Quarried stone was brought to his majesty from the land of Pant in that year, pearls 1685 bushels.^k

(l. 28.) 114 calves, [305] bulls, total 419, besides boats laden with ivory, ebony, and panther skins, all the good things of that country [44 calves.]

(l. 29.) 60 bulls, total 104, besides boats laden with the good things of that country, the quota of the place The 34th year his majesty was then in the land of the Tahai

^a Cf. l. 28, bl. 32, and note. *hetp*.

^b *M senti*, "in a galley," or "sailing;" perhaps a sailing-ship.

^c *Cha nta tn rnpa*, see No. 75, *nta*; it is accompanied by *m*, *hr*, and *cha*.

^d Difficult sentence, *as-st hr* *nb*.—Cf. Inscription I, l.

^e *Chesteb ma*, "real lapis lazuli."—Cf. Champollion, Notice, p. 294, "a door (*m ash ma*) of true or real acacia, surrounded with brick walls." De Rougé, Mémoire, p. 86, and Rév. l. c.

^f Vide *supra*. The Great Khita also occur elsewhere. Vide *supra*.

^g *Sesh* (fig. 122), a shut or inclosed circle, "a ring" or "ingot." The finger-ring was *tebu*, and the ring-handle of vases also had another name.

^h *An* or *da het*, perhaps "a pearl."

ⁱ (Fig. 123) *faku*, beech (*fagus*) or fig (*figus*).

^k For this measure, see M. de Rougé, Rév. Arch. 1853, Mars, p. 25.

(l. 30.) fortresses captured in that year 2, forts surrendering on the hills of the land of Anaukasa 1; total 3. The prisoners brought by

(l. 31.) with their children, 40 [brood mares,^a] 15 chariots inlaid with gold and silver, gold vases, gold in rings weighing 50 mna 8 pounds, gold of the country in rings, making 153 mna; bricks of iron

(l. 32.) wood, gum,^a a cedar chair with footstools^b with the poles of a pavilion plated with brass and inlaid with precious stones and all the good wood of that land. The tribute of the Ruten in that year was, brood mares

(l. 33.) of the manufacture of the country, mna, 6 kati gold and silver vases, breccia,^c all kinds of stone vases, 80 bricks of iron of the country, 11 bricks of lead, 100 mna of colours, pearls, felspar, emeralds,^d

(l. 34.) the delicious balsam made out of green balsam 2080 measures, of wine 308 measures, *faka* wood^e chariots, acacia^f all the wood of that land. Then came all the cities supplying all good things for his majesty to receive

(l. 35.) great^g of to his majesty. The tribute of the chief of the Asi in that year was 108 bricks of iron, 2400 mna of bitumen,^h 6 bricks of lead, 1200 *nas* of lead, 110 mna of lapis lazuli, 1 tusk of ivory;

(l. 36.) total 84; bulls 105, calves 170, total 275; moreover, boats laden with ivory and ebony and all the substances of that land measured by Kush also; the tribute of the Uauat also mna of gold

(l. 37.) all the good things of the country, the quota of the Uauat also. In the 35th year, then his majesty was in the land of Tahai in his 10th expedition; his majesty approached the fortress of Aruana. Then the sum of the vile enemy

(l. 38.) of the ends of the earth,ⁱ their infinite number going along to fight with his majesty. Then his majesty flew to fight with them. The army of his majesty

^a (Fig. 124) *kam*. See Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. ii p. 360.

^b *Ses kna*. Vide *supra*, acacia or cedar chairs or beds, palanquins.

^c *Men*.—Cf. M. Bunsen's Statue; Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. ix. b. c. a kind of breccia.

^d *Sesem*. In the tomb of Rekshara, this word is written over a heap of green gems in a basket. Champollion, Notice, p. 508.

^e *Faka* (fig. 123), of *faka* wood; perhaps birch wood. The car at Florence, described by Rosellini, is principally of birch wood. Else of birch or fig-tree wood.

^f (Fig. 125) *ses kenkut*, some object or thing made of *ses* or *sont* wood.

^g *N-magh* As this group is half destroyed, it is not possible to determine its meaning. It occurs in a title. Champollion, Notice, p. 509.

^h *Seft*. See Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. ii p. 362, still so called at His. See Rich, *Memoir on Babylon*, p. 64.

ⁱ "Of the numerous things" or "chosen of the country."

(l. 39.) of Naharaina,

(l. 40.) 2 brass suits of armour, a helmet weighing mna. The amount of the things taken by the army of his majesty from [the land of Naharaina] was 10 prisoners, 180 horses, 60 chariots.

(l. 41.) Bordered helmets?^o 15 brass suits of armour,^f 5 iron^s casques for the head, 5 bows of the Sharu. The captures made by the

(l. 43.) 81 mna of frankincense, 989 jars of balsams

[As the part of the lines numbered from 42—54 is by no means the upper part which joins on to number 41, it is necessary to detach them and proceed with the tributes and events of the annals line by line. It is quite uncertain to what years they refer.]

(1. 42.) shekels^bⁱ,^b essence of acaciaⁱ

(l. 43.) boats laden with ebony and ivory, and all the good products of that land

(1. 44.) In the 38th year then his majesty was in his 13th campaign, his majesty was laying waste [the land of the Tahai.]

* *Ht hta* (fig. 126) perhaps ḪWT "should."—Cf. Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.* pp. 63, 64, vertical line, or ḪOTḪET , "to investigate."

^b (Fig. 127) *chn . su*, to rest or alight.—Cf. description of a hill, Lepsius, Todt. lxx. 149 d. 13, "heaven rests on it."

^c Cf. Rosellini, M. R. cii. "one after another into the Arunata" or Orontes.

^d *At* (fig. 128), a multitude.

* *A chener sama.*

^f *Muss* (fig. 129), brass girdles.

* (Fig. 130), straps.

^h *Shakaru*, "shekels;" vide supra.

¹ (Fig. 76 is the complete form *hank*) *ma*, some substance, or a quantity. Cf. Lepsius, *Ausw.* taf. xiv.

^k *Abha*, some kind of stone.

¹ *Mistm n ash*, essence of acacia, perhaps gum arabic.

- (l. 45.) of^a men surrendered on the frontiers of the Anaukasa.
 (l. 46.) heads of goats, the head of a lion, of all the work of the Tahai
 (l. 47.) 5 tusks of ivory, tables^b of ivory and of *sont* wood, 18 mna of
 (l. 48.) likewise the quota of the Tahai of corn, flour, incense
 (l. 49.) 240 bushels of stones, the work of the vile Kush, 100 mna of gold
 (l. 50.) 16 negroes, 77 bulls, besides [boats laden with ebony, ivory, and all the good things of that country.]
 (l. 51.) 229 brood mares, 2 gold dishes with rings, 12 mna in weight
 (l. 52.) white stone,^c natron one mna, the polished^d stone of the country
 (l. 53.) the linen of the country, and all the products of the country. Then came all the cities supplying things for his majesty to receive
 (l. 54.) of the Tahai, of corn, incense, and balsams
 (l. 55.) bulls 246, white goats 40, goats
 (l. 56.) [chariots] inlaid with silver and gold, and colours; 30 slaves
 (l. 57.) 13 steers, 530 bulls, 80 asses, brass
 (l. 58.) the Tahai of *ash* wood capturing the^e of their
 (l. 59.) waggons the work of the vile Kush, 300 mna of gold
 (l. 60.) 254 slaves male and female, 10 negroes, steers
 (l. 61.) of Naharaina, horses, men, and slaves
 (l. 62.) the leaders to his majesty's spirits

[*Lepsius, Denkmäler, Abth. iii. bl. 31 a.*]

- (l. 1.)
 (l. 2.) horses of the country, wood for burning, the work of the vile Kush; 80 mna 1 pound of gold, . . . 0 male and female slaves steers
 (l. 3.) 34 negro slaves male and female, 94 bulls and steers; moreover boats laden with all good things, the quota of Vavat
 (l. 4.) the mound of Anaukasa. The number of the prisoners brought by his majesty's army from the mound of Anaukasa, 50 living prisoners mares and chariots of
 (l. 5.) the tribute brought to his majesty's spirits in that year was 328

^a *Nu ru a sha*.

^b For tables of *ss*, cedars and ivory, see note ¹ p. 126.

^c (Fig. 131) *mench*, things fabricated or made, or *men ht*, white stone "alabaster."

^d Workable.

^e (Fig. 132) *kefu. t*, perhaps the *kufa* boat; the next (fig. 133) is to me unknown.

horses, 522 slaves male and female, 9 chariots inlaid with gold and silver, 31 painted, total 40, a collar of lapis lazuli a cup, dishes

(l. 6.) 2821 mna 3 kati, 276 bricks of the iron of his country, 47 bricks of lead, 656 pints^a of incense, 3 jars of delicious balsam, 1752 jars of bitumen, 156 jars of wine, 12 bulls, 86 asses, deer^b

(l. 7.) 11 spears,^c shields^d and bows, all the excellent wood of that land, all the good products of that country. Then came every city supplying all good things according to their yearly produce; of a galley,^e the work of the Remenn . . .

(l. 8.) the tribute brought by the chief of Asi was, iron of his country [. bricks], horses. The tribute of the chief of Arurech in that year was 5 male and female slaves, and 2 bricks of the iron of his country, 65 canes of sont wood, and all the delightful wood of his country . . . brought by the spirits of his majesty from the land of Pânt.

(l. 9.) . . . 36 negro slaves male and female, 111 young bulls, 185 bulls, total 306; besides boats laden with ivory, ebony, and all the good products of that land, with the quota of that land, the work of the Vavat, 3645, male and female slaves,

(l. 10.) . . . [boats] laden with all the good products of that land.

In the 39th year his majesty was in the land of the Rutennu, in his 13th campaign, and goes [to attack the] people Shasu. The amount of tribute brought by the was 197 male and female slaves.

(l. 11.) 30 mna of true [lapis lazuli,] silver dishes, a cup, a vase in shape of a bull's head, 325 polished vases, and silver in rings weighing 1495 mna 1 kati, a chariot ——— making

(l. 12.) frankincense prepared, and fresh balsams, pitch, and honey^f . . 465 jars, 1405 jars of wine, 80 bulls, 1193 kids

(l. 13.) of all good things according to the rate of their yearly products navigating the horizon, likewise the quota of

These inscriptions will be found on examination to consist of two portions—the first the narrative of the campaign of Thothmes III. personally into Palestine, undertaken during the 22nd and 23rd years of his reign, and which ended in a most suc-

^a *Hbn*, here the plough = *hb* or *chb*.

^b (Fig. 134) *hnn*, deer. Cf. Rosellini, M. C. 154.

^c *Hanni*, perhaps a mace; vide supra, (fig. 96.)

^d *Akam*, a buckler. Cf. Champollion, Gr. Eg. p. 77.

^e Or "sailing."

^f Possible the wasp here is = *hb* in *hbn* "vases, jars," a measure.

cessful attack upon certain places in Canaan and the seizure of a very large spoil, recorded in a dramatic manner. 2nd. The king's own account of the enormous gifts and revenues which he conferred upon the great temple of Amen Ra, in the Karnak quarter of Thebes, in consequence of the aid rendered him in his expeditions by his tutelary deity. 3rd. The annals which the king caused to be placed on the wall of the temple, and which comprise the history of the empire and its tribute roll from the 29th to the 40th years.

Much difficulty exists in unravelling this part of the history of the eighteenth dynasty, owing to the political confusion of the period. Thothmes I. had, upon his death, been succeeded by Thothmes II. who was not his son. Upon the accession of this monarch he had married, or been placed under the tutelage of his cousin, the regent Hatasu; for it appears from several inscriptions that Thothmes I., who had married his sister, had by her a daughter, who did not survive him. Some other memorials of the early part of this reign, and of the unhappy distractions of the family, are shown by the monument of the El Assasif.^a Upon the granite propylon is a joint dedication by the Queen Regent and Thothmes III., who shared the sovereignty in an inferior degree.^b It had, however, been commenced by the Regent, for it is expressly stated, "that *she* made it as her monument to *her* father Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth, a great pylon of Amen^c has been made to him, placing monuments of granite. May *she* live for ever!" In these dedications the name of the Regent has been chiselled out and replaced by that of Thothmes III. In another place, a small chamber^d of this temple of Amen Ra, the dedication of the gate made in the joint names of Thothmes III. and his sister has been also cut out, and the name of Thothmes II. inserted in her stead. Unfortunately a great granite tablet, which might have thrown much light upon the subject, has been destroyed. In the inner hall^e the regent Hatasu kneels in adoration to the ark of the god Amen Ra or Num Ra, the ends of which are adorned with heads of rams, surmounted by the cap called atf, followed by Thothmes III., who is also on his knees; and both offer milk to the god. Behind them stands "the princess whom he loves, the wife of the god [Amen] Ra neferu" or "Ra nane." At the other side of the ark is Aahmes, the sister and wife of Thothmes I.



^a Champollion, Mon. Notice, p. 572; Lettres Ecrites, p. 292; Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii 20 c.

^b Champollion, Mon. Notice, p. 573.

^c Champollion, Mon. Notice, p. 573; *A ar t nf sb naa Amn sr manu m mat*; a curious phrase if correct.

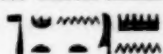
^d Champollion, Mon. p. 574, 575; Cf. 572, ch. t.

^e Chamber o.; Cf. Champollion, Mon. t. ii. pl. cxcii. 3; cxciv. 1, 3.

and "the princess Chebnefru,"^a who had been assumed into the empire. All, however, at this time were dead. The precedence of the female line is here shown, and it appears probable that both Thothmes I. and Thothmes III. had married their sisters or half-sisters; that the first had by his wife the prince Chebnefru, upon whose death Thothmes II. had come to the crown; and, after a comparatively short reign, that the queen regent Hatasu, the elder sister, succeeded to the crown, but that forced by political considerations she had married Thothmes III., and that the fruit of their union was the princess Ra-nefru, who was assumed into the empire, but who had survived the queen regent; that she however had subsequently died. As in an upper division of the same chamber Thothmes III. and this princess are seen unaccompanied by the Regent, it is clear that her political power ended first; and in the Eilethyian inscription the princess is mentioned last. According to some,^b Thothmes I. married Aahmes-Arinefer, the widow of Amosis I., had a son Amenhept, who died before him, and was step-father of Amenophis I., who had in vain assumed into the empire his daughters Amen-sa.t and Amen-meri,^c the prince Paaru having died before him, and that Thothmes II.-III. and Hatasu were the children of Thothmes I.



This tablet reads "commencing with the reign of the king, the Sun, the glorious lord (Amasis I.), the justified the king, the Sun distributor of existence (Amenophis I.), justified; continuing to the Sun, greatest being in existence (Thothmes I.), the justified; and the king, the Sun, the greatest of creations (Thothmes II.); the justified, continuing to the Sun placer of creation (Thothmes III.), may he live for ever!^d I followed the good chief, I was living in the king's reign. I was among the subjects of their majesties, I was attached to the side of the monarch. Again, I acted for the divine wife, chief of subjects, the elder queen Ra-ma-ka (the regent Hatasu Num-t Amen), justified. I brought up her daughter, the elder, the princess Ra-neferu, justified. She was in the director of objects taken Aahmes, surnamed Pen-neneb." This refers to the services of the functionary Aahmes, surnamed Pen-neneb, who held the same offices as the one mentioned in the inscription of the Louvre. Now it is evident from this inscription that the princess Ra-neferu was the daughter of the Regent, and that she had been assumed into the government by her mother. She is not mentioned in the direct succession. That she was the daughter of Thothmes III. will appear from the temple of the El Assasif.

^a Champollion, Mon. t. ii. pl. cxvii. and cxviii. 2. Lepsius, Einleit. s. 307, gives the correct meaning of "wife of a god;" the mother of Aahmes I., on a tablet, Brit. Mus. No. 446, is called  *Hn, ntynt Amni*, divine wife of Amen, *παλλὰκτις Διός*. Lepsius, Denkm. iii. 4 e.

^b Dr. Hincks.

^c Lepsius, Auswahl, taf. xi.

^d Lepsius, Abth. iii. bl. 40.

That the reign of the Queen Regent had no political or dynastic value, and was comprised in that of Thothmes II. and III., is not only evident from the absence of her statue in the ancestral processions, and the omission of her name from the tablet of Abydos, but also from the inscription of the officer who had charge of the spoils of the army of the kings, whose sepulchral tablet or tombstone is in the museum of the Louvre.^a This, which is mutilated, had the usual formula: "[Peace^b be to Osiris, who dwells in the west, who gives meals of food and drink, oxen and geese], to be clad in linen,^c incense, wax, substances, plants, all perfect and good things to the nomarch Penneneb."

The whole of A then reads thus:—

- (l. 1.) the nomarch, a counsellor of the mind of his master, seal-bearer,
- (l. 2.) chief over the captured objects, Aahmes, who has been named Pen-neneb,
- (l. 3.) says: I served the king, the glorious lord (Aahmes I.), whose word is true, taking for him out of the country of [Kush]
- (l. 4.) one live captive, one hand; I served the king, the Sun who distributes existence (Amenophis I.), taking for him out of Kush
- (l. 5.) one living prisoner;^d a second time I acted for the king, the Sun who distributes existence (Amenophis I.), whose word is true, taking for him out of the north of Amu-
- (l. 6.) -kahak, three hands; I served the king, the Sun, greatest of created existences (Thothmes I.), whose word is true, taking for him out of Kush
- (l. 7.) two living captives: moreover the living captives I have brought out of Kush I do not reckon them;
- (l. 8.) a second time I acted for the king, the Sun, greatest of created existence (Thothmes I.), whose word is true, taking for him out of the land of Nahairu-
- (l. 9.) -na 21 hands, 1 horse, 1 chariot. I served the king, the Sun, greatest of creators (Thothmes II.), whose word is true;
- (l. 10.) I led out of the land of the Shasu very many living captives: I do not reckon them.

^a Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. xiv. Zwei Steine im Louvre; Cf. *Denkm.* Abth. iii. bl. 37.

^b The phrase at the commencement of this formula, reading directly *su ma hep. t* or *ma sutn hep. t* has its difficulties. Some see in it the offering which always ran in the name of the king (*sutn*); others a thanksgiving. It appears, however, in lists as something substantial, connected with food.

^c This contracted form occurs in full, Leemans, *Mon.* viii. 652, f. *mnch m ans*.

^d I had formerly connected the word *gam* with *anch*, as they occur united after the names of living persons,—Champollion, *Notice*, p. 80. *Gam*, however, sometimes means "second," as pointed out by Dr. Hincks, hence "again—a second time."

The second inscription, B, requires still more correction. The three first lines, which are the end of some praise of the officer, are unfortunately much mutilated.

- (l. 1.) king of Upper Egypt instructing the king of Lower Egypt
- (l. 2.) of the works remaining or placed of the palace, a most obedient person in the of the king
- (l. 3.) superintendent of things
- (l. 4.) captured. Aahmes, who has been named Penneneb, who says,
- (l. 5.) Blessed be the ruler! may he live for ever! I never ceased * my exertions for the king, commencing from
- (l. 6.) the Sun, the glorious lord (Aahmes I.), whose word is true, continuing to the Sun, the greatest object of creation (Thothmes II.), whose word is true. I was . . .
- (l. 7.) of the reign of the king; until the Sun placer of creation (Thothmes III.), may he live for ever! I received of the king, the Sun, who distributes existence (Amenophis I.), whose word is true,
- (l. 8.) a pair of gold bracelets, 2 collars, an armlet, a poignard, a crown inlaid with enamel.
- (l. 9.) I received of the king, the Sun, the greatest object of creation (Thothmes I.) a pair of gold bracelets, 4 collars, a, a poignard with heads
- (l. 10.) of lions, 2 gold hatchets. I received of the king, greatest object of creation, (Thothmes II) a pair of gold bracelets, 6 collars, 3 bracelets of enamel silver hatchets.

Probably one of the earliest monuments of the joint reign of Thothmes III. and his sister is the tablet of the Vatican. This has been very indifferently published.^b Its object is to record a dedication of the Tuthmoseium or temple of Thothmes I. to Amen Ra. At this period Thothmes III. appears in a state of complete tutelage. Ha-t-asu advances towards the god Amen, who has the titles of "lord of the foundations of the Earth." The Regent wears the red cap (*teshr*) or crown of the Lower parts of Egypt, while her brother wears the white crown (*hut*), emblem of dominion over Upper Egypt, and intended to show the division of the kingdom between them. Behind them stands the goddess of the West, turning her face in the other direction; she is called the goddess whose "head is averted (*cheft-hr*), mistress of the West;" what this is intended to convey does not appear from the text. The tablet is in the name of the Regent, as, "The living

^a What this means is obscure—it reads *tsh* or *sht*. Cf. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. 95-6, conducting him safely (?) Hence Lepsius, Todt. i. l. 6, I was with Horus the day of clothing the destitute (?) (*sht*) to open the door [of the Nile], &c.


^b By Pistolesi, Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato. Fol. Romæ, 1829, vol. iv. tav. lxiii.

Horus, the supplier of existences, the lord of the upper and lower diadem, defender of years, chief of defenders, ruler of the South and North, the king, the Sun, the truth of existence, the son of the Sun, of whom *he* is beloved, [issue] of his body, *Ha. t asu* whom Amen directs; *he* has made it as a memorial to his father Amen Ra, *he* has set up embellished with constructions for ever depicted for the first time; never was anything done like while the earth has been.^a *Her* majesty has made it as she wished to her father Amen Ra, king of the gods, that she may live like the Sun for ever." This indeed may refer either to the granite temple at Karnak, which was commenced by the kings of this dynasty, continued by the Regent, and finally completed in the most magnificent manner by Thothmes III., or else to the temple of the El Assasif, which was also commenced by the Regent and finished by Thothmes. But the most interesting of these monuments is the tablet set up by the Queen in the temple of Athor, mistress of the copper lands at the Wady Magara, dated in the 16th year, the last known date of their joint reign. It is unfortunately too much mutilated to throw much light upon its purport.

The statue of the Prince Anebta in the British Museum was also executed at this time. The inscription on it states, that "it was made by order (*hs*) of the perfect goddess, the Sun, the truth of existence (*Ha. t asu*), living and enduring like the Sun, and of her brother, the perfect god, the lord who makes things; may he live like the Sun for ever!

"Peace be to Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the Earth; to Osiris the eternal ruler; to Anepu, who dwells in the divine gate [of the Sun], who belongs to Tu, [This,] lord of the space, who give meals of food and drink, oxen, and geese, to be clad in linen, incense, wax, good and pure things, all things which appear on their tables at sunset daily, to drink the water out of the streams of the river, to breathe the delicious breath of the north wind, to go in and out of the double gates to the wise one, praised to his god, doing the will of his master in his works, following his lord at his footsteps in the South and North, prince over the bow, over the wood of the king, Anebta, justified like the great daimons."^b

At the temple of the El Assasif there is a gate on which the name of Thothmes is

^a  = *Tr pt ta*, "during the balancing of the earth, or while the earth runs [*put*]." The same phrase occurs in the Karnak obelisk, Lepsius, Denkm. Hence "I appointed their course (*put*) of food and drink." Ib. ii. 124. The object itself is an hypocephalus? Ib. bl. 148. This word seems also to mean "gods." Lepsius, Todt. xxviii. 277. Coptic $\Phi\tau$. [?]

^b Lepsius, Auswahl, xi. The *Ru-sta*, "entrance of the fields," mentioned here is the meridian. *Mu tu chr put nan*. It appears to me that *chr* may mean "like," that the deceased was justified, as Osiris, Ra, and the other gods had been, against the "slanderers" [*cheft*].

erased,^a and another on which he appears along with Thothmes I. and the regent Hatasu.^b

The gates of the smaller temple of Medinat-Haboo^c bear the joint names of Thothmes II. and III.; signifying either that the two brothers occupied the throne conjointly, which is far from impossible, as the political condition of the period can only be compared to that at the time of the Ptolemies, or that the edifice was completed after the fall of the Regent.

The southern propylon of Karnak was also erected during the contemporaneous reign of Thothmes II. and III.^d

It appears that the great obelisk of the Regent at Karnak was not erected till the association of Thothmes with her to the royal dignity. The south and west faces indeed have only the single large line of hieroglyphs containing the dedication of the Regent, but on the north and east faces two lateral lines of vignettes are added, in which the Regent and Thothmes are seen adoring the god Amen Ra in his various characters or attributes.^e

In the little palace of Medinat-Haboo, under the gallery, Thothmes III., wearing the atf, is represented hoeing the ground before the god Khem. In another picture he is represented seated on a throne holding the *pat*^f (sceptre); he is called, beside his usual name and titles, "smiter of the rulers of countries." Behind him, wearing the head attire of Athor, is "the great royal lady Hatasu, beloved of the Sun."^h She had then fallen in political importance.

There is also a gateway built into the Ptolemaicⁱ constructions at Ombos, which was probably finished by Thothmes III. soon after he rose to be independent of the queen. The whole of the six scenes, four of which are above and form a kind of frieze, represent Thothmes offering to the parhedral and local gods of Ombos; but on each side below are two lines, "The gate which the Sun, the truth of existence, (*Hatasu*) intended to place in the house of Sebak."

Now the temple of Samneh appears, from the inscriptions recently published by M. Lepsius, to have been commenced very early in the reign of Thothmes III.; for it

^a Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 20.

^b Ibid. bl. 21.

^c Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 7; Champollion, Notice, p. 324, and following.

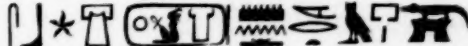
^d Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 16, d. g.

^e Champollion, Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxv.

^f Champollion, Mon. t. ii. pl. cxcv.

^g The *chrp*, or consecrator. Vide *supra*.

^h Champollion, Mon. t. ii. pl. cxci.

ⁱ Rosellini, M. d. C. xxviii. It reads,  Champollion, Notice, p. 232

is found on the outer wall that the prince of Æthiopia, Nehi, caused the representation of the offerings made to the temple by the King to be engraved on the 7th of Payni, in the second year of the reign,^a giving several hundred bushels of corn out of the quota of the Vava-t, and a few cattle ordered "to be charged upon the yearly revenue for ever." Here also the Regent's name does not appear.

It appears from the calendar of Elephantine, set up by Thothmes III., that the heliacal rising of the dog-star during his reign occurred *there* on the 28th of Epiphi.^b This has been supposed to raise the date of the reign to B.C. 1444, and it will be necessary again to allude to it.

M. Lepsius it appears reconstructs in some new manner the history of the period. From Amasis I. to the regent Ha. tasu he makes the 17th dynasty of Manetho.^c With Thothmes III. he commences the 18th.^d Yet Thothmes appears to have been her brother; and till this *savant's* views are developed it is difficult to know on what grounds the proposed new arrangement is based. Independent of the tablet of the annals of Karnak, some isolated monuments show the extinction of the Queen's power. On a mutilated tablet at the Sarabut El Khadem the monarch is seen alone adoring Athor, while a functionary records the subjugation of the country.^e Another, which he set up at Heliopolis, records the dedication of the peribolos of the pylon to Ra or Helios.^f The tomb of one Amenemha, a remarkable name to find in the 18th dynasty, who was scribe of the granary of the divine food of Amen Ra, and superintendent of cakes, is dated in the 28th year.^g

About this time dates the temple of Kummeh, dedicated also to Usertesen III.,^h Chnumis, and Athor, and built "of the good white stone of Shaa." The works of the prince Nehi are also found on the island of Sai.ⁱ

Although no other monument of Egypt is extant of the extent of these tablets, giving so full an account of the history of the period, and bearing so great a resemblance to the inscription on the Nimrud obelisk, it was the custom for the kings of Egypt to inscribe at the various temples which they raised, repaired, or endowed, historical records; and it is to sacerdotal gratitude that the history of Egypt owes what remains of its mutilated form. It has been indeed supposed that the word translated inscription may mean picture, and that the whole subject-matter refers to

^a Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 55; M. de Rougé, *Rév. Arch.* 1853, pp. 674, 675.

^b Young, *Hieroglyphics*, Pl.; Lepsius, Denk. iii. bl. 49; M. de Rougé, *Rév. Arch.* 1853, p. 668; M. Biot, *Athenæum Français*, Fev. 1853, p. 192, and following, makes this date 1444 B. C.

^c Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 16, 17.

^d *Ibid.* 17, and following.

^e Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 23.

^f *Ibid.* bl. 29, b.

^g Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 38, a—g.

^h Lepsius, l. c. 57.

ⁱ Lepsius, l. c. 59, 6.

certain sculptures placed on the back of the wall; but pictures of the nature described in the text do not exist anywhere in Egypt. The only approach to such are to be found in the sepulchres of the functionaries of the period entombed at Gournah, to one of which, that of Rekhshara, it will be necessary to refer.

It is highly probable that Thothmes III. when he first was placed on the throne, was extremely young, similar to his descendant Rameses II. who is always mentioned in the early inscriptions as "the youth."^a Hence it was not till his 22nd regnal year that he was able to undertake military service, and he is represented as marching out of the city of Failu, the supposed Pelusium, which had a citadel (*chatem*) on its left bank, the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile. It was the frontier town during this as well as the subsequent dynasty; and the high priests and nomarchs await with triumphal branches and flowers Sethos I. on his return from the campaign against the Ruten in his first year.^b In this picture the position of Pelusium in the marshes is shown by the reeds on the side of the river; while the whole frontier of Egypt seems intended by the places called the Place of the Lion, or Leontopolis, and the Magadula,^c or Migdol of Sethos—the Sea and the Lakes. It appears from the fragmentary expressions that can be made out, that both the enemy and the monarch met in the plains of Sharuhana, or Sharon.^d As early, indeed, as the reign of Aahmes I. this fortress had been captured by the Egyptians for Aahmes Penneb, as his tomb states: "When I was seated in the land of Sharuhana,^e in the 3rd year, and his majesty took it; I led thence two female captives and a hand. I received gold for my services; the captives were given me for slaves." This country can be no other than the celebrated plains of Sharon, into which, as the entrance of Palestine, the king had marched. Homage had been rendered to the monarch by all the immediate neighbouring Canaanitish princes from Juruta, or Juruga, or the well known city of Jericho.^f From thence he passed to the fortress of Katatu, or Kadd, which he entered in triumph on the 15th Pashons, while the homage was received on the 2nd, the day of the coronation, or the vernal equinox. The King marches on the 23rd to Juhem, with the intention of attacking Megiddo, with whose chief were confederated the prince of Naharaina, or Mesopotamia, the Khita, the Kharui, and the Katu^g or

^a It appears from the Tablet of Kouban, Prisse, pl. xxi. l. 17, that Rameses III. was only 10 years old in his third regnal year.

^b Rosellini, M. R. No. L.

^c Not the South Watch-tower, as erroneously read by Rosellini, tom. 3. pte. i. p. 359.

^d *Σαρίων* or *Σαρωάν*.—Cf. *שָׂרֵי*, Isaiah, xxxiii. 9; xxxv. 2; lxxv. 10.

^e Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 7.

^f Joshua, ii. 1, 2, 3; I. Kings, xvi. 34; Pliny, N. H. v. 15; Tacit. v. 6; Luke, x. 30.

^g This may be a variant of Kadesh. Cf. Rosellini, M. R. xci.

Kadesh; and the King discourses about the route they should take, whether the main road of Aaruna,^a or Ajalon, the other to Taanaka, or Taanach,^b a dependency of Megiddo, and another branching off to Geftha,^c or Gabbatha. On the 19th of the month the King pitched his tent at Aaruna. From the expressions here it appears that during the campaign the King had marched on foot, his horse led behind him. About noon the King reached the waters of Kaina, apparently the River Kannah, between whose sources and the sea of Galilee Megiddo is placed; and after an order to the army to watch the camp, and subsequent arming and preparations for battle, the enemy was totally routed in the plain of Megiddo, abandoning their horses, chariots, and baggage, while the Egyptian army pressed forward to Megiddo and cut off the retreat both of the army of the town and that of Kadesh, which was united with it. The camp of the enemy and the son of the King of Megiddo were taken, and an immense booty. The King of Egypt subsequently took the citadel, and the spoil was counted and registered upon the roll of *leather* which was kept in the royal treasury.

This portion of the inscription also embraces an account of the spoil brought from the Upper Ruten, from the fortress of Nunaa, or "Great Lake," which was subsequently attacked by Sethos I.^d the fortress of Anaukasa, and that of Hurankar. Unfortunately these names do not throw much light upon the locality of the Ruten, the name probably given by the Egyptians to the people lying south and north of the Taurus, and with whom the Egyptians at this period were continually at war, as were subsequently the Assyrians, their great rivals. The products of these people, indeed, show that they must lie as far north as Syria, and it is remarkable that here again is mentioned with them the tribute of the king of Assyria, who brings the good lapis lazuli, or the blue paste imitation of it manufactured at Babel. After this there can be no hesitation in admitting that Babilu is Babel, although it does not appear as a necessary consequence to be under the dominion of Assyria, since in the so-called statistical tablet the chief of Saenkar (Shinar or Singara) also offers the same substance.

The chief of the Ruten also offers to the monarch his daughter, who probably passed into the harem of the Pharaoh. At a subsequent period in the reign of Rameses II. the chief of the great Khita brings with the usual tribute, or "presents,

^a Or *Naaruna*, Nairn.

^b נגפן. Judges, i. 27, v. 19; II. Kings, ix. 27.

^c This word much resembles the name of the Khedu, but is not the same.

^d Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* No. xlvi. 2.

his daughter,^a bringing her forward, that she should please his majesty." Under a later Rameses a chief of Bakh-ten, or Bahten, probably Batanæa, makes exactly the same offer, and this alliance produces an extraordinary religious mission from Egypt to that country.^b

There can be no doubt as to the position of Maketa, which is clearly the celebrated town of Megiddo,^c Magedde, or Magaddai, which belonged to the Kanaanites, and which was situated in the plains of Jesreel, with a plain belonging to it exactly as mentioned in the inscription, called the plain of Megiddo,^d and near it were the waters of Megiddo.^e It was subsequently fortified by Solomon as the key of Palestine from the sea.^f It appears amongst the conquests of Shishak.^g

The second inscription is of an interest equally great with the first, and was evidently connected with it,—the scope being to record the dotation of the temple. It commences with a mention of the return of the monarch from an expedition against the Ruten, and the building of a fortress in that territory by the king of Egypt, and the change of its name into that of Thothmes by the chief of the Remenn. This nation formed part of the greater people of the Ruten. These people, supposed to be either the tribe of the Lebanon or else of the neighbouring chain of the Hermon, are mentioned in a subsequent part of the inscriptions as contributing "a galley" to Egypt. In the campaign of Sethos I.^h they are seen cutting down their woods to float a fleet upon the river, whether the Jordan or the Euphrates would depend on the direction of the supposed march or conquest of the King. The want of wood in Egypt was as much the reason of the Egyptians not using a fleet as its abundance in Syro-Phœnicia aided the maritime enterprises of the Phœnicians. In the statistical tablet the King of Egypt is stated to return thither in a sailing-vessel, and it appears from the poem detailing the campaign of Rameses II.ⁱ against the Khita that the monarch had used galleys. Rameses III., who had to contend with the people of Palestine, also had a fleet, probably manned by his allies, the Sharutana of the Sea. Still the use of ships of war was extremely rare, especially if sea-going, and Egypt was by no means a maritime power.

^a Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. xxxviii. l. 25.

^b Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. vol. iv. p. 211. Her name was changed to *Raneferu*, that of the daughter of Hatasu (Prisse, pl. xxiv. l. 6); for the word *chb* means "to change." When Cambyzes changed his name to Ramessa the same word is used, "the change was made to the name of the king Ramessa" (Visconti, Mus. Pio. Cl. vol. v. T. A. 1, l. 7 g). The same phrase occurs on the Barberini Obelisk in mentioning the *change* of the name into the name of Antinous (Ungarelli, Int. Ob. Tab. vi. iv.)

^c Joshua, xvii. 11; Zacharia, xii. 11.

^d Chron. xxxv. 22.

^e Judges, v. 19.

^f 1 Kings, ix. 15.

^g Rosellini, M. R. cxlviii. iv. br.

^h Rosellini, M. R. xlvi. l.

ⁱ Select Papyri, Pl. xxiv. last l. Pl. xxvii. 1st line.

The celebration of a festival on the return from the campaign was probably a matter of course, and its adjustment to the festival of Ammon can only be considered as an extra honour to the Theban god.

When these festivals of Ammon fell is by no means clear from this inscription, nor does the calendar of Medinat-Haboo^a much aid us, as they commenced with the fixed year, 1st Thoth, and continued on successive days. Nor does the exit of the god from Southern Thebes on the 14th Choiak either appear of much chronological import, as it may refer either to the annual visit to Ethiopia in his rich barge, or to the "manifestation," as it is called, of Khem. The contributions of the King attest his piety, and are of the most magnificent description. Slaves, probably negroes, to open the doors; three fortresses of the Ruten,—just as the Lake Mœris and the town of Anthylla supplied the pin-money of the queens of Egypt. Linen of various sorts, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, copper, brass, iron, lead, colours for the monuments, bread, loaves of various kinds of food, cattle, geese, gazelles of different kinds, incense, wine, frankincense, offerings to the statues, to the obelisks; fields, meadows, and ponds, stocked with cattle, waterfowl, and pigeons, complete the long list of donations of particular things for their benefit. It is probable that these went for the daily dinner of the god, which is stated to have taken place at sunset daily, and with which Amen Ra or his priesthood were duly fed; for many of the sacerdotal class do not fail to record in their sepulchral inscriptions that they took the cakes which came on or off the tables of their gods. The Theban functionaries especially allude to this fact. The King perpetually states that these were given in addition to what was before, and also that there were charged upon the yearly revenues of the state a mode of providing for the temples which continued at least as late as the Ptolemies. This illustrates in a remarkable manner the mode in which the priests were maintained by the monarch out of the annual produce, as well as the alienation of the taxes charged to supply the food. The administration of the Persian empire, which was conducted on Assyrian and Egyptian principles, also has instances of the assignment of the revenue of particular cities for special purposes, the contributions of the provinces being adjusted to a particular standard. It appears in Egypt that the monarch was sole proprietor of the soil, from which he derived a rent or tax paid in kind of 2-10ths, or 20 per cent., the whole having been originally a decimal or tithe similar to the Hebrew endowment of the priesthood. Land was, however, clearly granted in perpetuity to the temple, and apparently to individuals, for Aahmes-Penneb received of the monarch he served *sta* or *stiohe* of

^a Champollion, Notice, p. 318.

land. Judging, however, from the Aramæan religions, a daily feast was prepared, at the King's charge, for the dinner either nominally of the god himself, or else for the sake of the local hierarchy; and the personal nature of the god of Thebes was kept up by the "divine wives" attached to his temple, and his journeys in the sacred arks and barges floated on the river; not to instance the type of the god and the oracular responses which he gave to his worshippers.^a

The gifts which are recorded in the inscription of Karnak are represented in one of the bas-reliefs of the granite sanctuary. Thothmes stands crowned in the *pschent*, wearing a tunic, and elevating in his right hand the sceptre called the *pat*,^b while in the left he holds a mace (*het*). Above the monarch are part of his usual name and titles, and an indication that he is beloved of Ammon, who is resident in the great house, the sanctuary that Thothmes has built for him. The King is accompanied by his *kar*,^c (fig. 73,) called "the king's living existence," which holds up the so called square title in which are his names as the Horus. Before him is inscribed, "He provides^d the monuments of his father Amen Ra; may he live like the Sun, for ever."

I. 1 box.	1 gold shrine.	1 ditto [silver?].
1 ditto.	1 ditto (<i>ptonhh</i>).	2 vases, with stands
1 box of gold.	1 vase.	and covers.
2 ditto.	1 gold jug.	4 ditto.
1 ditto.	3 gold cups.	1 amphora.
1 ditto, smaller.	1 with handle in	1 gold
1 ditto.	shape of an arm.	4
II. The great altar (<i>shau</i>	2 gold in lumps and	4 baskets of some
<i>naa</i>).	rings, and 613lbs.	substance.
1 lily of gold.	3 ounces of gold	1 buckle.
1 palette.	in ore.	32 sceptres.
1 mirror.	III. 1 stand [gold?].	IV. 2 collars.
1 dish (<i>tet</i>).	1 stand [silver].	2 ditto.
1 pool of gold (<i>nub</i>	1 ditto, another	2 crowns.
<i>chenem</i>).	shape [gold?].	4 collars.

^a Cf. Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, 8vo. Edinb. 1845, p. 60.

^b It is probable that this sceptre is the *cherp*, of which it sometimes appears to be the determinative.

^c The phonetic value of this is *kar* or *gar*, not *ka* as hitherto supposed. Cf. Champollion, *Notice*, p. 440.

^d *Chrp*, (fig. 64,) Ⲫⲱⲗⲏ, "he shews or exhibits."

- 4 collars.
 4 ditto.
 1 ditto, with pectoral plate.
 6 stands of vases.
 4 ditto, libation.
 4 boxes.
 1 armlet and chain.
 1 table of vases [gold].
 2 ditto [silver].
 1 crook.
 1 sceptre.
 1 rod.
 2 ditto.
 2 fly-flaps.
 1 vase, ornamented with a man and water-plants.
 37 vases, with lips of flowers.
 1 gold chair-back (*sa*).
 1 gold ditto.
 1 ewer.
 1 jug.
 1 stand, with stability and life.
 34 sceptres.
 3 baskets of bread?
 2 plain armlets.
 1 thick armlet (*meska*).
 4 anclets of different kinds.
 V. 1 vase, head of Num, in shape of symbol of life.
 1 ditto, stability man holding sceptres (*gams*).
 1 box.
 4 stands.
 3 other (object erased).
 2 palettes.
 1 vase, having on the cover, shrine, chariot, vases, and covers.
 1 ditto, birds.
 1 ditto, flowers.
 1 ditto, birds.
 1 box.
 1 shrine.
 1 box.
 1 ditto.
 1 ditto, another shape.
 1 ditto, chest for clothes.
 3 gold chains.
 3 ditto, different.
 4 gold bracelets or armlets.
 3 ditto.
 3 solid ditto (*meska*).
 6 armlets, solid [silver].
 3 ditto, solid.
 8 ditto, smaller.
 4 armlets, ornamented.
 2 ditto, chain, or
 1 ditto, collar, beads.
 VI. 1 stand.
 8 ditto.
 1 chapel shrine of King.
 1 Nile.
 1 ditto.
 3 altars.
 3 others.
 2 dishes.
 2 dishes and ladles.
 40 bowls [gold?].
 74 other bowls.
 10 silver goblets.
 6 ditto, with human arm handles.
 10 diotæ.
 2 flower-shaped dishes.
 52 amphoræ.
 1 silver cup and stand.
 1 situla.
 8 gold mats for the gods.
 1 silver jar.
 1 ditto, vases, with stand.
 52 bowls.
 7 ditto, deep.
 4 jugs.
 248 dishes.
 2 jars.
 VII. 4 stands.
 a table, with service.
 1 box.
 2 tables, with jars for water.

4 bottles.	21 bottles.	X. 1 jar.
1 stand, shape of flower.	1 jar on a stand.	2 stands.
1 lotus-shaped urn.	13 baskets of gems.	4 doors.
2 large vases, one with lotus.	11 other ditto.	15 ditto.
1 jar.	IX. 1 cartouche.	4 ditto.
1 amphora.	1 King and Horus.	1 table.
1 balsamary jar.	1 altar for libation.	1 chest.
300 dishes.	1 ditto.	2 jars.
1 chest.	30 dishes.	2 ditto, on a stand.
3 stands.	1 jar chest.	1 ditto, with flowers.
7 situlæ on a stand.	2 stands, with cartouches.	2 ditto.
1 amphora.	30 dishes.	2 goblets.
1 lecythus.	4 stands.	2 ditto.
7 circular and square vessels.	1 stand, some object.	1 altar.
2 heaps of gold in ring and ore.	1 vase, on a stand.	3 jars, balsamary.
a basket.	2 tables, with bread vases.	3 jugs.
VIII. 1 lotus cup.	2 ditto, with palette.	1 goblet.
1 ditto.	8 square pyxides.	5 ditto.
1 amphora.	23 tables.	1 jug.
	41 altars.	1 ditto.
		2 goblets.
		1 jar.

On the other side, Amen Ra, and part of an incomplete inscription, in which the god announces that he has given all the countries to the king. The most important gifts were the two obelisks of syenitic granite, which the inscription states to have been set up by Thothmes at the divine gate; but their inscriptions differ from any yet known, and they have probably disappeared in the removals which these great monoliths have undergone.

The third inscription again continues with the history of the tribute, and the Asi—the people of Is, mentioned in the statistical tablet—again appear; in the 10—12 line a transition takes place to another campaign against the fortress of Aranatu, that of Kanana, and the land of Tunep; * Kadesh was once more attacked,

* *Tanpu* occurs in the list of conquests of Amenophis III. at Soleb. Lepsius, Denkm. iii. bl. 88 a. In the first campaign of Rameses II. the Shasu complain to the king "that the host of the Kh'ta is seated in the Chirubu [Chabour] to the North of Tunp." Champollion, Mon. t. i. xxix. 7.

and the campaign extended to Naharaina or Mesopotamia. The Tanai, a Philistine tribe who were conquered by Rameses III. with their cognate allies, the Pulusata or Philistines, and the Gaklil^a or Galilæans, also contributed to the rent-roll, and the "silver jug of the work of the Kevau" refers to the celebrated metallic works of the Cyprians. It is evident that the influence of Egypt had penetrated into the isles^b of the Mediterranean, and the gods, who often give to the kings the north, south, east, and west, do not fail to add besides the isles in the midst of the great pond or sea.

The fourth inscription contains an amended version of the statistical tablet of Karnak, commencing with the twenty-ninth year, embracing the campaign against the Tahi^c or Gabi and the capture of one of its walled cities Uarushasha, the sack of Arutatu (*Arad*), another march against Kedesh undertaken in the thirtieth year, that town existing almost unconquered till the campaign of Rameses III. Considerable quantities of tribute continued to be paid by the Ruten, and from Naharaina, the chief of Saenkar, or the Singara, bringing the blue stone of Babel. The King had perhaps reached Nineveh. In the meantime the Kushite provinces contributed their quota; and in the thirty-fifth year is mentioned another campaign against the fortress of Aruana. Intimately connected with these inscriptions are the historical scenes in the tomb of Rekhshara, which have been twice published, with the inscriptions unfortunately much mutilated, and requiring a great deal of correction to render them intelligible. They represent "the reception of the tribute brought from the lands of the South and North, Kush, Pânt, the Rutennu, and Kefa,"^d which is carried by deputations to Thothmes III. and registered in his presence by scribes.

These are divided into four grand ethnic divisions, two of southern people, two of northern. The south are Pânt and Pet or Phut.

I. Pânt^e or Punt, the Libyans, the natives of the south-eastern confines of Egypt. They bring gold rings, gems (*ana*), gold dust (*gam*), gum (*kam*), various kinds of stones, ostrich eggs, two granite obelisks, vermilion, panthers' skins, tusks of ivory,

^a Champollion, Mon. cciii.

^b Cf. the Inscription of the reign of Bakhenaten, Burton, Exc. Hier. pl. vi. and of Rameses II., Rosellini, M. R. cxiv.

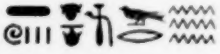
^c They occur among the prisoners at Esnah of Ptolemy Euergetes I. The order of the series is unfortunately not geographical, for it runs . . . *enruî*, *Makaten* (Macedon), *Persu* (Persia), *Arana* (Mesopotamia, or the Elymais), *Triksu* (Thrace), *Suash* (Susa), *Shabu* (Sheba, the Sabæi), *Kersu*, *Uarshi*, *Shaasu* (Arabia), Gaha or Taha, which last some suppose to be *Da-meshek*, or *Damascus*. Champollion, Notice, p. 185.

^d Cf. Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. Bl. 39 b.

^e Hoskins, Ethiopia, Tomb at Thebes, p. 328; Sir G. Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, ii. pl. 76, s. 14; vol. i. pp. 364, 374; Mr. Osburn, Egypt's Testimony, Svo. Lond. 1846, pp. 82, 88, 157.

cynocephali, the ibex, ebony, panthers, ostrich feathers, trees. In the ethnic tables Punt occurs among the southern and also the northern people. The northern Pant, which is represented as a fortified or walled city, some writers have supposed to be Penne; but the Punt was clearly a negro land, as has been already observed.^b

The other race of the South which is seen in this picture is that of the people of the South, Peti-Sent-han-nefer.^a This country, it appears from the inscription of Aahmes Penneneb, had been invaded as early as the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. It was apparently south of the First Cataract, and their products are similar to that of Punt, consisting of ebony (*abu*) and ivory, gold in rings and ingots (*nub*), gold dust in purses (*gam*), silver (*hat*), panther-skins, vermillion (*hmkat*), emeralds (*sesemt*), leopard's skins, apes, panthers, a camelopard, hunting-dogs, oxen, ostrich-feathers, and eggs. Most of these objects came by the way of commerce from the interior, and at the present day the camelopard is not found higher than 10° S. latitude, near the White River or Sixth Cataract.

The tribute brought by the third race, called the Kefa or Kheva,  "the isles in the midst of the Great Sea" or Mediterranean, and in whom are to be recognised the ancient inhabitants of Cyprus, with their hair curled like horns on their heads, whence the Greeks called them *sphekes*^b or wasps, consists of various vessels of gold and silver, some of them *rhyta*, gems, blue objects, and inlaid blue colour, probably the *καλὸς Κυπρίος*,^c mentioned by Theophrastus, and a tusk. It is remarkable that these people offer no copper, as might have been supposed; but their excellence in metallurgy is too great to suppose that they come from any isles to the east of Egypt. They are again mentioned in the list of the prisoners of Amenophis III. at Soleb.^d It is probable that the part of the statistical tablet in which is mentioned vases in shape of the heads of lions and gazelles refers to the tribute of the Khefa.

The last race on the picture are the Rutennu, who are said to lie to the north of the Great Sea; they are remarkably like some of the prisoners of Sargina at Khorsabad. They have already been repeatedly mentioned in the texts; they bring gold ingots, rings, and vases, silver ingots, rings, and vases, some gems, a substance called "heart of acacia," (*ha t n ash*); another called *hat n mestem*, (heart of stibium), perhaps paints; bitumen (*sef. t*), frankincense (*sen ntr*), and wine (*arp*), and some kind of fabric (*men*); tusks of ivory (*abu*), logs of wood, clubs, bows,

^a Vide Archæologia, vol. xxxiv. p. 357. The first character is probably *Sen* rather than *Pen*.

^b Sphecea, Lycophron, Cass. v. 447. Plin. N. H. vi. 31.

^c De Lapid. c. 98.

^d Lepsius, Denkm. iii., bl. 88, column a. Khefa (Cyprus), Khita (Khettia), Naharina (Mesopotamia), Saenkar (Singara), Kadeshu (Kadytis), Akar (rita).

amphoræ, bows, clubs, chariots, white and bay horses, a white bear, and an elephant. They seem to be the inhabitants of Northern Syria.

The fifth inscription is remarkable for the tribute of Arurech or Erech on the confines of Susiana and Babylonia, and for the mention of the Shasu or Shôs.

From every country were brought hands, when a campaign had been carried on, to show the number of the dead. Slaves were contributed in great abundance, eunuchs for servants, and *nahsi* or negroes for doorkeepers, from Æthiopia. But it does not appear that all prisoners of war were reduced to the condition of servitude. Chiefs and their families were retained as hostages, and those who surrendered are carefully distinguished from slaves; yet it is evident from the Eilithyian inscription that prisoners of war were reduced to the condition of slaves.^a

The animals brought to Egypt were apparently for purposes very different; some for religious purposes—such as the cynocephali (*aani*), which recruited the corps of those animals in the temple of Chons; the lions (*maau*), which belonged to Bast or Horus; the jackals (*sabu*), to Anubis: while the camelopard^b (*ser*), the elephant^c (*abu*)—the Asiatic variety only, the leopard (*abu*), the bear had no religious import, and stocked the paradeisoi or parks of the Pharaohs. Tame monkeys^d (*kef*) indeed are often seen seated by the chairs of their masters, like cats, equally favourites of both sexes. More important and more useful were the hunting-dogs, which chiefly came from the southern frontiers. Asses were of great use, and came from the northwards, from some of the Syrian people. It is uncertain whether mules were known.

The name of the horse in these inscriptions is written *ses*, or *ses mu*, undoubtedly the Semitic word *sus*, שוס, which has more connection with Egypt than at first appears. The word for “charger” is *htar*, and is constantly mentioned in the descriptions of war, which is also found in the Assyrian inscriptions. In the Biblical descriptions of Egypt, even in the oldest books, the horse is classed with the usual cattle. Thus, Joseph supplies bread in exchange for them; ^e they are afflicted with the murrain; ^f and one of the express injunctions laid upon the future king is that he shall neither breed horses for himself, nor cause the people of Israel to return to Egypt for the sake of rearing horses; ^g shewing the superiority of Egypt to Palestine, the ex-

^a And given to the captor for that purpose, see p. 151.

^b Nabun Æthiopes vocant quare etiam *ovis feræ* nomen invenit. Plinius, N. H. viii. 27. *Ser* is also the word for a sheep in Egyptian. Champollion, Gr. 233.

^c Shen-hab-im, teeth of elephants, 1 Kings, x. 22, shews that *hab* or *Ab* was also its Semitic name.

^d This is the same word as the *keph*, “ape,” brought to Solomon (1 Kings, x. 22); the *cebi* (Plin. N. H. vi. 29), or *κηπι-οι* (Plin. N. H. viii. 19) as from Agatharcides, (Schmidt, Opusc. 12mo. Carlsr. 1765, p. 228.)

^e Gen. xlvii. 17.

^f Exod. vi. 3.

^g Deut. xvii. 16.

cellence of the Egyptian breed, and the high value set on the animal. In the days of the Kings of Israel Solomon had 40,000 horses,^a or, according to another version, 4,000.^b These he appears to have partly received in the way of tribute, as it is stated of the neighbouring petty princes,—“and they brought every man his tribute: vessels of silver and vessels of gold, and raiment, harness, and spices, horses and mules, a rate year by year;”^c a mode of expression exactly like that of the tablet. From Egypt they appear to have principally come, although they were also brought from other lands.^d From Egypt, Syria and the Hittites were supplied with horses, each being worth 150 talents of silver, while a chariot cost 600 talents. Togarmah,^e however, or Armenia, chiefly supplied the market of Tyre with horses, horsemen, and mules. The Ruten Assuru and Naharaina were the principal exporters of horses to Egypt. Cilicia sent annually 360 horses to the Persian king;^f Armenia supplied annually 20,000 horses to Mithridates;^g Media paid a tribute in the horses of Nisaii.^h The horned cattle, on the contrary, chiefly came from the South, and their varieties were—bulls (*ka usch*), steers (*ka unu*), milch-cows (*ar-ru-t*), and a peculiar species called *tepa-kau*, or *kau-tepa*, or *kau hr tepa*, and *abir*, perhaps buffaloes. Kush, indeed, sent large herds as its tribute; but the Tahai, a northern people, also supplied much cattle. The valuable herds of cattle in Æthiopia were by no means unknown to the Greeks and Romans. Of smaller animals of this genus the large white antelope (*mahut*), the ibex (*al*), the gazelle (*nahash*), the oryx (*kahsi*), came both from the Æthiopian and Syrian frontier; and goats (*ba*) both of a white and brown colour. There are some other animals mentioned, but their species is not distinct. Of animal products, ivory (*abu*) entered Egypt both from the North and South; panther-skins (*anm m abu*) from Æthiopia; the ostrich, its eggs, and feathers from Punt or Libya and Senthannefer. Various trees were introduced, and several kinds of wood, chiefly ebony (*haben*), *ses* or *sont*, probably cedar, or the mimosa, and the *ash*, or *ac-ac-ia*; the latter from the North, the first from Æthiopia; gum (*kam*) and pitch (*seft*) belong to this division. Corn (*su*) and barley (*but*), frankincense, *senneter*, complete this portion of raw products. Honey came from Syria. Of mineral wealth, silver and gold from all countries lying north and south; copper and iron from the North, brass and lead from the same direction. All this was registered by its weight: the noble metal in talents, the minæ (*mna*), or pound, with a subdivision called *kat* or *kite*, the ounce, 16 of which at least

^a 1 Kings, iv. 26, 28; Heb. ver. v. 5.

^b 2 Chron. ix. 24.

^c 1 Kings, x. 25; 2 Chron. ix. 24.

^d 1 Kings, x. 28; 2 Chron. i. 16, 17.

^e Ezekiel, xvii. 24.

^f Herodot. vii. 40.

^g Strabo, ed. Cas. p. 530.

^h Strabo, p. 528. See the Memoir of Count Wenceslas Rzewuski in the Fundgruben des Orients. Fol. Wien, 1816, p. 333, et seq.

went to a mna: the inferior metals were weighed by *teb*, bricks, perhaps like the modern hundred-weight; once lead is reckoned by a weight called *nas*. The precious stones are more difficult to determine; blocks of syenitic granite came from Punt, from whence also black jasper (*kam*), pearls or gems (*ani*), lapis lazuli (*chesbet*) from the Ruten and Naharaina, that of Babylon being most celebrated; agates (*aket*), the smaragd-stone (*asmer*), and emerald (*sesem*), from the northern and southern frontiers; colours from the same directions. These were measured by bushels and pints, like corn, which was also reckoned by a larger capacity, the *tena* or quarter.

But the manufactured objects carried into Egypt at this period are by no means less remarkable than the materials, consisting of vessels of gold, silver, iron, copper, and brass, artistically worked, chased, and inlaid with lapis lazuli, and gems, dishes, beakers, cups in shape of animal heads, and services of plate (*uthu*). These came principally from the Kefa or Cyprus, and from the Gaha, perhaps Gaza. Assyria also supplied vessels of metallic work, and so did the Ruten or Lud-im. Various parts of armour, such as helmets, girdles, a part called *makargina*, bucklers, swords,^a maces, also came from Palestine or central Asia. Chariots of *faka* or beech-wood, and of *sent*, plated gold and silver conjointly or united, and inlaid with agates, came from the Ruten and Naharaina; poles for pavilions, plated with brass, and some other objects difficult to make out. Palanquins, chairs, and footstools, tastefully inlaid, also from the north: but the south was not quite destitute of manufactures; and the supposed waggons, *maschu . t*, the amaxa of the Greeks, and cut logs (*peska*), came from Kush or Æthiopia; armchairs, also, were made by the Nigritic tribes. The tables of cedar wood, inlaid with gold and ivory, which are mentioned as coming from the Ruten, are probably the beds of ivory, מִטּוֹת שֵׁן (*mitut shn*); and the couches, בַּיִר שֵׁטָם (*nar shitam*), in use in the later days of Israel, introduced by the Phœnicians.^b Essences and perfumes, also, were prepared by the northern people.

After all, this gives by no means the extent of the Egyptian commerce, which would require still further space to illustrate. The drink of Kadesh, the wine of Charu or Haleb, the fish of the Euphrates^c and of the Halys,^d contributed to the sustenance of ancient Egypt; and several fabrics also, although the tapestries of Babylon were excluded.

This period must be regarded as the culmination of the power of Egypt, and the

^a Sword, *sefi*, Coptic ⲥⲏⲩⲓ ⲉⲩⲉⲩⲓ, saif, ⲉⲩⲉⲩⲓ.

^b Amos vi. 4.

^c Dr. Hincks, Trans. Brit. Arch. Assoc. 1846, p. 256. Select Papyri, pl. lxxv.

^d 7, 9. For many substances of different rivers and places, see Select Pap. xevi.

^e Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. 45 e.

reign of Thothmes the most remarkable in the whole of its annals. Later, however, than his fortieth year there are few materials of historical import.

A mutilated tablet discovered at El Bershel,^a dated on the second day of Mesore, in the thirty-third year of the monarch's reign, containing the proseynema of a functionary, calls this year "the commencement of millions of festivals," and alludes to their inscription upon the noble persea (*asht-as*) or tree of life. This coincides with the commencement of the Karnak statistical tablet; but the calendar at Elephantine shews that it has no relation to the Sothic cycle, and it cannot be the commencement of the triakonteris, which fell on the thirtieth year, but of which the ten subdivisions were celebrated at regular intervals.^b

There are few other memorials of a true historical character at this period.

In his forty-second year were erected the colossi of the third propylon placed on the south side of Karnak.^c Another tablet at Ellesieh, dated in his forty-third year, contains a proseynema to Horus and Sati, but is of no great historical import.

At Ibrim the temple is sculptured with a representation of the tribute rendered from Ethiopia, which is led up to Thothmes by the prince Nehi, consisting of gold, ivory, and ebony.^d The obelisk of Constantinople records the conquest of Mesopotamia.^e

A part of the temple of the Wady Hälfa was built by Thothmes III,^f and near Mashakit is also the proseynema of Kar-gai, scribe of the treasury or of the slave-house of the king in the land of Nubia or Kenus.^g

He also built the temple of Ra, or the Sun, at Amada, two bas-reliefs of which are figured.^h In both Thothmes wears the casque (*cheprsh*). On the first, taken from the right of the door of the sanctuary, Isis tenderly clasps him round the neck. The legends read, "The king, the sun-placer of creation, may he live well like the Sun for ever. Isis, the mother goddess, gives peace to his heart—she gives a life as good as the Sun!" The other, taken from the left of the door, represents Thothmes received by Ammon on his throne. The legends of this read, "The son of the Sun, Thothmes, the best of created beings, may he live like the Sun. Ammon, who gives peace to the heart." The vulture of Neneb, which soars above, is called, "She who gives life, mistress of Heaven." As the first hall is of the age of Thothmes V. these are clearly

^a Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.* 2nd ser. pl. 37.

^b Cf. Champollion, *Mon.* ii. pl. cxvi.-cxviii. The first festival was on the 30th, the second on the 34th, the third on the 37th, the fourth on the 40th, year of Rameses II. A sixth is mentioned on the 45th year. *Ibid.* cxix.

^c Rosellini, *M. St. Pte.* I. tom. iii. pp. 125, 126, tav. ann. fig. 2. Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. bl. 16.

^d Champollion, *Mon. Notice*, pp. 79, 80.

^e Champollion, *Mon. Notice*, p. 57.

^f Lepsius, l. c.

^g *Ibid.* p. 40.

^h Champollion, *Monumens*, tom. i. pl. xlv.

in the latter days of Thothmes III. In the left hall, Thothmes III., called the king, the lord of the earth, is represented offering a bunch of papyrus and lotus flowers to Ra. He is called the king, the lord of the earth, the lord doing what is right, the Sun placer of truth. The legend says, "that he brings (*tennu*) ducks (*chnem*), he gives flowers (*renpa*). Ra in reply says, "I give thee a good life as wished." Athor comes behind him, holding a sistrum and collar. Says Athor, "mistress of the Heaven, beloved son of my body, Sun establisher of creation, I am beside thee—my arms at thy head, with good life!"

At Amada the dedication runs in the name of Thothmes III. alone, for it states that the good god, the king, Sun placer of creation, the son of the Sun, beloved issue of his race, Thothmes the true ruler, has dedicated it to the god Ra, lord of the east and western horizon, he made the temple of sandstone, may he live for ever!^a

Another of the scenes at Amada, taken from the left-hand wall, represents one of those actions of which it is so difficult to divine the real meaning.^b The king, crowned in the teshr, advances rapidly to the god Ra. In his right hand he holds a whip, in his left a cylindrical object. Before him is inscribed—"fields (four times)." Above the king is the uræus of Subu or Neben. Behind him is the initial hieroglyph of the word Orbit of the Sun; then the two halves of the Heaven and the Sun's orbit; then a scorpion, tied down to the Sun's orbit; then a pool, supported by a Nilometer, and held up by two arms; finally, three semi-ovals. Behind him is the son of the Sun, Thothmes, being crowned upon the throne of Tum^c (Tomos) triumphant as the Sun for ever. Ra, in the usual form, thus apostrophises the Sun, "Says the Sun-lord of the two horizons, great god, lord of the heaven, welcome in peace beloved son of my body, Sun placer of creation, I give thee a sound life, like the Sun." A similar scene represents the dedication of a temple, with its peribolos.^d

There are two other objects represented in the pictures of Amada. First the king holds a stick, while the goddess Safch, the lady of hieroglyphs and words, who gives a perfect life, holds another. The act is called "stretching the cord of the temple of the Sun." Thothmes has his usual titles of "good god, Sun establisher of creation, son of the Sun, Thothmes, may he live like the Sun."^e

To this reign also belongs the celebrated genealogical and historical picture, called the tablet of Karnak, in which Thothmes represents his ancestor who preceded his

^a Champollion, Monumens, t. i. pl. xlv. 8, on the inside face of the lintels of the entrance gate.

^b Champollion, Monumens, pl. xlvii. 2. Rosellini, M. R. xxxv. 2 tom. iii. pte. i. p. 171.

^c Tum is called Τόμος in the list of the decans. Lepsius, Einleit. s. 71; but in the local inscriptions at Gargas in Nubia Τόμος. Letronne, Recherches, p. 483.

^d Rosellini, M. R. xxxvi. p. 177.

^e Champollion, Mon. t. pl. xlviii.

dynasty, and to whom he presents sepulchral offerings, and which, in all probability, formed part of the gifts made to the temple of Ammon.^a

The great temple at Karnak has many religious scenes.^b A granite block at the bottom of the sanctuary of Karnak, much mutilated, represents an act of adoration to Amon Ra in his character of Khem. The figure of the god, and part of his name and titles only remain. Below is the head of an inventory of the offerings made to the shrine, two of which were of gold.^c

It is by no means necessary to give a detailed account of the numerous edifices erected by Thothmes III. throughout Egypt, the remains of which have been found, from the temple of the goddess Athor, at the Sarabout el Khadem,^d to the Wady Halfa.^e Thus the temple of Samneh, already mentioned;^f the second and third naos at Ibrim;^g Amada already detailed;^h the sekos at Ombos;ⁱ at Gebel Schelet;^j the temple of Sebak at Eilethyia;^k remains at Edfoo;^l the temple at Medinat-Haboo, erected after his independence;^m and El at Assasif, which was commenced under his joint reign and that of his sister;ⁿ the sanctuary of Karnak;^o another edifice in that quarter;^p part of the Speos Artemidos,^q and Heliopolis attest the grandeur of his reign in Egypt. One of the latest memorials is the statue erected at the southern quarter of Thebes, on the 22nd Thoth of the 42nd year of his reign.^r Of the monuments out of Egypt, the most important are the great obelisk of St. John of the Lateran, which Thothmes did not live to complete, but which Thothmes V. set up after it had remained 35 years unfinished in the south quarter of Thebes.^s The other obelisk, that of Constantinople, which has no additions by any other king, records the extending of the power of Egypt to Naharaina, and that the king went round the great river of Naharaina or Mesopotamia "before his army,"^t as described in the campaign against Megiddo. A statue of grey granite of this king is in the museum^u of Turin. It is remarkable that, amidst all the numerous memorials of this reign, there are no traces

^a Prisse, Mon. pl. i. Lepsius, Auswahl, Taf. i. Rosell. Mon. Stor. pte. I. tom. iii. p. 188.

^b Champollion, Mon. t. iii. pl. ccxi. l.

^c Laborde, Voyage dans L'Arabie Pétrée.

^d Rosellini, Mon. Stor. pte. I. tom. iii. p. 170.

^e Ibid. pp. 171, 180. Notice, p. 102.

^f Ros. l. c. p. 180. Notice, p. 232.

^g Ros. l. c. 181.

^h Ros. l. c. 183.

ⁱ Ros. p. 189.

^j Rosellini, Mon. Stor. tom. iii. pte. I. Tav. ann. 125, 2. This date is however referred by Lepsius to Thothmes I.

^k Ungarelli, Int. Ob. tab. i. It is not quite certain what this means, whether the thirty-five years are to be measured from the death of Thothmes III., or if it is the regnal year of Thothmes IV.

^l Lepsius, Denkm. iii. Bl. 60, w.

^c Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. iii. bl. 33, 34.

^e Champollion, Notice, p. 57.

^g Ibid. p. 171. Notice, p. 79.

ⁱ Ros. l. c. 180; Mon. d. c. xxxviii.

^k Ros. l. c. 181. Notice, p. 266.

^m Ros. l. c. 182. Notice, pp. 327, 334.

^o Yong. Hieroglyph. p. 81.

^q Ros. l. c. 190.

^u Rosellini, pte. I. tom. iii. p. 190.

of the family of Thothmes III. The Princess Ra-neferu, whose name is the same as that of the Princess of the Bakhten, died early in the reign of Thothmes. Amenophis II. is said to be his son and successor, and his mother the Queen Ra-meri Ha-t-as, or Ta-ha-as,^a whose name is constructed like that of his regent sister, appears, from the temple of the El Assasif, to have been the wife of Thothmes III. Probably in his later days Amenophis II. was associated with him in the empire, as their names occur conjointly on the lintels of the door at Amada.

Such are the monumental remains of the great Thothmes.

^a Rosellini, i. p. 234, pl. viii. 104, d. Lepsius, Denkm. iii. Bl. 62 b, who in Ibid. 65 a, has restored the word father before the name Thothmes.

REFERENCES TO THE PLATE.

Fig. 1, p. 117, note c.

2 " note c.

3 " note i.

4 " note f.

5, p. 118, note a.

6 " note b.

7 " note c.

8 " note f.

9 " note i.

10, p. 119, note a.

11 " note a.

12 " note a.

13 " note c.

14 " note b.

15 " note f.

16, p. 120, note g.

17 " note b.

18, p. 122, note a.

19 " note b.

20 " note a.

21 " note g.

22 " note b.

23 " note i.

24, p. 123, note a.

25 " note b.

26 " note c.

27 " note d.

28, p. 124, note c.

29 " note c.

30 " note i.

31 " note i.

32 " note a.

33, p. 125, note d.

34 " note c.

35, p. 126, note f.

36 " note b.

37 " note i.

38 " note m.

Fig. 39, p. 126, note m.

40 " note a.

41, p. 127, note g.

42 " note b.

43 " note i.

44 " note b.

45, p. 128, note c.

46 " note c.

47 " note f.

48 " note g.

49 " note b.

50, p. 129, note c.

51 " note f.

52 " note g.

53 " note b.

54, p. 130, note a.

55 " note b.

56 " note c.

57 " note g.

58 " note b.

59 " note i.

60 " note i.

61 " note m.

62 " note a.

63 " note a.

64 " note p.

65, p. 131, note a.

66 " note b.

67 " note c.

68 " note d.

69 " note c.

70 " note f.

71 " note g.

72 " note i.

73, p. 132, note a.

74 " note b.

75 " note c.

76, p. 133, note a.

Fig. 77, p. 133, note d.

78 " note g.

79 " note b.

80 " note i.

81 " note i.

82 " note b.

83 " note i.

84 " note m.

85 " note m.

86 " note a.

87 " note a.

88 " note a.

89 " note p.

90 " note a.

91 " note a.

92 " note r.

93 " note b.

94, p. 134, note c.

95 " note f.

96 " note g.

97 " note b.

98 " note i.

99 " note b.

100, p. 135, note a.

101 " note c.

102 " note f.

103 " note g.

104, p. 136, note b.

105 " note c.

106 " note a.

107 " note g.

108 " note i.

109, p. 137, note d.

110 " note c.

111 " note f.

112 " note b.

113 " note i.

114 " note m.

Fig. 115, p. 138, note a.

116 " note a.

117 " note b.

118 " note d.

119 " note f.

120 " note i.

121 " note a.

122, p. 139, note g.

123 " note i.

124, p. 140, note a.

125 " note f.

126, p. 141, note a.

127 " note b.

128 " note d.

129 " note f.

130 " note g.

131, p. 142, note c.

132 " note g.

133 " note g.

134, p. 143, note b.

135, p. 123, note d.

136 " note g.

137 " note g.

138, p. 121, note a.

139, p. 130, note c.

140 " note d.

141 " note f.

142, p. 146, note g.

143 " note a.

144 " note c.

145, p. 127, note i.

146, p. 128, note i.

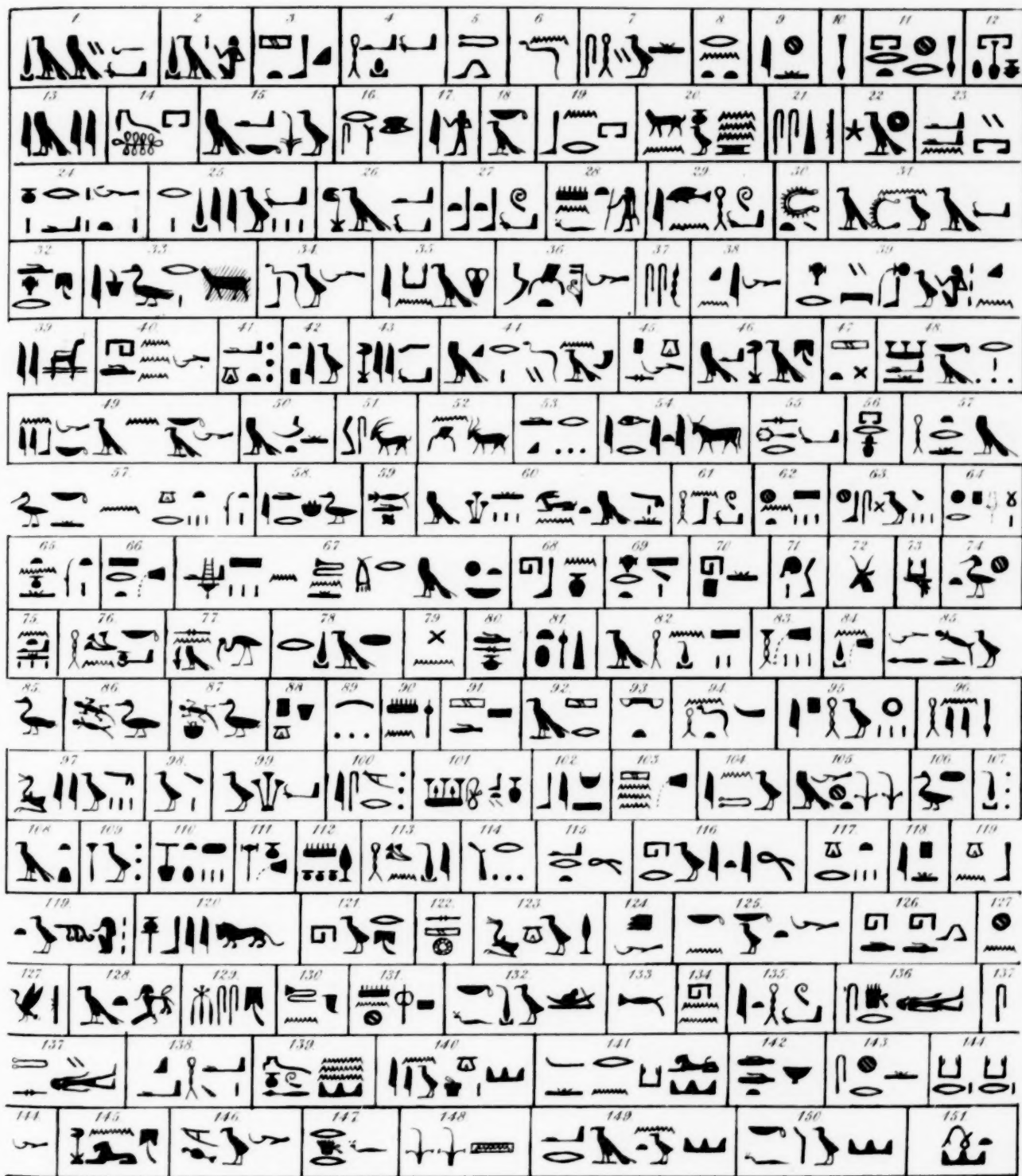
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HIEROGLYPHIC GROUPS FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS.

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XIII.—*Observations on the Origin of the Division of Man's Life into Stages.* By JOHN WINTER JONES, Esq. Assistant Keeper of the Department of Printed Books in the British Museum. In a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.

Read April 28, 1853.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

British Museum, April 15, 1853.

The name of Shakspeare appears to be so inseparably connected with the Seven Ages of Man in the minds of most persons, that few have thought of inquiring how much of this charming creation is really his own. Not that the division of human life into periods or stages is so deeply philosophical that the idea might not occur to many of even ordinary capacity, but the form in which our great poet has presented to us man's course from the cradle to the grave is so beautiful and graphic, so completely his own, that it is hardly matter for surprise that the subject should have been allowed to rest almost entirely unexplored. It certainly would have remained untouched by myself, had it not happened that the Museum has acquired an extremely curious wood-engraving of the Seven Ages of Man, executed about the middle of the fifteenth century. Believing this print to be of sufficient interest and importance to be communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, I have been led to make some inquiries into the subject of it. My researches have carried me further back than I had anticipated.

The Ages of Man have been discussed by Heathens, by Jews, and by Christians; but the division has not always been into seven. The septennary periods I suspect to have been derived from the speculations of cabalistic philosophers upon the secret powers of numbers, and upon the climacterical year. Such discussions would be beside the purpose of this communication; but those who may desire to enter on this field of inquiry will find the subject treated with abundant learning and all due gravity in the following amongst many other works, viz.:—Philo Judæus, *Liber de mundi opificio*; Codronchus, *De annis climactericis*; Censorinus, *De die natali*; Clemens Alexandrinus, Lib. vi. *Stromatum*; St. Ambrosius, Lib. vi. epist. xxxix.;

and Dilherus, *Disputationum academicarum præcipue philologicarum tomus novus*, Diss. 8, *De moribus ætatum juvenilis, senilis, virilis*. Browne, in his *Pseudoria Epidemica*, 1646, fol. p. 215, has brought together a great deal of curious matter upon the same subject, but his statements require verifying.

The earliest instance that I can find of the division of human life into stages occurs in the Greek verses attributed to Solon (who flourished about 600 years before Christ), and which are introduced by Philo Judæus, into his "*Liber de mundi opificio*." Some critics have doubted the genuineness of these verses, but no one has proved them to be spurious; and whether written by Solon or not they must certainly be as old as the first half of the first century of the Christian era, the period when Philo lived.

In these verses the division is into ten ages of seven years each. The passage is as follows:—

"The boy, yet an infant, puts forth his teeth in the first seven years of his age.

"When Heaven shall have granted him another seven years, he arrives at puberty.

"In his third age, his limbs now increasing, the beard of changing colour grows upon his chin.

"Every one in his fourth septennary arrives at his full strength, and gives proof of manly valour.

"In the fifth the man, now mature, is led to think of a wife and his future posterity.

"In the sixth the mind of the man is fit for all things, and is no longer pleased with trivial matters.

"In the seventh and eighth the understanding and speech are at their best, and continue so through these fourteen years.

"In the ninth he still has some powers left, but his eloquence and wisdom are no longer capable of great efforts.

"And now let him who shall attain his tenth septennary prepare for a not untimely death."^a

^a Παῖς μὲν ἄνηβος ἔων ἐτι νήπιος ἔρκος ὀδόντων
 Φύσας ἐκβάλλει πρῶτον ἐν ἑπτ' ἔτεσιν.
 Τοῦτι δ' ἐτέρους ὅτε δὴ τελέσει θεὸς ἑπτ' ἐνιαυτοῦς,
 Ἡβης ἐκφαίνει σήματα γεινομένης.
 Τῇ τριτάτῃ δὲ γένειον ἀεζομένων ἐπὶ γυῖων
 Λαχνούται, χροίης ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης.

Had Solon lived at the present time, he would most probably have allowed man a longer period for the full use of his faculties than the age of sixty-three; nor would he have condemned him to death at three score years and ten. But there were no temperance societies in the days of Solon.

Philo Judæus, treating in his "Liber de mundi opificio" of the properties of the number seven, has the following passage, which is a tolerably close imitation of the verses of Solon:—

"Moreover the ages of man from infancy to old age, which are measured by periods of seven years, show very clearly the perfective force implanted in the number seven. For in the first septennary the teeth come forth. In the second we arrive at puberty. In the third we show signs of a beard. In the fourth we acquire increase of strength. In the fifth is the period for marrying. In the sixth the intellect is matured. In the seventh both mind and speech are matured. In the eighth both become perfect. In the ninth we acquire equity and gentleness, the passions being greatly calmed. In the tenth the end of life is to be desired, while all the faculties are sound."^b

In the same treatise of Philo Judæus, I find the first instance of the division into seven ages. The passage is as follows:—

"Hippocrates says that there are seven ages. His words are, 'In the nature of man there are seven periods which are called ages; the infant; the boy; the youth;

Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πᾶς τις ἐν ἐβδομάδι μέγ' ἄριστος
 ἰσχύει, οἱ τ' ἄνδρες σῆματ' ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς.
 Πέμπτῃ δ' ὥριον ἄνδρα γάμον μεμνημένον εἶναι,
 καὶ παίδων ζητεῖν εισοπίσω γενεήν.
 Τῇ δ' ἕκτῃ περὶ πάντα καταρτίζεται νόος ἀνδρός,
 οὐ δ' ἔρδειν ἔθ' ὅμως ἔργ' ἀπάλαμνα θέλει.
 Ἐπτά δὲ νοῦν καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐν ἐβδομάσι μέγ' ἄριστος
 ὀκτώ τ' ἀμφοτέρων τέσσαρα καὶ δέκ' ἔτη.
 Τῇ δ' ἐνάτῃ ἔτι μὲν δύναται μαλακώτερα δ' αὐτοῦ,
 πρὸς μεγάλην ἀρετὴν σῶμά τε καὶ δυνάμεις.
 Τῇ δεκάτῃ ὅτε δὴ τελέσει θεὸς ἐπτ' ἐνιαύτους
 οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἔων μοῖραν ἔχει θανάτου.

^b Δίχα δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐναργέστατα παριστᾷ τὴν τελεσφόρον δύναμιν ἐβδομάδος καὶ αἱ ἐκ βρέφους ἄχρι γήρως ἀνθρώπων ἡλικίαι, μετρούμεναι τάντην. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἑπταετίαν ἐκφυσις ὀδόντων ἐστὶ κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν καιρὸς τῶν δύνασθαι προΐεσθαι σπέρμα γόνιμον· τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῶν αὐξήσις καὶ τετάρτῃ πρὸς ἰσχύος ἐπίδοσις· πέμπτῃ τε αὖ γάμων ὥρα· ἕκτῃ δὲ συνέσεως ἀκμή· τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ βελτίωσις ἀμφοῖν καὶ συναύξησις, νοῦ καὶ λόγου· ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἡ ἐν ἑκατέρῃ τελείωσις· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην ἐπιείκεια καὶ πρῶτης τῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ πλέον ἡμερωθέντων· κατὰ δὲ τὴν δεκάτην, τοῦ βίου τὸ ἐκταῖον τέλος, ἔτι τῶν ὀργανικῶν μελῶν συνεστηκότων.

the young man; the man; the elderly man; the aged man. The infant is within seven years, until he puts forth his teeth. The boy until puberty, at twice seven years. The youth until the growth of his beard, at thrice seven years. The young man up to four sevens, until the whole body is grown. The man up to forty-nine. The elderly man to fifty-six, or eight sevens. Whatever is beyond this belongs to old age.'"^a

This passage is also given by Julius Pollux (who lived in the last half of the second century) in his "Onomasticon." And here I may mention, *en passant*, that, although the above words are quoted by Philo as those of Hippocrates, he (Philo) is the earliest (and I may say the sole) authority for their genuineness. The editors of the edition of the "Onomasticon," published at Amsterdam in 1706, in folio, refer for this passage to Philo; and, although Van der Linden has inserted it in his edition of the works of Hippocrates, published at Leyden in 1665, it is upon the authority of Philo that he has done so. I am not aware that it exists in any other edition of Hippocrates.

We will now turn to the Mishna, or text of the Talmud. My friend Mr. Zedner, of the British Museum, who is deeply versed in Hebrew and Rabbinical literature, has drawn my attention to the following passage in the fifth chapter of the Mishna, written about the second century:—

"Jehudah, the son of Tima, said—a son of five years of age shall be put to study the law; of ten years to the Mishna; of thirteen years to the observance of the Commandments; of fifteen years to the Talmud; of eighteen years to be married; of twenty years to seek his living; at thirty years he comes to strength; at forty years to wisdom; at fifty years to give counsel; at sixty years he becomes old; at seventy years he comes to a grey old age; at eighty years to great age; at ninety years to decrepit age. He who is one hundred years old is as though he were gone by, and already out of the world."^b

^a Ὁ δ' ἰατρὸς Ἱπποκράτης ἡλικίας ἐπτά εἶναι φησὶ, παιδίου, παιδός, μειρακίου, νεανίσκου, ἀνδρός, πρεσβύτου, γέροντος· ταύτας δὲ μετρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐβδομάσιν οὐ μὴν ταῖς κατὰ τὸ εἶδος. λέγει δ' οὕτως. Ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει ἐπτά εἰσιν ὥραι ὡς ἡλικίας καλέουσι, παιδίον, παῖς, μειράκιον, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ, καὶ παιδίον μὲν ἐστὶν ἄχρις ἐπτά ἐτῶν, ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς. παῖς δ' ἄχρι γονῆς ἐκφύσεως εἰς τὰ δὲ ἐπτά, μειράκιον δ' ἄχρι γενείου λαχνώσεως, ἐς τὰ τρεῖς ἐπτά, νεανίσκος δ' ἄχρι ἀνζήσεως ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἐς τὰ τετράκις ἐπτά· ἀνὴρ δ' ἄχρις ἐνὸς δέοντος πενήκοντα, ἐς τὰ ἐπτάκις ἐπτά· πρεσβύτερος δ' ἄχρι πενήκοντα ὥς, ἐς τὰ ἐπτάκις ὀκτώ. τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν, γέρον.

^b MISHNAH (Aboth, chap. v. § 24).

בן חמש שנים למקרא בן עשר שנים למשנה בן שלש עשרה למצות בן חמש עשרה לגמרא בן שמונה עשרה לחפה
בן עשרים לרדוף בן שלשים לבח בן ארבעים לבינה בן חמשים לעצה בן ששים לזקנה בן שבעים לשיבה בן שמונים
לנכורה בן תשעים לשוח בן מאה כאלו מת ועבר ובסל מ, העולם

We now come to the Midrash on Ecclesiastes, written about the ninth century, in which (chap. i. v. 2) the life of man is divided into seven stages; but here we meet with a new feature. The characteristics of each stage are shown by a comparison, and at each period after the first he is compared to some animal. The following is a translation of the original Hebrew, for which I am indebted to Mr. Zedner:—

"The preacher's seven vanities are seven worlds through which man has to pass.

"At the age of *one year* he resembles a king on a dais, whom every one kisses and adores.

"At the age of two or three he resembles a *pig*, routing in dirt.

"At the age of *ten* he capers about like a goat.

"At *twenty*, a neighing *horse*, he attires himself and looks out for a wife.

"After being married he is like an *ass* [i.e. burthened].

"Having got children he must find food for them, and is therefore as impudent as a *dog*.

"Grown old he gets like a *monkey*,—but only the ignorant man; whereas of the wise man Scripture says, 'King David was old.'—(1 Kings, i. 2.) Old, but still a king."^a

The next instance that occurs is a beautiful Hebrew poem by Abraham ben Meir Aben Ezra, who lived in the middle of the twelfth century. Mr. Zedner, who drew my attention to this piece, has also favoured me with the following paraphrase:—

"The son of earth should remember his origin, for one day to his mother he must return.

"How cheerfully plays the child of *five*,
His way leads up a sunny day,
Now he lies quiet in his mother's lap,
Now he is riding on his father's neck.

"Wherefore reprove ye the boy of *ten*?
He soon will grow, and wiser get;
As yet he listens to milder words
Of parents, friends, and play-fellows.

^a MIDRASH ECCLESIASTES I. 2.

שבעה הבלים שאמר קהלת כנגד שבעה עולמות שאדם רואה בן שנה דומה למלך נתון באיספקרפסטי [?] וחכל מחבקין ומנשקין אותו בן שתים ושלש דומה לחזיר פושט ידו בכיבין בן עשר שנה קופץ כנדי בן עשרים כסוס נוהם משפר גרמיה ובעי אתתא נשא אשה חרי הוא כחמור הוליד בנים מעיו פניו ככלב להביא להם מזונות חזקין חרי הוא כקוף חרא דחיסר בעמי הארץ אבל בבני תורה כתיב והמלך דור זקן אף על פי שהוא זקן מלך

Observations on the Origin of the

" Oh that charming age of *twenty*,
A roe leaping over the mountains ;
He shuns reproach, hears no advice,
And runs after the loving hind.

" At *thirty* he belongs to his wife,
He looks about him, and lo ! he is caught ;
Beset by ever threatening darts,
The constant desires of wife and children.

" And restless now he reaches *forty*,
Content, whatever be his lot ;
He moves on, forsakes his friends,
Labours and watches without leisure.

" At *fifty* he remembers the vanity of life,
Sadly looks forward to evil days,
Despises all worldly splendour,
And fears his time will soon be over.

" What has become of him at *sixty* ?
There is neither twig nor root ;
The rest is weakness and frailty,
Of no avail in the battle of life.

" And do his years come to *seventy*,
He is not looked at nor listened to ;
Has become a burthen to his friends,
Nay even to himself and his wife.

" And with *eighty* a burthen to his children,
A derision to all his neighbours ;
He has neither eyes nor heart,
His cup is gall, wormwood his bread.

" Beyond that age he is looked upon as dead :
Blest, if considered a pilgrim ;
There are no other thoughts in him
But for future life and reward.

"The son of earth should remember his origin, for one day to his mother he must return." *

* POETICAL MEDITATION,

By ABRAHAM BEN MEIR ABEN EZRA.

בן אדמה יזכור במולדתו
 כי לעת קץ ישוב ליולדתו
 קום וחצלה אמרו לבן חמש
 מעלותיו עולים עלות שמש
 בין שדי אם ישכב ואל ימש
 צוארי אב יקח למרכבתו
 מה תאיצון מוסר לבן עשר
 עוד מעט קט יגדל ויוסר
 רברו לו חן ויתבשר
 שעשועיו יולדיו ומשפחתו
 מה נעימים ימים לבן עשרים
 קל כעפר דולג עלי חרים
 בז למוסר לוטג לקול מורים
 יעלת חן חבלו ומלכודתו
 בן שלשים נפל ביד אשת
 קס וחביט חנו בתוך רשת
 ילחצוהו סביב בני קשת
 משאלות לב בניו ולב אשתו
 נע ונכנע משיג לארבעים
 שש בחלקו אם רע ואם נעים
 רץ לדרכו ויעזוב רעים
 על עמלו יעמוד במשמרתו
 בן חמשים יזכור ימי הבל
 יאבל כי קרבו ימי אבל
 בז בעיניו את כל יקר תבל
 כי יפחד פן קרבה עתו
 שאלו מה היה לבן ששים
 אין במצויו בדים ושרשים
 כי שרידיו דלים ונחלשים
 לא יקומון אתו במלחמתו
 אם שנותיו נגעו אלי שבעים
 אין דבריו נראים ונשמעים
 רק למשא יהיה עלי רעים
 מעמס על נפשו ומשענתו
 בן שמונים טורח עלי בניו
 אין לבבו אתו ולא עיניו
 בוז ליודעיו לעג לשכניו
 ראש בכוסו גם לענה פתו
 אחרי זאת כמת יהי נחשב
 אשרי איש נחשב לגר תושב
 אין בלבו רעיון ולא מחשב
 רק לאחריית נפשו ומשכרתו
 כי לעת קץ ישוב ליולדתו

In this poem we again find man's life divided into *ten* stages; but the magical number seven is dropped, and ten years adopted as the duration of each stage in its place. The subject has lost its cabalistic, and assumed a didactic form.

We are not yet in possession of sufficient materials to be able to form a correct opinion as to the period when the Ages of man first became the subject of *pictorial* illustration; but the instances already given show that the subject must have been popular as early as the twelfth century, and the windows and sculptures of several cathedrals still bear witness to its application, as a moral lesson, under various modifications, even at an earlier period.^a In the Arundel MSS. No. 83, an example occurs, executed in the early part of the fourteenth century, which is highly interesting in every point of view. It is admirable as a work of art; it possesses peculiar interest, as forming part of a volume the whole of the illuminations in which have been certainly executed in England, if not the work of an English artist; and the infant is represented according to the conventional mode of the time "in the nurse's arms." The form adopted is that of a wheel with ten spokes, at the end of each of which is a circle one inch and three-eighths in diameter. Within these circles the several stages of life are pictured, and around each is a descriptive legend in Latin. In the centre of the wheel the head of the Deity is represented, bearded and with a nimbus, in various tints of blue, around which is the inscription "*Cuncta simul cerno, totum racione guberno.*" At each of the four corners of the drawing, commencing at the foot of the left hand side, there is a human figure, personifying one of the great stages of life. The first is recumbent, youthful in its appearance, and beardless, with the word "*Infantia*" on a label over its head. The second is in the form of a king, bearded, dressed in regal robes, with crown and sceptre, and seated on a throne. Above is the word "*Juventus.*" In the opposite corner is the form of a man with a staff in his left hand, apparently descending. The word "*Senectus*" explains this type. In the lower corner at the right hand is a recumbent figure, with the word "*Decrepitus.*" The ages of man are represented as follows:—In the lowest circle on the left hand is the infant seated in its nurse's lap before a fire, on which is a tripod with a long handle; what appears to be the handle of a spoon is seen projecting from the tripod. The legend is "*Mitis sum et humilis, lacte vivo puro.*" In the second circle is a young man combing his hair, and looking into a mirror which he holds in his left hand: the mirror is circular, and without a handle. The legend is "*Numquam ero labilis, etatem mensuro.*" The third is a

^a See Didron's *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1845, p. 411, *et seq.*, where several instances of this nature are described.

young man holding a pair of scales in his left hand, and pointing to them with the forefinger of his right hand. The legend attached to this stage is "*Vita decens seculi, speculo probatur.*" In the fourth circle a young man is represented on horseback, with a hawk upon his right fist; the legend being "*Non ymago speculised vita letatur.*" The fifth age brings us to the summit of the wheel, and is explained by a king seated on a throne, with his crown on his head, and his sceptre in his right hand, the left being elevated: the inscription is "*Rex sum, rego seculum, mundus meus totus.*" The sixth age commences the descent, and is represented by a figure with the hood of his robe drawn over his head; the only instance in which the hood is so placed. He holds a long staff in his left hand, and looks towards the figure of the king, towards whom his right hand is raised. The inscription is "*Sumo michi baculum, morti fere notus.*" In the seventh circle we have an old man, bowed with age, blind, and leaning on a staff, which he holds in his right hand, his left apparently being placed on the shoulders of a child, who also holds the old man's staff with his right hand. The legend is "*Decrepitati deditus, mors erit michi esse.*" The action of the child is somewhat equivocal; but it appears to me to be explained by the poem of Abraham ben Meir, where the man of eighty is said to be "a burthen to his children, a *derision* to all his neighbours," and by the pieces I give subsequently, wherein the aged man is said to be the laughing-stock of children. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the urchin is teasing the old man, and endeavouring to pull his staff away from him. The next stage shows the old man stretched upon a bed, a physician standing by his side holding up an urinal. The inscription is "*Infirmitati deditus, incipio deesse.*" In the ninth circle a coffin is represented resting upon a bier, and covered with a pall; two tapers are placed at the head and two at the feet, and a priest clad in white vestments is standing at the side reading the office for the dead. The legend is "*Putavi quod viverem, vita me decepit.*" In the circle at the end of the lowest spoke of the wheel is a tomb, with the legend "*Versus sum in cinerem, vita me decepit.*"

It will be seen that the subject, as represented in this remarkable drawing, is not treated with the same consistency or precision that is manifested in the earlier specimens. The legends are made to rhyme consecutively, but they do not in every instance suit the subject to which they are applied. The inscription surrounding the second age appears to belong more properly to the third, while that given to the third is better suited to the second. Then again the third and fourth ages might well change places, for the figure holding the scales would appear to represent man engaged in the business of the world, and possessing that confidence which is given to the man of forty years, "*numquam ero labilis;*" while the young man on horse-

back, who declares his intention to enjoy life, corresponds to the man of from twenty to thirty. The king also appears to be more suited to the wheel of fortune than the wheel of life. On the whole, I am inclined to think that there were certain popular materials in use at the time which were applied and modified according to the taste of the artist, the painters being, in some instances, better artists than philosophers.

As I have said above, the execution of this painting is very beautiful. The spokes and outer ring of the wheel are of gold, as is also the ground of the circles within which the several stages of life are represented, and the border enclosing the whole subject. All the figures are represented in robes; even the horseman. The space between each two spokes is filled in with very elaborate diaperings, in which red and blue alternately prevail, the patterns on the red grounds being composed of lines of white, orange, and dark brown, while those on the blue are made out with white, orange, and black. All the inscriptions are on white grounds, the capital initial letters being in burnished gold, or blue, with delicate scroll-work of purple or red. The ground without the wheel is green. The faces and hands of the figures are outlined in black, and uncoloured, with the exception of a little red on the cheek. The draperies are composed of blue, green, various neutral tints, and the delicate light brown so prevalent in manuscripts of this period. The tomb is formed of green and purple marbles, and burnished gold. An engraving accompanies this paper.

In 1845 M. Didron published at Paris his *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*. The text of this book consists of a translation of a Byzantine Manuscript, entitled *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς*, containing not only instructions in the art of painting, but also directions for the representation of symbolical and moral subjects. The author was Dionysius, monk of Fournia d'Agrapha, and is supposed to have written his work about the fourteenth or fifteenth century. One of these subjects is a morality called "The foolish life of the deceitful world," arranged in three concentric circles, and of which the seven ages of man form a part. I have translated the directions for representing the seven ages of man as forming a curious illustration of my subject. They are as follow:—"On the outside of the third and largest circle, make the seven ages of man in the following manner. At the bottom, on the right hand side, make a little child ascending; write before it, on the circle, 'child of seven years.' Above this child, make one larger, and write 'child of fourteen years.' Higher still, make a young man with moustachios, and write 'youth of twenty-one years.' Above, on the top of the wheel, make another man, with a growing beard, seated on a throne, his feet upon a cushion, his hands extended on

each side, holding in the right a sceptre, and in the left a bag full of money; he wears royal garments, and a crown upon his head. Under him, on the wheel, write 'Young man of twenty-eight years.' Under him, on the left side, make another man, with a pointed beard, stretched out, with his head downwards, and looking up: write 'Man of forty-eight years.' Under him make another man with grey hair, stretched on his back, and write 'Mature man of fifty-six years.' Under him make a man with a white beard, bald, stretched out, his head downwards, his hands hanging down, and write 'Old man of seventy-five years.' Then under him make a tomb, in which is a large dragon, having a man in his throat, head downwards, and of whom only the half can be seen. Near this in the tomb is Death, with a scythe, which he strikes into the neck of the old man, whom he endeavours to pull down. Without the circle write the following inscriptions near the mouths of the persons:—Near the little child, 'When, having mounted, shall I arrive at the top?' Near the child, 'O! Time, turn quickly, in order that I may soon arrive at the top.' Near the youth, 'Behold, I have got so far that I shall soon seat myself upon the throne.' Over the young man, 'Who is king as I am? Who is above me?' Near the mature man, write 'Wretch that I am, O Time, how thou hast deceived me!' Near the old man, 'Alas! alas! O Death, who can avoid thee?' Near the tomb, these words, 'Hell, all-devouring, and Death!' Near him who is swallowed up by the dragon, 'Alas! who will save me from all-devouring Hell!'—Didron, *Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 409.

I regret that I have not had leisure to pursue the inquiry from this point with the minuteness I could have wished to bestow upon it. In Germany the subject had passed into a rhyming proverb, as follows:—

" Zehn Jahr ein Kind,
Zwanzig Jahr ein Jüngling,
Dreyssig Jahr ein Man.
Vierzig Jahr wohlgethan,
Fünffzig Jahr stille stahn,
Sechzig Jahr gehts Alter an.
Siebenzig Jahr ein Greiss,
Achtzig Jahr nimmer weiss.
Neuntzig Jahr der Kinder spott,
Hundert Jahr genade Gott."

We now pass over an interval of about 350 years from the time when Abraham ben Meir wrote his poem. In the year 1518 there was printed at Augsburg a small book in 4to, in the German language, in the title of which the above proverb is

introduced with a slight variation in the language. The following is a literal translation:—

“The ten ages of this world, which, according to the ordinary course of the world, are furnished with many charming histories, very delectable to read and hear.

“For the first ten years a child.
At twenty years a youth.
At thirty years a man.
At forty years stationary.
At fifty years well to do.
At sixty years on the decline.
At seventy years look after thy soul.
At eighty years the fool of the world.
At ninety years the laughing-stock of children.
At a hundred years, now God have mercy on thee.”



“Let him who wishes to know the course of the world,
Take care that he buys this little book.”^a

^a Die X. alter diser welt. Welche nach gemainem lauff der welt mit vil schönen historien gesetzt, die vast lieblich zulesen unnd zu hören seynd.

Zum ersten Zehen Jar ain kind.
Zwaintzig Jar ain Jüngling.
Dreyssig Jar ain Man.
Viertzig Jar, Stillstan.
Fünfftzig Jar, Wolgethan.
Sechtzig Jar, Abgan.
Sibentzig Jar, Dein seel bewar.

This work is in verse, and is written in the form of a dialogue between man and a hermit. It begins with an address by the hermit, occupying two pages, and containing some very good moral reflections; after which the business of the book commences. Each age is preceded by a wood-cut representing the man—the particular beast he is supposed to resemble at each age in question—and the hermit. In each instance the subject is opened very concisely by the hermit, to whom the man replies, and represents himself as under the influence of some vice or worldly feeling. This affords the hermit an opportunity for rather long and somewhat prosy reproof and exhortation. The following is a specimen:—

“ THE HERMIT.

“ Thou art a fine young man and proud,
Shot up like ill weeds;
And art in the prime of thy youth,
Which ought to learn nought but virtue.

“ XX. YEAR—A YOUTH.



“ *The Youth.*

“ The virtue which I learn and know
I shall soon have told thee.

Achtzig Jar, Der welt narr.
Neuntzig Jar, Der kinder spot,
Hundert Jar, Nun gnad dir Got.
Welcher gern wist der welt lauff,
Der lug das er diss büchlein kauff.

To gamble, to feast and be jolly,
 And to sit day and night over the bottle,
 To waste the substance of my father and mother;
 That is the virtue which I do learn."^a

Then follows the exhortation of the hermit.

The next instance occurs in a Dutch work printed at Antwerp in 1520, under the quaint title of "*Der Dierē Palleys*," (The Palace of Animals), containing a description of all kinds of beasts, birds, fishes, and monsters existing or supposed to exist in this world—commencing with man and ending with a mermaid. After describing the creation of Adam and Eve, the author (unfortunately unknown) proceeds to illustrate man's course through the world in the following manner:—

"These are the ten ages of man, from ten years to ten years and up to one hundred years. For at each ten years the nature and dispositions of man change, and he acquires the nature and peculiarities of some beast, as is here represented.^b (Plate VI.)

" At ten years a child spinning his top.
 Much wisdom is not in him then.
 He resembles a young goat jumping about,
 Never tired of play.

^a Du bist ein schöner jüngling stoltz,
 Auff geschossen wie ain feyges holtz,
 Und bist in deiner besten jugendt,
 Die da nichts lernen solt dann tugent.

XX. JAR AIN JÜNGLING.

Der Jüngling.

Die tugendt die ich lern und kan,
 Ich dir gar bald erzelt han.
 Spilen, prassen, frölich sein,
 Und sitzen tag und nacht beym wein.
 Vater und mutter bösslich das jr verzeren,
 Das seind die tugent die ich thu leren.

^b Ten x. jaré eē kit drijvende dē top
 Wijsheyt is dā in hē niet vele
 Ili ghelijet der jōger geytē springēde op
 Nemmermeer v'saet van spele.



The Ten Ages of Man.
From "Der Dieren Palley's".

- " A young man he is at twenty years :
At this time he does wonders,
He resembles the young calf tormented with the blain,
He is seen to set wisdom aside.
- " At thirty years he is called a man ;
He resembles the bull, which, by its nature,
Desires to butt, to fight, and to gore those
Who meddle with it by words or deeds.
- " When he has arrived at forty years
He will readily exercise wisdom ;
The nobility of the lion is attributed to him,
So that he is gladly seen in the world.
- " He is now full of all sorts of *dodges*,
For he has fifty years between his ears.
When it rains the fox runs into his hole ;
We do not hear of any losses then.
- " At sixty years he is on the decline,
But greediness then has taken possession of him ;

Een jôgheline is hi tē xx. jaren
Dā bedrijft hi wonder te dien tijdē.
Hi ghelijet den jongē calverē gequelt met blaren,
Mē siet hē de wijsh; stellē besijden.

Tē xxx. jarē is hi gehetē een man
Dē stier ghelijckē de mett' natuerē
Willēde stotē vechtē en stekē dan
Die hē met woorden oft wercken rueren.

Tot xl. jarē is hy ghecomen
Nu soudy gheern wijsheyt plien.
Duer deedelheit des leeus wordet hem benomen,
Om dat hi op die werelt ware geerne ghesien.

Alle practijcken is hi vol
Wāt l. jarē heeft hi tusscē sijn oorē.
Alst reegēt loopt die vosch i zij hol.
Als dan en mach ic van gheenen v'liese horen.

Ten lx. jarē gaet hi af.
Maer giericheit is dā i hē gevloyt.

Observations on the Origin of the

Like the wolf taking his spring
Amongst a flock of fat sheep.

" At seventy years he will take heed to his soul,
Pleasure and enjoyment he then puts away :
Like the dog which gnaws its bone,
So daily gnaws he.

" At eighty years he is thrust aside ;
He is an annoyance and vexation in the world ;
He resembles a cat with its paws,
Which likes to be in the warmth and runs to the fire.

" At ninety years resembling an ass,
Unregarded, and the laughing stock of children ;
For enjoyment, understanding and vigour are failing ;
Every one desires his death, which is a bitter fate.

" At a hundred years he becomes the prey of death ;
He resembles a goose which is plucked and eaten ;
So is he plucked of the riches he prized,
And his body is eaten by the worms."

Ghelijck dē wolf nemēde sinē draf
Onder een cudde scapē vet gegroit.

Tē lxx. jarē hy wilt sijn siel bewarē
Genuecht en vruecht dan v'jaecht hi.
Gelijckēde dē hōt na tv'clarē
Dye dat been knaecht, soe degelijx knaecht hi.

Tē lxxx. jaren wert hi v'stotē
Hi is d' werelt toorn en' v'driet,
Hi gelijet d'cattē de mettē poten
Gheern int werme is ende biden viere vliet.

Tē xc. jarē dē esel gelijckēde,
Ongeacht en der kind' spot.
Wāt juecht, v'stāt, sterckh; is hē beswijckēde :
Elck begheert sijn doot, dat is een bitt' not.

Te c. jaren h [] de doot gewr []
Hi gelijet d' g [] de wert ghep [] ghegheten.
So pluckē de [] dē dat goet n [] gheacht
D; lichaē we [] dē wormē v' [].

Although I find the last two instances printed in the years 1518 and 1520 respectively, there can, I think, be little doubt that they were derived from some common type of much greater antiquity. Whether this type were pictorial or verbal it is impossible to say, but the striking similarity in the general character of the illustrations of the Dutch and German works, while the verbal explanations are so totally different, appears to me to offer most striking evidence of the existence of a general idea (apart from the broad division of man's life into stages) presented to us in different dresses, according to the fancy or particular view of the respective writers.

I shall conclude this preliminary account, by some juvenile verses by Sir Thomas More, which appear to me to present not the least interesting specimen of the manner in which this curious subject may be treated. They must have been written towards the end of the fifteenth century. The extract I give is taken from the edition of his works, printed at London in 1557, in folio:—

“Mayster Thomas More in his youth deuysed in hys father's house in London a goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe, with nyne pageauntes, and verses ouer of euery of those pageauntes; which verses expressed and declared what the ymages in those pageauntes represented; and also in those pageauntes were paynted the thynges that the verses ouer them dyd (in effecte) declare, whiche verses here folowe:—

“In the first pageant was painted a boy playing at the top and squyrge; and ouer this pageant was written as foloweth:—

“CHYLDHOD.

“I am called Chyldhod; in play is all my mynde,
To cast a coyte, a cockstele, and a ball.
A toppe can I set, and dryve it in his kynde,
But would to God these hatefull bookes all
Were in a fyre brent to poudre small.
Than myght I lede my lyfe alwayes in play;
Whiche lyfe God sende me to myne endyng day.

“In the second pageant was paynted a goodly freshe yonge man rydyng uppon a goodly horse, hauyng an hawke on his fyste, and a brase of grayhowndes folowyng hym. And vnder the horse fete was paynted the same boy that in the fyrst pageaunte was playenge at the top and squyrge; and ouer this second pageant the wryting was thus:—

"MANHOD.

"Manhod I am therefore I me delyght
 To hunt and hawke, to nourishe up and fede
 The grayhounde to the course, the hawke to the flyght,
 And to bestryde a good and lusty stede.
 These thynges become a very man in dede,
 Yet thynketh this boy his peuishe game swetter,
 But what no force, his reason is no better.

"In the thyrd pagiaunt was paynted the goodly younge man in the seconde pagiaunt lyeng on the grounde; and vppon hym stode ladye Venus, goddes of loue, and by her vppon this man stode the lytle god Cupyde; and ouer this thyrd pageaunt, this was the wrytyng that foloweth:—

"VENUS AND CUPYDE.

"Who so ne knoweth the strength, power, and myght
 Of Venus and me her lytle sonne Cupyde.
 Thou Manhod shalt a myrrour bene a ryght,
 By us subdued for all thy great pryde.
 My fyry dart perceth thy tender syde.
 Now thou whiche erst despysedst children small,
 Shall waxe a chylde agayne and be my thrall.

"In the fourth pageaunt was paynted an olde sage father sitting in a chayre; and lyeng vnder his fete was painted the ymage of Venus and Cupyde, that were in the third pageant; and ouer this fourth pageant the scripture was thus:—

"AGE.

"Olde age am I with lokkes thynne and hore;
 Of our short lyfe the last and best part,
 Wyse and discrete: the publike wele therefore
 I help to rule to my labour and smart.
 Therefore Cupyde withdrawe thy fyry dart,
 Chargeable matters shall of loue oppresse
 Thy childish game and ydle bysinesse.

"In the fyfth pageaunt was paynted an ymage of Death; and vnder hys fete lay the olde man in the fourth pageaunte. And aboue this fift pageant this was the saying:—

" DETH.

" Though I be foule, vgly, lene, and mysshape,
Yet there is none in all this worlde wyde
That may my power withstande or escape.
Therefore, sage father, greatly magnified,
Discende from your chayre, set a part your pryde,
Witsafe to lende (though it be to your payne)
To me a fole some of your wise brayne.

" In the sixt pageant was painted lady Fame. And vnder her fete was the picture of Death that was in the fifth pageant. And over this sixt pageaunt the writyng was as foloweth :—

" FAME.

" Fame I am called, maruayle you nothing,
Though with tonges am compassed all rounde;
For in voyce of people is my chiefe liuyng.
O cruel Death, thy power I confounde,
When thou a noble man has brought to grounde.
Maugry thy teeth, to lyue cause hym shall I,
Of people in parpetuall memory.

" In the seuenth pageant was painted the ymage of Tyme, and vnder hys fete was lyeng the picture of Fame that was in the sixt pageant. And this was the scripture ouer this seuenth pageant :—

" TYME.

" I whom thou seest with horyloge in hande
Am named Tyme, the lord of euery howre,
I shall in space destroy both see and lande.
O simple Fame, how darest thou man honowre,
Promising of his name an endlesse flowre.
Who may in the world haue a name eternall,
When I shall in process destroy the world and all.

" In the eyght pageant was pictured the ymage of lady Eternitee, sittying in a chayre vnder a sumptuous clothe of estate, crowned with an imperiall crown. And vnder her fete lay the picture of Tyme that was in the seuenth pageant. And aboue this eight pageaunt was it written as foloweth :—

" ETERNITEE.

" Me nedeth not to bost, I am Eternitee,
 The very name signifyeth well
 That myne empire infinite shalbe.
 Thou mortall Tyme, euery man can tell,
 Art nothyng els but the mobilitie
 Of sonne and mone chaungyng in euery degre,
 When they shall leue theyre course thou shalt be brought
 For all thy pride and bostyng into nought.

" In the nynth pageant was painted a poet sitting in a chayre. And ouer this pageant were there written these verses in Latin, folowyng :

" THE POET.

" Has fictas quemcunque iuuat spectare figuras,
 Sed mira veros quas putat arte homines.
 Ille potest veris animum sic pascere rebus.
 Ut pictis oculos pascit imaginibus.
 Namque videbit uti fragilis bona lubrica mundi,
 Tam cito non veniunt quam cito pretereunt,
 Gaudia laus et honor celeri pede omnia cedunt,
 Qui manet excepto semper amore Dei.
 Ergo homines, levibus jamjam diffidite rebus,
 Nulla recessuro spes adhibenda bono,
 Qui dabit eternam nobis pro munere vitam,
 In permansuro ponite vota Deo."

I now come to the print which has led to this communication. It was found pasted inside what had been the covers of an old edition or manuscript of the "*Moralia super Bibliam*" of N. de Lyra,^a and which covers were purchased by Mr. Panizzi for the library, for the sake of this wood-cut alone.

It is 15½ inches high by 10½ broad. The centre is occupied by a large wheel with eight spokes ; on the inner circle of the wheel are the words, " The wheel of life, which is called fortune."^b Between this and the outer circle is the form of a naked man ; the arms extended and grasping two of the upper spokes, and the legs apart against the two corresponding spokes below. On the outer circle of the wheel

^a The practice of pasting on the inside of the covers of books, prints, upon moral or religious subjects, has been the means of preserving many specimens of engraving of the fifteenth century, which would otherwise have been irrecoverably lost. We are more indebted to this practice of our forefathers than is generally known.

^b Rota vite que fortuna vocatur.

are the words, "Thus adorned, they are born in this mortal life. Life decaying, they glide away like water."^a Around the wheel are the figures of man in his seven stages. Commencing on the left side and proceeding upwards, there is a label with the word "Generacio" upon it. Immediately above this is a cradle, in or rather upon which lies an infant in swaddling clothes; and at the foot of the cradle there stands a little naked boy, who holds out his hands as though he were amusing the infant by clapping them. The next in order is a naked child, holding in his right hand a toy, known in the present day as a windmill; and which consists of two short sticks with pieces of paper at the extremities, attached crosswise to a longer stick; the cross is made to turn freely, and is caused to whirl round by running with it extended against the wind. An animal intended most probably for a dog, but much more resembling a pig, is standing on its hind feet, and resting against the child's leg. Underneath, on a scroll, is the inscription, "An infant to seven years."^b Immediately above is a label with the inscription, "Childhood to fifteen years."^c This is illustrated by a youth holding a falcon on his right fist, and what appears to be a bag of money in his left hand—emblems of the love of pleasure and enjoyment natural to this stage of man's life. Above the head of this youth, and perhaps with reference to the same figure, there is another label with the words "Adolescence to twenty-five years."^d This brings us to the top, at the left hand side. In the centre, at the upper part of the print, and sitting astride upon the wheel, there is a figure with a feather in his cap, and armed with spear and shield. On a label above him are the words, "Youth to thirty-five years."^e At the top of the right side of the print is a label with the inscription, "Manhood to fifty years."^f Beneath is a figure seated at a table counting money—evidently the worldly man who, having passed through the stages of pleasure and war, is now occupied with the acquisition of wealth. Under his feet is a label with the words, "Old age to seventy years."^g The next figure, descending, is that of an old man leaning on a staff, under which is a label with the inscription, "Decrepit until death."^h The dead body is next represented lying in a coffin, under which is a label with the word "Corrupcio." In the centre, at the foot of the print, is a winged figure with flowing drapery, the wings expanded and the hands resting upon the two labels,

^a Sic ornati nascuntur in hac mortali vita.

Est velut aqua labuntur deficiens ita.

^b Infans ad vii. annos.

^d Adolescencia ad xxv. annos.

^f Virilitas ad l. annos.

^h Decrepitus usq' ad mortem.

^c Puericia ad xv. annos.

^e Juventus ad xxxv. annos.

^g Senectus ad lxx. annos.

bearing the inscriptions "Generacio" and "Corrupcio." Under the left hand of this figure is the name of the artist, "Clau;"^a with his punning device, three claws, on a shield. At the bottom are eight lines in Latin monkish verse, which may be thus rendered into plain prose:—

"The state of man is exemplified in a flower:
The flower falls and perishes, so shall man also become ashes.
If thou couldst know who thou art, and whence thou comest,
Thou wouldst never smile, but ever weep.
There are three things which often make me lament:
First, it is a hard thing to know that I must die;
Secondly, I fear because I do not know when I shall die;
Thirdly, I weep because I do not know what will become of me hereafter."^b

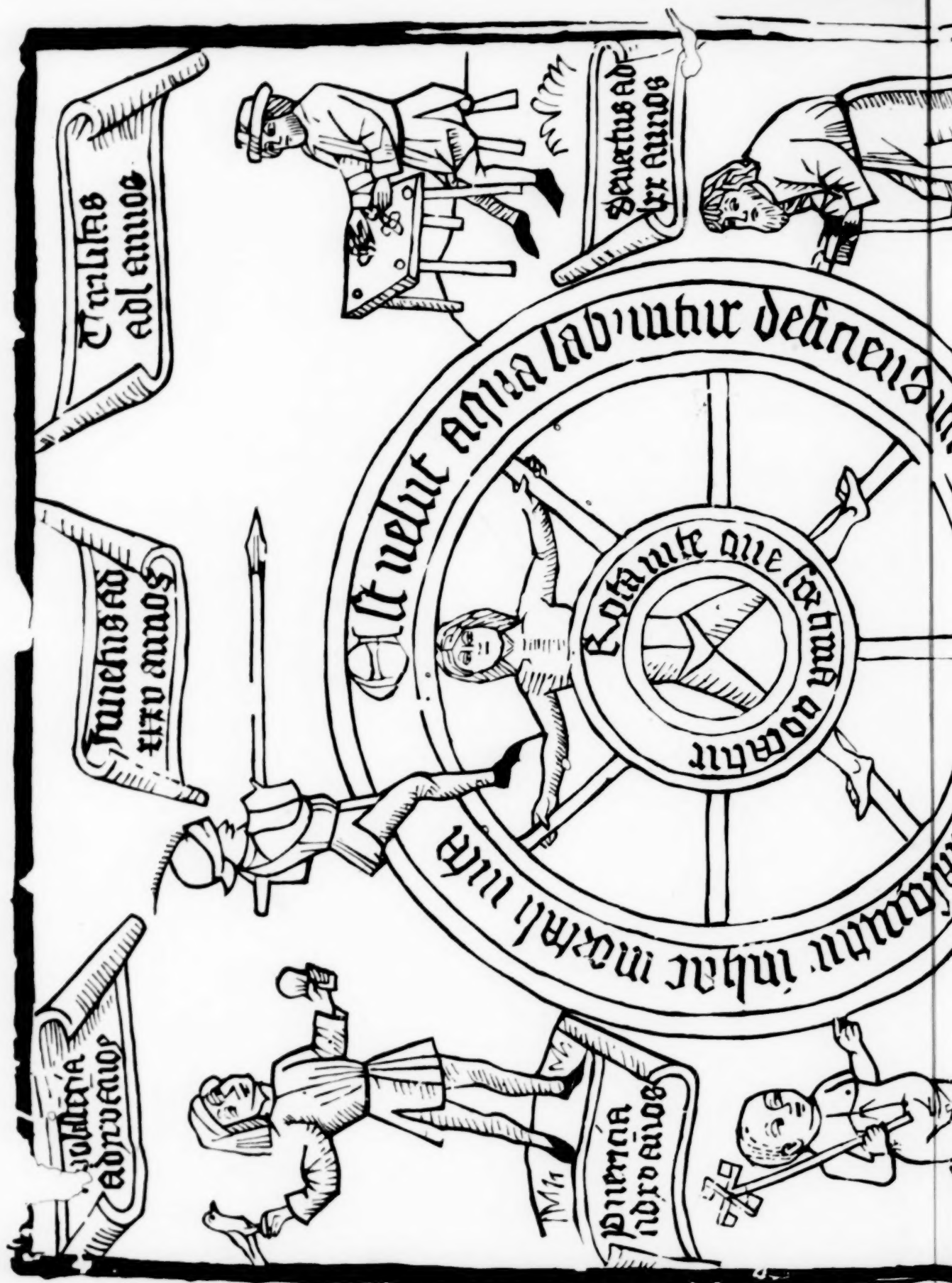
I consider the date of this engraving to be about the middle of the fifteenth century. The execution is coarse, but the figures are drawn with much spirit. The design is superior to the execution. It is not clear to which figure each label is meant to refer, and it would indeed appear as though the figures were intended to form general rather than special illustrations of the text. The whole is coloured, or rather discoloured, in that rough style by which so many of the German wood-engravings of the fifteenth century are disfigured. As no verbal description can convey a correct notion of this very curious piece, I have appended a copy of it.

I have now brought my task to a close. My plan only contemplated such instances as preceded the time of Shakspeare, and I cannot pretend to have done more than offer a few stepping stones for those who, with more learning and leisure than I possess, may feel inclined to follow out the inquiry. The investigation would amply repay the time bestowed upon it. The subject is one which has occupied the thoughts of the physician, the moralist, the speculative philosopher, and the

^a I cannot find that the name of this artist is known. He is not mentioned in any of the authorities I have been able to consult; nor have my inquiries among living authorities met with better success. It is impossible, therefore, to say whether he were designer or engraver.

^b Est hominis status in flore significatus.
Flos cadit et perit, sic homo cinis erit.
Si tu sentires quis esses et unde venires
Nunquam rideres, sed omni tempore fleres.
Sunt tria: vere que faciunt me sepe dolere:
Est primum durum quod scio me moriturum;
Secundum, timeo quia hoc nescio quando;
Hinc tertium flebo quod nescio ubi manebo.







Ad hominis statum in hoc significatus
 Sicuti sentit quos esse et unde nequies
 Sicuti irascit vere que facit me sepe debere
 Secundu[m] hunc quia hoc nescio quando

Flos cadit et perijt sic homo cuius erat
 Jamquã videres sed omni ipse flores
 Est p[er]m[an]ens duru[m] q[uod] scio me morituru[m]
 Tunc terru[m] flecto q[uod] nescio u[m] ueniet

The Seven Ages of Man

From a Block Print in the British Museum

poet. Instances may, I doubt not, be found in the literature and art of all countries,* and from the earliest periods. In Rosellini's *Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, a very curious instance occurs in pl. 125 and 126 of the *Monumenti Civili*, of a date far anterior to any previously mentioned: the mode of treatment is quite peculiar. The form will of course vary. The progress of the soul from man's heels to his head, as described by Prior in his "Alma," is but another version of the "Seven Ages."

We have seen how this subject has been treated by various writers through a period of two thousand years; by some elaborately, by others concisely. I need not quote the language of the melancholy Jaques. Every one who reads the extracts I have given will feel how immeasurably they all fall short of the poetic conception of our own Shakspeare.

I remain, dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful Servant,

J. WINTER JONES.

To Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.

&c. &c. &c.

* Mr. Martin, the librarian at Woburn Abbey, published in 1848 a very interesting little volume on Shakspeare's Seven Ages. The following passage occurs in a letter addressed by Lady Calcott to Mr. Martin, and inserted by him in his introduction:—"When travelling through Italy, we found in the cathedral of Sienna a curious proof that the division of human life into seven periods, from infancy to extreme old age, with a view to draw a moral inference, was common before Shakspeare's time. The person who was showing us that fine church directed our attention to the large and bold designs of Beccafumi, which are inlaid in black and white on the pavement, entirely neglecting some works of a much older date, which appeared to us to be still more interesting on account of the simplicity and elegance with which they are designed. Several of these represented Sibyls and other figures of a mixed moral and religious character; but in one of the side chapels we were both surprised and pleased to find seven figures, each in a separate compartment, inlaid on the pavement, representing the Seven Ages of Man. Our time was so very short that it was only possible to make a slight sketch by way of memorandum of the subjects; that sketch accompanies this letter," &c.

These figures are inlaid in the pavement before the chapel of the Madonna delle Grazie, commonly called "Del Voto," and are supposed to have been executed by Antonio Federighi in the year 1476. See *Descrizione del Duomo di Siena*, by Fratini and Bruni, p. 28. Siena, 1818. 12°.

XIV.—*Ancient Gold Ornaments: described by JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq.
Secretary.*

Read May 12, 1853.

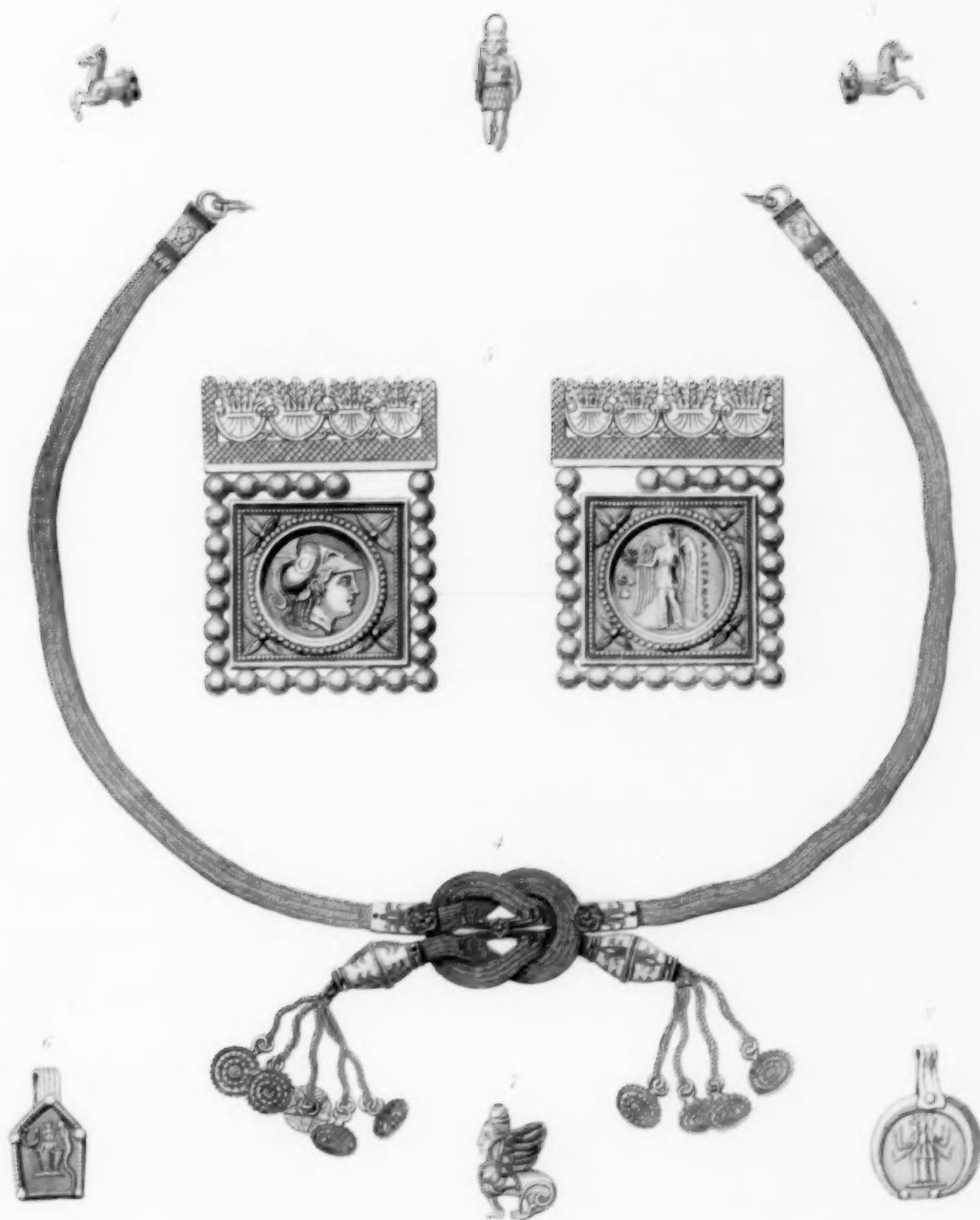
WITH the exception of Figs. 1, 2, 3, the Gold Ornaments engraved in Plate VIII. have no reference whatever to each other. The first three were obtained by Viscount Strangford, Director of the Society, from a Greek priest at Milo, in the year 1820. Figs. 1 and 3 appear to have formed the ends of a light chain, and the other (fig. 2) to have been pendent by a small loop on the top of the head. The figure has unfortunately lost the feet and the left hand, but the other parts are perfect. The right hand is raised in an admonitory attitude. The forehead appears as if encircled with a wreath, while the body is crossed by what would seem to be intended for the tendril of a vine. The necklace was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. H. P. Borrell, of Smyrna, but I am informed by his brother, Mr. Maximilian Borrell, who now possesses it, that no record exists of its discovery, and that he cannot learn the name of the individual from whom it was purchased. It was well known that Mr. H. P. Borrell was in the habit of purchasing ancient coins, which were sent to him from all parts of Greece and Asia-Minor, and that many rare and unique specimens fell into his hands, of which he contributed descriptions in various volumes of the Numismatic Chronicle. The necklace may, therefore, have been included in one of these numerous consignments, and we can scarcely indulge the hope that the place of its discovery will ever be made known. As an example of ancient art, it may vie with the most elaborate and beautiful specimens of goldsmiths' work of any age or period. The details are wonderfully minute and delicate, even the backs of the button-like objects at the ends of the pendent cords being elaborately finished.

The object in the centre of the plate (fig. 5) also formed part of the collection of Mr. H. P. Borrell. It is of massive gold work, enchasing a gold stater of Alexander the Great:—

Obverse.—Galeated head of Minerva to the right.

Reverse.—ΑΑΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Victory standing, regarding the left; in her right hand a garland, in her left a long trident; in the field a ram's head, beneath which an object, which appears to be a globular-shaped vase.

Figs. 6, 7, 8, belonged to the same collection, and, like the other objects, the



GOLD PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

Illustrated by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Pl. VII. Vol. VIII.

place of their finding is unknown, but the antiquary will not fail to detect their Asiatic character. The first is a pendent gold ornament, representing the facade of a temple of archaic structure, within which is the figure of the world-worshipped goddess, Diana Ephesia, represented as on the well-known silver medallions of Claudius and Agrippina, and the Imperial Greek coins of Emperors down to a late period, standing between a crescent-shaped object and a serpent. We may safely conjecture that this amulet is the work of some goldsmith of an Ionian city, and very probably of Ephesus herself. Had this object been of silver, notwithstanding its archaic character, it would answer to the description of those little shrines the *ναὸς ἀργυρεὺς* described in the Acts of the Apostles;^a for, although the workmanship is rude, it might probably be designed to be so out of reverence for ancient custom.

Fig. 8 is another pendent ornament, doubtless designed for the same purpose, but representing Diana in her character of Hecate. The lamina of metal of which it is formed is included within a crescent-shaped ornament, the horns of which are terminated by small knobs precisely as in the subordinate symbol in the field of fig. 6. That Diana was worshipped in Ephesus as Hecate we learn from Pliny, who tells us that she had a statue of marble there of so dazzling a lustre that the beholders were instructed to shade their eyes from its effulgence.^b In the British Museum is a brass coin of Antoninus Pius, struck at Ephesus, on which are the figures of Diana Ephesia and Diana Lucifera side by side.^c

With regard to the age of the objects, I cannot do better than quote the words of Mr. Burgon, in reply to some questions recently addressed to him by me in reference to the enchased coin and the workmanship of the necklace.

MY DEAR SIR,

British Museum, May 12th, 1853.

The symbol of a ram's head, observable in the field of the gold stater of Alexander the Great, which ornaments the gold clasp, so carefully engraved, is too vague, and belongs to too many cities to warrant a well-founded conjecture as to where the coin was struck. The symbol under the ram's head is also, most unfortunately, too ill defined to help the question.

Still I cannot help being of opinion that the coin of Alexander was struck in some city of Asia Minor, perhaps Clazomenæ, in Ionia.

As to the age of this elegant and most rare specimen of ancient art, one can only

^a Acts xix. v. 24.

^b Et Hecate Ephesi in templo Dianæ post ædem, in cujus contemplatione admonent auditui parcere oculis, tanta marmora radiatio est. *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

^c See Remarks on the Coins of Ephesus struck during the Roman Dominion, p. 29, and the plate, fig. 2.

arrive at the period to which it belongs by a careful comparison of it with other similar objects of which the age is known.

According to my own experience at Ithaca, and the experience of Dr. Lee at the same place, and of other persons who have excavated at Milo (the ancient Melos Insula), objects more or less similar as to workmanship and style of art, have been found with finely preserved Roman family coins in the same grave. These facts seem to point to about 100 B.C. as the period of deposit. If the object appears older, as in the case of the necklace before us, we may assign 150–100 B.C. as its probable age.

The objects discovered at Ithaca by Dr. Lee are, I believe, now deposited in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries, so that every one can have an opportunity of inspecting and comparing those very precious and interesting objects.

I regret that it is out of my power to give you other than these very insufficient hints concerning these beautiful objects.

Believe me, ever,

My dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

THOS. BURGON.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

SINCE this was written I have been favoured with the following observations by Mr. Birch. This gentleman thinks the head at the ends of the chain may probably be that of the goddess $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\eta$, to whom the Argonauts sacrificed at Lemnos,^a and whose name would allude to the material of which this beautiful ornament is composed:—

“The reason of the abundance of gold ornaments in the sepulchres of the Greeks is owing to the custom which prevailed, just prior to the first century and during the Roman times, of interring the dead in all their decorations and other jewellery. It is to the existence of a similar custom among the Etruscans that the preservation of so many tinsel ornaments is to be ascribed, such being evidently made by undertakers for the dead alone, as they are far too fragile for the ordinary uses of life. This custom prevailed in Asia Minor from the most remote antiquity. The Assyrian, Lydian, Persian, and other monarchs had placed with them in their sepulchres their wardrobes and ornaments; and in the extraordinary tale narrated

^a Millingen, *Vases Grecques*, pl. ii.

by Phlegon of Tralles,^a the damsel Philinnion, who rises from the tomb after death, presents the youth Machates with a gold ring and girdle. Hence he thought that the resurrectionists had sold to her father the garments and jewellery, or gold ornaments, of the girl. In the novel of Charito, the heroine Callirrhoe, who dies suddenly, is laid in the sepulchre with all her jewellery,^b which occasions the pirates to break into the tomb."

^a Opuscula, Halæ, 1777, p. 11. ὥστε δὲ νεκροῦκτας τινὰς διωρυχέιναι τὸν τάφον καὶ πεπρακέναι τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ χρύσια τῇ πατρὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου.—Ibid. p. 12.

^b πρῶτος μὲν ὁ τῆς φερνῆς χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος, ἐσθητῶν κάλλος καὶ κόσμος. Charito, Chæreas and Callirrhoe, p. 10, l. 9, ed. 4to, Amstel. 1750.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

XV.—*Observations on a Lease of Two Houses in the Piazza, Covent Garden, granted to Sir Edmund Verney, A.D. 1634. By JOHN BRUCE, Esq. Treas. S. A.*

Read May 12, 1853.

THE interest which attaches to the growth of our vast metropolis, with all the concomitant improvements in building and in the comforts and conveniences of our dwellings, renders any evidence upon that subject worthy of general attention; I therefore take advantage of the permission of Sir Harry Verney, to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries a lease granted in 1634 to Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marshal to King Charles I., of two of the new houses then just erected as part of the Piazza in Covent Garden.

It appears from a paper communicated to this Society by Mr. Way, and printed in the thirtieth volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 494, that in 1570 Covent Garden was an "enclosure or pasture," extending westward from Drury Lane, which was then termed "the comune high waye that leadeth from the Stronde to St. Giles in the fyeldes." The pasture at that time called Covent Garden was fenced from Drury Lane by "a wall of mudde or earth." From Drury Lane it extended westward pretty nearly to the present St. Martin's Lane. The general boundary on the south consisted of the gardens of the houses situate on the north side of "the High Streate of Westminster, commonly called the Stronde." On the south side of that particular part of the piece of pasture which we now call Covent Garden, the boundary was the wall of the garden situate behind the mansion occupied by the Earl of Bedford, who was the proprietor of Covent Garden, and also of the adjacent field of seven acres called the Long Acre, and much more of the surrounding property.

In 1631, Francis the fourth Earl of Bedford, having completed his great scheme of the drainage of the fens, turned his attention to the improvement of his valuable piece of pasture land called Covent Garden. He engaged the services of Inigo Jones, who laid out the square now occupied by the market, with several of the adjacent streets, built the row of houses principally on the north side of the square called the Piazza, and also erected on the west side of the square a church, or as it then was a chapel, for the accommodation of the earl's tenants. In the reign of

Charles I. this was the Belgravia or Tyburnia of London; and in the lease which is now exhibited, we have not merely information respecting Covent Garden, but a minute specification of the landlords' fittings and customary accommodations of what were then some of the most fashionable residences in the metropolis.

The lease is dated the 1st of November, 1634. It was granted by Francis Earl of Bedford to Sir Edmund Verney, who is described as Knight Marshal of his Majesty's Honourable Household. It comprises "all those two new messuages situate in Covente Garden, in the parish of St. Martyn in the feilds, which were lately builte by the sayd earle on a place comonly called or knowne by the name of the Piazza, whereof the one adioineth on the north to one other new messuage in the occupation of Edward Siddenham, Esq^r. and the other abutteth towards the south to a street there leading towards Russell Streete." There are also included in the lease the "yardes, stables, coachhouses, and gardens now layd, or hereafter to be layd, to the sayd messuages." This description of the premises seems to identify them as the two houses at the southern end of the Piazza, adjoining to Great Russell Street, and now occupied as the Bedford Coffee House and Hotel. They are either the same premises, or they immediately adjoin the premises, occupied a century later as the Bedford Coffee House, which Mr. Peter Cunningham shows to have been frequented by Garrick, Quin, Foote, Murphy, and a celebrated company of wits and scholars.

The lease significantly includes, as if it were something peculiarly deserving of preservation, "the use of all such waynscott" as is mentioned in an attached schedule, which enumerates separately every piece of wainscot on the premises.

There is also excepted "all that walke underneath the sayd messuage, comonly called the Portico Walke, as the same now is made and perfected by the sayd Earle."

The term of the lease is only "fower yeares" from Michaelmas 1634, and the annual rent "one hundred and threescore poundes," payable quarterly.

Sir Edmund was bound to repair, not merely the dwelling-houses which were let to him, but also "the fence walles lying on the west and north sides, which doth devide the premisses from the next house occupied by Mr." afterwards Sir "Edward Sydenham;" and also "all the pavements, both of freestone and other, as well within the demised premises as without in the streete unto the kennell, as the same extende themselves along and against the sayd messuages, and the said Portico Walke underneath the sayd messuages."

The earl covenants with Sir Edmund Verney, with true legal particularity, that he may at all times have free "ingresse, egresse, and regresse, into, out of, and from

the sayd messuages, upon, by, over, and through the sayd portico walke, and that he, together with other his majesty's subjects, may at all times walke in, upon, and over the said Portico Walke, to and fro, at his and their own will and pleasure." Also, "that Sir Edmund Verney may expell, put, or drive away out of the said Walke any youth or other person whatsoever which shall eyther play or be in the said Portico Walke in offence or disturbance to the said Sir Edmund Verney."

Lastly, there is a covenant that "if it shall happen that the dwellers in the said premisses shalbe soe annoyed or damnified for wante of a common sewer, to carry away the fowle water or other such thinges as is accustomed to be conveyed away in, by, and through the common sewers, soe as they cannot with any convenyency continue their dwellinge their," Sir Edmund may give up the premises "on a half-years warninge."

The lease is signed by the earl, and an impression of his seal remains attached to it.

The inventory of fixtures is probably the most curious part of this document. It enumerates every apartment, from the beer cellar, and the strong beer cellar, the scullery, the pantry, and the buttery, to the dining and withdrawing rooms. Amongst other things, I may point out, that most of the rooms had casement windows, but that "the dining-room next Russell Street," the withdrawing room, and others of the principal apartments, are distinguished as having had "shuttinge windowes." There is also mention of "two leaf windows." The principal rooms were also "double creasted round for hangings," and were wainscoted round the chimney-pieces, and doors, and windows. In one case, a study "south towards Russell Street," the whole room was wainscoted, and the hall was wainscoted to the height of 5 feet 9 inches. Most of the windows are described as having "soil boards" attached. The room-doors have generally "stock locks;" in some places "spring plate locks" and spring bolts are enumerated. There is no mention of anything approaching to a fire-grate in any of the rooms, except perhaps in the kitchen, where I find "a travers barre for the chimney."

The number of apartments mentioned is more than thirty. Four stories are mentioned, exclusive of garrets.

It is probable that some Fellow of the Society, better acquainted than myself with the practical details of building, will be able to find in this schedule many other things worthy of observation in connection with the history of building in this country.

JOHN BRUCE.

AN INVENTORY of such GOODS and HOUSHOLD STUFFE as the EARL of BEDFORD
leaveth in the MESSUAGES or HOUSES by the INDENTURE annexed demised
to the vse of SIR EDMOND VERNEY.

In the beare seller.

Inprimis. Two iron boults to the trapp doore. Fower steelings for beare. One double
stocklock and staple.

In the strong beare seller.

Item. One steelling for beare. One double stocklock and staple.

In the scullery.

Item. One double stocklock and staple.

In the kitchen.

Item. One locke and staple. One casemente. Two dressers and backbords. Two ancor
barrs. A travers barre for the chimney, a short remouinge dresser, a brasse cock, one oven
and iron oven lidd. A grate for the sincke, two soyle bords for wyndowes.

In the pastry.

Item. One double stocklock and staple. Two pastry boords and backbords, two soyle boords.
One casemente.

In the larder.

One double stocklock and staple.

Att the stayrefoote doore by the pastry.

Item. One double stocklock and staple.

In the washhouse.

Item. One double stocklock and staple, a fouldinge boord and backboord. Two soyle boords,
one casemente, one grate, one oven and iron oven lidd, a pipe and cock.

In the hall story.

Item. Mr. Hubbert's stodyes south towards Russell Streete, the roome wainscotted, two case-
ments. Fower shutting windowes.

The outter doore.

Item. A plate and springe locke. Two boults.

On the stayre case.

Item. One soyle bord.

In the hall.

Item. A double stocklock and staple, back doore, double stocklock and staple, one Boulte. Two
casements. Two shutting wyndowes. Two soyle boords, the roome waynscotted fyve
foote and nyne inches highe. One double stocklock and staple on the doore out of the first
hall into the entringe roome for sarvants.

In the dyninge roome for sarvants.

Item. One double stocklock and staple, three casements. Two shutting wyndowes, three soyle boords.

The second doore on the stayre case.

Item. One springe plate lock. Two springe boults.

On the back doore.

Item. A double stocklock and staple, one bolt.

In the buttery.

Item. One double stocklock and staple, one casemente. Two shutting wyndowes, one soyle boord.

In the store howse adioyninge.

Item. One double stocklock. Two casements. Two soyle boords.

In the second story next Russell Streete.

Item. Two casements, six shutting wyndowes. One chimney peece and jambes of wyndowes. Peeres vnder and over the soyles of wyndowes wainscotted. Waynscote ledges of deale for hangings.

On the stayres.

Item. Two shutting wyndowes. Two soyles.

On the passage.

Item. Two shutting wyndowes, one soyle boord.

The roome by itt and next the stayres backwards.

Item. One casemente, one chimney peece and wyndowe waynscotted, one soyle boord, a closett made with a wainscotte partition, the wyndowe thereof wainscotted, a soyle bord, and casemente.

In the passage by the second story.

Item. One soyle boord. Two shutting wyndowes.

In the inner roome.

Item. One lock and staple, a chimney peece, the window waynscotted. Two soyle boords. Two casements.

The passage by the second stayres.

Item. Two shutting wyndowes and soyle boord, on the window backward one soyle boord.

On the doore on the right hande.

Item. One double stocklock and staple. Two shutting wyndowes. Three soyle bords. The chimney waynscotted and windowes. A closett with a wainscott partition. Two casements.

The 3 story aboue the mezato corner next Russell street backwards.

Item. One chymney peece and jambes of wainscott windowes and peeres waynscotted. Two casements, the roome double creasted for hangings, a closett parted with tymber. Two soyle boords, on the stayres one soyle boord.

In the little dyning roome.

- Item. One chimney peece, jambes, soyles, vnder and ouer soyles of the wyndowes waynscotted, one double stock lock and staple. Two casements.

In the next roome, which cometh to the second stayres.

- Item. Two casements, a chimney peece, windowes, soyles, heads, jambes vnder and over, heads and soyles waynscotted, a closett with a wainscott partition.

On the second stayres.

- Item. Two soyle boords.

The roome on the right hand on the stayres backwards.

- Item. One lock and staple, one chimney peece, and wyndowes wainscott. Two casements.

The same story, in the dyning roome next Russell streete.

- Item. A double stocklocke over the doore, and jambes wainscott, and likewise the chimney peece with the returnes, three wyndowes, jambes, heads, soyles and vnder soyles, and ouer the heads waynscotted. Three two-leaved openinge wyndowes with joynts, longe boults, staples, and springe boults to them, the roome double creasted for hangings, sixe shuttinge windowes of deale wainscott.

The with-drawinge roome.

- Item. A chimney peece with jambes and returnes wainscott, one wyndowe, jambes, heads, soyles, and vnder soyles wainscott, the roome double crested round for hangings. One two-leafe wyndowe with longe bolt, springe bolt, and staples, two shuttinge wainscott wyndowes.

In the next roome to the drawing roome.

- Item. A chimney peece waynscotted, the window waynscotted, jambes, heads, soyles, and vnder soyles, the roome double crested for hangings, one two-leafe windowe with longe bolt, springe bolt, and staples.

In the closett.

- Item. One windowe waynscotted, jambes, heads, soyles, and vnder soyles, a two-leafe wyndowe with longe bolt, springe boulte, and staple.

The last roome on the same flowre.

- Item. One chimney peece with jambes and returnes wainscott, a windowe with jambes, heads, soyles, and vnder soyles waynscotted, a two-leafe wyndowe with longe bolt, spring bolt, and staples, the roome double crested for hangings.

The 4th story backwards towards Russell Streete.

- Item. One chimney peece, waynscotted wyndowes, heads, jambes, and soyles, and vnder soyles waynscotted. Two casements.

Stayres.

- Item. One soyle boord.

Next roome.

Item. One locke and staple, a chimney peece wayncott. Two wyndowes wayncott, jambes, heads, soyles and vnder soyles wayncott. A closett with wayncott partition. Two casements, ledges for hangings.

Next roome adioyninge to the second stayres.

Item. A double stocklock, two casements, a chimney wayncott. Two wyndowes, jambes, heads, soyles, vnder and ouer soyles wayncott. A closett parted with wayncott.

Stayres.

Item. One soyle boord.

Next roome towards the backsyde.

Item. One chimney peece wayncott, two wyndowes, the jambes, heads, soyles, vnder soyles wayncott. Two casements. One double stocklock and staple.

Fowerth story foresyde end next Russell Streete.

Item. One chimney peece, two wyndowes, jambes, heads, soyles, and over soyles, and heads wayncott, three casements, one double stocklock and staple, crested for hangings round.

The inner roome.

Item. One windowe wayncott, jambes, heads, soyles, vnder and ouer soyles. One casement.

The third roome.

Item. One chymney peece wayncott, one wyndowe, jambes, heads, soyles, and vnder soyles, and over the heads, wayncott. One casement, one double stocklock, and ledges for hangings.

The 4th roome on the fore fronte.

Item. A chymney peece wayncott, one wyndowe. Jambes, heads, soyles, and vnder the soyles and over the heads, wayncott, one casement.

The inner roome.

Item. One wyndowe wayncott as before.

The 5th roome.

Item. One chimney peece wayncott, and one windowe as before, one lock, and a casement.

Back garretts towards Russell Streete.

Item. One double stocklock. Two casements.

The 2 roome on the backsyde.

Item. One double stocklock, one casement.

The 3 garrett backsyde vpp the second stayres.

Item. One stocklock, one casement.

The 4th garrett backsyde vp the second stayres.

Item. One double stocklock, one casement.

The first garrett towards Russell Streete forefronte.

Item. One double stocklock. Fyve casements.

The second garrett on the same fronte.

Item. One stocklock and staple. Three casements.

In the yard.

Item. One leaden pompe with iron handle, one boarded shedd for wood and coales, 22 foote longe and 10 foote wide.

The howses of office.

Item. Two stocklocks.

On the doore out of the yard into the garden.

Item. One double stocklock and staple.

In the stables.

Item. On the two stalle doores two stocklocks and staples, racks and mangers with back racks and backboords. Fower posts in every stable, boords to keepe in the litter.

On the outer yard doore.

Item. One double stocklock.

To the two coach howses.

Item. Fower boulds.

To the two outter doores goinge vpp to the groomes chambers.

Item. Two double stocklocks. Two stocklocks to the two chambers. Two casements, one leaden pompe, and iron handle.

XVI.—*Papers relating to the Proposed Marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Brother of the Emperor, in 1567. Communicated by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H, F.R.S., in a Letter to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read February 17, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR,

I beg to lay before our Society transcripts of three Documents illustrative of the Earl of Sussex's negotiation, in 1567, for the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Archduke Charles.

The first is the Diary of the Journey, kept by Sir Gilbert Dethick, who, as Garter King of Arms, attended the cortege, to invest the Emperor with the Order of St. George. It is mutilated in a few passages, being one of the numerous fragments of the Cottonian Library, which, with many fine and important volumes, were destroyed, or spoiled for all useful purposes, in the well-known fire of 1731.

The second is a Letter from the Earl of Sussex to the Queen herself (preserved in the Cottonian MS. Galba, B. xi. fol. 300), dated 27th August, 1567, detailing the substance of his several audiences of the Emperor up to the Emperor's acceptance of the Order of the Garter. It begins rather abruptly. It was probably preceded by some previous Letter to the Queen, descriptive of the journey: and not improbably by another Letter, or perhaps Letters, stating the further discussions with the Emperor and the Archduke, and the causes of failure of the Negotiation.

The whole affording an ample view of the Negotiation, and of the fruitless expenditure which it entailed.

The third contains what are called "The Postage Charges" for the Journey, both out and homeward: from the Cottonian MS. Faustina, C. ii. fol. 144.

Camden, in his Annals, has given a history of the Journey in its political relation. "The Earl of Sussex," he says, "who, out of his love to his country, joined with emulation against Leicester, left no stone unmoved that the Queen might be joined in marriage with some foreign prince, and Leicester might be put beside his hope." * * * "Yet Leicester, cherishing his own hopes, suborned the Lord North

(whom Sussex took with him as a companion in his journey) to listen to what was spoken, and observe what was done, and as much as Sussex advanced the marriage with the Archduke, he so much hindered the same privily, by giving secret hints that the Queen's mind was most averse from marriage, whatsoever she pretended, and howsoever Sussex made show to the contrary."

Yours, my dear Sir,

Most truly,

HENRY ELLIS.

I.

1567—1568.

June—Jan.

Heere followethe the Voyage of the Earle of Sussex into Germany to the Emperore and the Archduke Charles, with the Journal of the said Jurney.

Firste, one Thursdays the 26 of June to Gravesende, and laye at the Angelle that nighte.

One Fridaye the 27 at Kanterbury to dinere at the Lyone, and after dinere to Dovert that nighte, and taried theare tyll Sondag after dinere, and so tooke our shipe and arived at Dunkerke on Mondaye at nyghte, and laye at the Croskeayes.

On Tusdays the 1 daye of July to Bruges, at diner at the Starre, and to Gaunte that nighte at the Helmette.

On Thursdays the 3 daye, from Gaunte to the Stare, 6 leges from Gaunte, to Antwerpe that nighte 4 leagues; and my Lord laye at the Englishe house tyll Sondag, the 6 daye of July, and that nighte to lye at the Rose.

On Monday the 7 daye to Diste, at diner at the Pelicane, and so to Hassell that nighte at the Spread Egle.

One Tusday the 8 daye to Mastre, to dinere at the Horshoo, and that nighte to Herle at the He . . .

On Wensdays the 9 to Gulicke, to dinere at the Cappe, and to Cullone that nighte, and ther remained till Friday at the Holly Goste, being the 11 daye. The same daye from thence to Bonne to dinner at the Flower, and that night to Wintere at the Wildman.

On Saturdays the 12 daye to Andernacke, to dinner at the Holly Goste, and so to Conilence that nighte at the Greene Walke or Foreste.

On Sondag the 13 daye to Babparte, to diner at the Croune, and to Bugarows that nighte at the Starre; and my Lord himself at the Tolnere's house.

On Monday . . . ader sau to dinner wher was no signe, and at nighte at the Blacke Bore.

One Tusdays the 15, to [Open hame] at the Potte, and my Lorde at the Croune.

On Wenesdaye the 16 daye, to Wormes at the Golden Swanne.

On Thursdaye the 17 daye to dinner and no syne, and to Spyres that nighte at the Croune.

On Fridaye the 18 daye, to Renne House, over the Ferry, a half lege to the Poste House, to breckefaste, and so to dinnere to Brussull at the Red Lyon, and that night to Brette at the Croune.

On Satordaye to Greningene, to dinere at the Angelle, and that nighte to Kainstat, at an inne without the towne, at the bridge foote, without sine. Thear by ys the Castelle of Wiertemberge.

On Sondaye the 20 daye, from Kantstate to Gepping; that nighte at the Starre.

On Mondaye the 21 daye to Gesseling, to dynner at the Swane; and that nighte to Ulmes, at the signe of the Croune, and theare remayned till Wensdaye.

One Wensdaye the 23 daye to Cleuene, and that nighte at a village; no sine, but a loginge.

One Thursday the 24 daye to Augusta, and ther that nighte at the Croune in the wine-markete.

One Fridaye the 25 daye to Wessendorpe, to dinere, and to Donawarde that nighte at the Croune.

One Satordaye the 26 daye to Engelstate; that nighte at the Red Horse.

One Sondaye the 27 daye to Rennesboure; that nighte at the Golden Crosse.

One Mondaye the 28 daye to Stronnyng, thear that night at the Golden Younycorne.

One Tusdaye the 29 daye to Velhousen, and ther that nighte without a syne, over againste the Goldene Swane, by the clockhouse.

One Wensdaye the 30 daye to Passer, and ther that nighte Theare is a Castelle, which is the bushope of Passer, and lodged at a house besides the Toune-house, and theare meets the Rivere of Eny and

One Thursdaye the laste daye of Julye to Lenze, and ther that nighte at the signe of the Golden Lyone, in the market-place; and in that towne is a castelle, wher as the Emperore lyes, and it is his towne; and remained theare till Mondaye the 4 daye of Auguste, and ther the Capitaine of the Castle presented unto the Earle of Sussexe a grete staker.

One Mondaye the 4 daye from Lence to Stennes; that nighte at the Golden . . . which is harde by Cromes, x. miles from

On Tusdaye the 5 daye . . . nnes to Vienna, where he was honorably receaved at the landing-place, wher were withe him Smeokwites, Barron of . . . and Bramhere, Barron of Stilbag. . . place with horses for my Lorde and all the gentilmene that weare the Queenes Majesties servants, and broughte to his lodgings, which was aboute 4 of the clocke in the afterenoone.

And one Fridaye the 8 daye of Auguste, at 4 of the clocke, my Lord wente to the Emperore, who was honorably receaved of the Emperore, and wher he delivered the Queenes Majesties letters unto, who receved him verye gently, and had grete talke with him for the space of an owere almoste, and so departed to his loging.

On Sondaye, at afterenoone, the tenth daye, my Lord went to the Courte to the Emperyse, who receaved my Lorde gently, and did there delivere unto her the Queenes letteres also, and so had talke with hir the space of halfe an owere, and so retorned to his lodginge. And one Mondaye the 11 daye of Auguste came to Venne an Ambassadore from Budaye, from the Bassa of the

Turke, with letteres to the Emperore, who arived theare at 10 of the clocke at Venne with 10 waggenges, horses, to the numbere of mene; and the Turkes are all kepte in their lodginge at the Emperores charges.

On Tusday the 12 of Auguste my Lord went to the Courte at 4 of the clocke to the Emperore, who did receave him honorably, and so he remayned with him the space of one owere and more in his previe chambere, and there was nobodye but them twoe, and afterwards tooke his leave with a good countenance for that tyme.

One Wensdaye the 13 daye of Auguste the Emperore and my Lord, with all the gentlmen servants to the Queene and some of his owne servantes, with the number of 12 coches, and a gret menyne horses, wente a hontinge 3 leges from Venne, and they dined ij. leages and a halfe from Venne, wher my Lord and all the company had greate cheere. And after dynnere my Lord and all the company wente with the Emperore to the place wheare the coursinge was appoyntede; and ther was within the tull, which compassed aboute a woode, where was diveres greate hartes, and so we had v. courses, wher was killed 3 hartes; and at our comynge homeward, within a leage of Venne, the Emperore kyld a greate harte with his pystolle, beinge in his coche, which harte he gave unto my Lord Embassadore, and so came home that nighte.

One Fridaye the 15 daye of Auguste, at 4 of the clocke at afternoon, the Turkes Embassadore from the Bassarre of Boda came to the Emperore's Courte, who brought with him a peece of clothe of golde and a boxe with sertene pere of gloves, and holy thinges for to hange about a horse, and certen horses, to presente them to the Emperore: and at his first cominge in he made a besance unto the Emperore, who sate in his cheere of state, and made no countenance to him; but the Turke, after his obesance done, he rane unto the Emperore, and so delyvered him a letter, and touched his forhed with the letter before he delyvered it unto him, and so kissed his hande; and afterwarde he talked with him certene wordes, whereunto the Emperores Chauncelore made him answer to one that was interpreture to him, which was not longe, and so he departed for that tyme.

One Thursday the 21 daye of Auguste, at one of the clocke, the Emperore wente in his coche and my Lord Embassador with him in the Emperores coche to a parke, and before he came to the parke, mette with him divers of his horses, which seemed to be very redy at all poyntes. And so afterwarde went to the parke, wheare was red deare, but never shott nor hunted, but rodde aboute the parke in talke togethere, and so passed that after noone, and so retorne home to Venne at vij. a clocke, and at the castell gate my Lord Embassadore, and all the reste, tooke their leave for that nighte of him, who tooke his leave very gently with his hood in his hande.

One Mondaye the 25 daye, at one of the clocke, the Emperore sente for my Lord to come unto him, and ther he came to him in the courte, and was withe him in his chamber alone, the space of an owere or more, and so they parted, and afterwards the Emperore tooke his coche and wente out a hontynge thre leages from Venne, and taried out tylle Fridaye at nighte the 29 of Auguste. And my Lord tooke his horse and all his gentlmen and without the Skottes gate, aboute 8 of the clocke, my Lord mett the Emperore in his coche, and the Emperore, my Lord, and all the company, and so passed to his lodginge for that nighte, and at my Lorde's comynge home ther was broughte to my Lorde a greate harte from the Emperore, which he had killed.

One Sunday the laste of Auguste, my Lord was sente for to come to the courte about 4 of

the clock at after noone, and so wente to the Emperore alone till 6 of the clocke in his privie chambere, and so tooke his leave for that nighte.

On Monday the 1 daye of September, my Lord and all the gentlmen did dine at Breggcogashe, one of the cheefe gentlmen of the Emperores previe chamber.

One Wensday the xth of Septembere, my Lorde wente to hontinge in a forreste within a leage of Venne, where my Lord strake iij. stagges with his gonne, and afterwards went to dinere at a house of the Emperores caled _____, and aftere dinere he tooke his horse, and so homewar he had a goodly course at a greate stagge, which was killed with grehoundes; and so broughte home the stag with him to Vienna.

On Wensdaye the 24 daye of Septembere, Duke Charles came to Venne at 5 of the clocke at after noone, and the Emperore wente forthe to meete him afornoone, and so came together in one coche to the Emperore's pallace, and ther remained that nighte.

One Fridaye the 26 daye of Septembere, Brenore one of the Duke's counselle came to my Lorde from the Duke, to accompany my Lorde to the courte wher the Duke laye, and so broughte him up to the Duke, who receaved my Lord at the utter dore, and so imbraced him, and after certene talke my Lord delivered him a lettere from the Queenes Majestie, and aftere the letter was delivered my Lord had long talke with the Duke, and when he had done his talke, the Duke turned himselfe and tooke and embracede my Lord Northe, Mr. Egermon, Sir Thomas Myldmaye, Henry Cobham, Mr. Garter, and Mr. Poole, and after my Lord of Sussex departynge he took all my Lordes mene by the hande and so departed.

One Thorsdaye the 2 of Octobere, my Lorde wente to the Courte to the Emperore, and was with him almost twee houres, which was from 4 of the clocke untill 6 of the clocke, and so departed.

One Fridaye the 3 daye wente a hontynge, and my Lord withe him.

One Sondag the 5 daye of October, my Lorde had audience at afternoone with the Emperore almoste an owere and a halfe.

One Monday the 6 daye, my Lord went a honting with Duke Charles, and ther was killed 14 hares that day in theare presence.

One Tusday the 7th daye, the Emperore, Duke Charles, and my Lorde wente a huntynge of the red deare, and killed a stagge and a hinde.

One Satorday the 11 daye of Octobere, the Emperor and Duke Charles wente a hunting of the wilde boare, and killed divers of them.

On Sondag the 12 daye of Octobere, my lord hade audyence at after noone at 4 of the clocke with the Emperyse.

One Fridaye the 17 daye of Octobere, my Lord hade audience of the Emperore at _____ of the clocke in the after noone.

One Sattordaye the 18 of October, the Emperore and Duke Charles and my Lorde wente a hontynge of the wildbore, and theare was killed syxe wilde swine.

One Sondag the 19 daye of Octobere, my Lord had audience of the Emperore at 4 o'clocke in the afternoone.

One Friday the 24 daye of Octobere, my Lord had audience at 4 a clocke in the aftere noone.

One Sondaye the 26 of Octobere, my Lorde had audience withe the Emperis at afternoon.

One Monday the 27 of Octobere, the Duke Charles departed to his owne contrey; and Mr. Henry Cobhame departed towards England with letteres to the Queen's Majestie.

On Mondaye the 3 daye of Novembere, the Emperore and my Lord wente a hontynge of the hare harde by Viena, wher was seene that aftere noone the nombere cxlii. hares which was told, and worked xx. hares or theare aboutes.

One Fridaye the 7 of Novembere, the Emperor and my Lord of Sussex, with all the reste of the gentlmene, wente a hontynge of the wild bor three leages from Wenne, and theare weare kiled five that daye.

One Wednesdaye the 20 of Novembere, the Emperor wente a hontynge of the hare, wheare was seen cxlv. hares at that presente tyme.

On Thursdaye the 4th of Decembere, the Emperore wente oute in the morninge and prepared the toyll, wher was inclosed diveres wilde swine, and at xij. of the clock the Emperis with her ij. daughters, and my Lord, with diveres other noble mene wente, wher as the Emperore was ij. leages from Viena, and there they hunted the wild bore, and theare was kild of boares and swine the number

On Wensdaye the 10 of Decembere, the Emperore wente a hontyng of the wild bore in the morning at 8 of the clocke to the mountayne side, ij. leages from Vienne. The Emperore did dine, and my Lorde with him, and aftere dinere the company went an Englishe myle behinde the house, whereas the toylle was piched, and out came divers wilde swine, whereof was one greate one, which Mr. Garter with a spere ran to the said boare, and rone him in to the forehead, and brake his spere, whereas the head with a peece of the staffe stake in styll.

One Sattorday the 13 daye of Decembere, the Emperore and my Lord Embassadore wente together in his coche in the mornynge betymes to the same house wheare they dyned the Wensdaye before, and the Embassadore with him, and so had dined betyme, and after tooke his coche, and all the reste also, and half a leage of the toles weare piched, and ther was kiled ij. bores and iij. swine, w^{ch} was also kiled with speares and swoardes, and so departed afterward to Weane.

On Mondaye the 15 of Decembere, my Lord Embassadore wente to see an old castelle, which standethe on a great hille ij. leages from Wene, and frome thence he wente to see an abbey half a leage beyond that castelle, which is called Cloister Nubour, which was founded by a Duke of Austrya, who is called St. Leopald, which is counted for a sanctuary, and his bones lyethe in a shreene of sylvere; and so the Priore presented unto my Lord drinke, whear of theare was one sorte of wine which was 15 yeares olde.

One Tusdaye the 16 of Decembere, the Emperor and the Emperis weare a hontynge ij. leages from Viena, wheare weare kilde xii. greate hindes with handgonnes, which was a goodly pastyme and a princelye; and so returned afterward to Viena.

On Wensdaye the laste of Decembere, Mr. Henry Cobham arrived at Viena out of Englande.

One Newe-yeares-day my Lord had audience with the Emperores Majestie at after noone, and Mr. Cobham delyvered his letters to him from the Queenes Majestie, and afterward wente to the Emperis and delivered also a letter unto her.

One Sondaye the 4 of January, the Emperore receaved the Ordere of the Garter with muche honore at aftere none.

One Wensdaye the 7 of January, the Emperore had appoynted a certene prissee to be shot with the hand gones, wheare as his Majestie shot himselfe and wane the cheefeste prissee, and afterwards when he had wone it he gave it to the Emperis, which was a fayre horse, to the value of ccc. crounes.

One Mondaye the 12th daye of January, Mr. Garter took his leave of the Emperors Majestie at iiij. of the clocke at after noone, who did use him very gentlye as ever Prince dide.

II.

The Earl of Sussex's Letter to the Queen, from Vienna, Aug. 27, 1567.

"At my coming to the emperor the xii.th daye at 4 of the clocke his Maiestie commanded all persons to avoid the chamber, and gave me audience vn . . . He sate at a lytle square borde, and comanded me also to sitte, and wo . . . not suffer me to speake before I was sett and couered.

"After his Ma^{tie} had vsed a while some ordenary speche I begane with the . . . of the Ordre accordinge to my instruccions, and when he had answered . . . wolde appointe a tyme convenient for the executinge of that mate . . . and yelded thanks vnto your Ma^{tie} for your honoring of him therwith: . . . presented vnto him the Othe drawen in writinge in such sorte as . . . thought convenient: and beseeched him in your Ma^{ty} name to consider it, and (if it were his pleasure) to alter it as sholde seme best . . . him, for the which he hartely thanked your Ma^{tie}.

"I then declared to him that the Princes elected to this Order vsed allwa . . . after ther investment to repayre openlye to some church or chapel . . . heare divine service, and for that the divine service here did differ . . . from the divine service in Englande, I made request vnto him . . . your Ma^{ties} name that it wolde please him ether to comande such divine service to be vsed at that tyme as I might with owte offence . . . yo^r Ma^{tie}, the religion you professed, or my owne consciens be prese . . . at; or else to lycense me with his faver and with owte offence . . . absent. Wherunto his Ma^{ty} answered that the request was so reason . . . as it was not to be denyde: and as he knewe well the difference betwene the uses of religion, so did he force no manne to that rel . . . which he now vsed, although him selfe were forced in respect of . . . comon cawse of Christendome (and not in respect of his owne particuler) to vse that for the tyme which him selfe moche mislyked in many things: trustinge that God wolde sende a ty . . . wherein for his service, the benefite of Christendome, and all o . . . respects he mighte better discover him selfe fully then in this troublesome tyme of warre againste the vniversall enemy of Christendome.

"I saide I had diverse tymes before harde as moche of his Ma^{ties} disposi . . . whereof I had greatly reioysed, but I did nowe moche more reio . . . to have it of him selfe, wherby I knewe it to be trewgh, a . . . trusted that as in these great tymes of trouble his Ma^{ty} did . . . respect

of Christendom temporize: so when those were overblown his Ma^{te} wolde not for his owne particular respect put over tyme longer, but procede in God's name in that himselfe knewe to be for God's glorye. In this matter his Ma^{te} . . . spent long tyme with me, seminge upon secret trust to op . . . to me his full mynde, to be (as I take it) related to your . . . onely, which I humbly beseche your Ma^{te} I maye recommend . . . you in the same sorte as he deliuered it to me.

"I then remembred to His Ma^{te} the hoole cowrse of the second cawse to treat of as it had passed from the begininge by lres and messages on bothe sides, and declared the affirmacon I was instructed to make on your Ma^{te}'s behalf before I entred to answer the difficulties. Wherunto His Ma^{te} answered that he well remembered all things to have passed accordinge to my declaracōn, and thanked your Ma^{te} greatly that it pleased you to use those meanes to satisfie him in the matter you comanded me to affirme from you, althoghe indede (knowinge what you be in all respects) ther neuer entred into him any opinion or thoughte to the contrary, and so besought your Ma^{te} fully to conceive.

"Here upon I entred to make answer to the first difficultie in such sorte as I was instructed, and when his Ma^{te} had fully hard so moch as I went to speake thereon at that tyme, he affirmed in generalitie that your Ma^{te} had grete cawse to think as I spake, and for that the cawse was his brother, His Ma^{te} thoughte fete to aduertise him of that I had saide to vnderstand his mynde therein, whereupon, if he came not him selfe, in the meane tyme His Ma^{te} mighte the better talke further with me in that matter: and if he came himself, w^{ch} his Ma^{te} thoughte, he wolde frankly vtter unto me.

"And so, leaueing by consent further dealinge in that article vntill ether the Archduke came himself or answer were retourned from him to His Ma^{te}, I declared what I had to saye to the seconde difficultie, wherwith His Ma^{te} seemed not to mislyke; and so to the 3 difficultie, against the which his Ma^{te} used no argument, but declared at the ende of my speches to ether of them that the cawse was his brother's, and therfore it were harde for him to saye moche therein vntill he had aduertised him of that I had declared, and therupon vnderstode his answer; which is the effecte of my audience of that daye in those cawses.

"His Majeste then declared unto me that he had harde it was reported to your Ma^{te} that the Pope, his Ma^{iestie}, the Frenche Kinge, and Kinge Philipp were entred into a League for the suppression of the religion. Trewe it was he saide that the Pope went abowte to joyne these Princes in a legue against the Turke (wherein the Frenche shewed no good will, but he assureth yo^r Ma^{te}, upon his honor, he never had any mocon made to him for joyninge in warre against the religion; what hath ben delt with other Princes he knoweth not, but he will excuse the Pope from any such practise with him, and if he had gone abowte any such, or hereafter sholde yo^r Ma^{te} may be assured his Ma^{te} will never be a partie in that matter what so ever maliciowse persons, to brede disquiet and unkindeness, may untrewly invent. His Ma^{te} saide he had sene the artickles that were gevin abroad in this matter, which he surely thinketh grewe from men bent upon mischefe, and therfore besecheth yo^r Ma^{te}, in that belongeth to him herein, you will geve credence to him selfe, who will never be founde vntrewe of his word towards you.

"I answered that I did not knowe that your Ma^{te} was informed that this League was allredy made, but you were credibly informed that the Pope had secret counccills with such of his Cardinalls and others as have credite with the great Princes to proc . . . an vniversall warre presently

against the religion in all pa . . . and ther wth your Ma^{te} sawe grete preparacon of mene of warre, not farre from you, which cawsed you to loke the more diligently to your owne suertie, the rather when your Ma^{te} was informed that the See of Rome was the framer of these engynes.

"His Ma^{te} saide he knewe by his that were in Englande that this matter was indede generally conceived to be trewe, but yo^r Ma^{te} shold allwaies be assured that he was no fete persone . . . further such matters, but rather wolde resist them (if they were) in that he might.

"Wherupon, perceiving his Ma^{te} to name directly his in England, I answered, that those practizes beinge set in hande by the Pope, a peace in hande with the Turke, an army in the fe . . . bending another waye, your neighbours in contencon, oth. Princes assembling of powers and not knowne to what ende, and a generall expectacon of fire to burst owt after the smook: yo^r Ma^{te} was forced to geve another answer to his that were in Englande, then of your own disposicon you would have ben contented to have geven if those accidents in such tyme had not moved, or that I thinke your Ma^{te} wolde geve on that cawse whan you might perceive the great Princes to be bente that wayes, and to be clere from these attempts now suspected, whereby yo^r Ma^{te} and others of your religion sholde not nede to be so moche upon yo^r garde for your owne suerties.

"His Majestie saide he so perceived by yo^r Ma^{tes} answer, and dowted not of yo^r faver at all tymes and in all things conveniente, and so with very good words and well satisfied (as it semed to me), lycensed me to departe for that tyme.

"The nexte morninge his Ma^{te} sent for me to waite upon him . . . huntinge, where he comanded me to dyne with him at his . . . and after dyner toke upon him the care to order the huntinge him selfe to make me the better pastyme, and when the cowersinge was done his Ma^{te} broughte me home another waye where certen dere were laide for him, and there a very greate waye of killed a harte with his harquebuz. His Ma^{te} spent that days talke with me in describinge his frontiers, the warres of the last yeare, the lacke of his numbers promised, the disorders of them that came, the causes that of force detayned him from goinge to the reskewe of Ziget, and his determynacon to have ventured the battell with the force he had if the Turkish armye had passed Ziget; alleging probable reasons for all his speches.

"The xiiijth daye His Ma^{te} sent unto me by Switcouitz to have a short note in writinge of theffecte of thawnser to the 3 difficulties, that he might sende the same with his Letters to th'Archduke, whereby he mighte be the better, and with more expedition, informed of those cawses, and consider therof accordingly; which I sente the same nighte to His Ma^{te} by Switcouitz, written with my owne hande in Italien, beseching his Ma^{te} that if any thinge were amisse, I might, with his faver, amende my faulte, seinge I was myself the Secretary, in a strandge language, and wolde comitt the trust to no other person in these cawses.

"The xvjth daye His Ma^{te} sent me worde by Switcouitz that he had sent his lettres, with the note he had from me (for which he hartely thanked me) to the Archduke, and that His Ma^{te} determyned to receive the Order upon Bartelmew daye. And because he wolde not lese my company he wolde receive it at after none and go to evensonge, where also at my request sholde be forborne censing, and such other ceremonyes as he perceived by Switcouitz I had required might be forborne, and prayed me ther mighte be nothinge thought that it was no soner received, and so required to have the boke of the Order and the boke of your Divine service in Laten to be sent unto him. I humbly thanked His Ma^{te} for the favour it pleased him to shewe

therein, and left the tyme to His Ma^{ty} appointment for his best commoditie in all respects: not dowtinge but your Ma^{ty} wolde best like of that mighte be best to His Ma^{ty} contentation, and sent to him the two books by Switcouitz.

"If I be tediowse to Your Ma^{ty} in these matters I humbly crave pardon, for that I had rather in these cawses bere blame in beinge over longe then in being to shorte. And so I praye God to prosper your Majestie in all things accordinge to his will and your owne harts desire.

"From Vienna, the xxiiith of August, 1567.

"Your Majesties most humble and faithful subject and servant,

"To the Quene's Most excellent Majesty.

T. SUSSEX.

III.

"The Postage Chardges of the Right Honorable Thomas Earle of Sussex, Lord Ambassador from the Quenes Ma^{ty} to Themperor, as well outwarde to Vyenna, as from thens homwarde, viz.:

	£.	s.	d.
"First for the postinge chardgs of himself and his Trayne from London to Dover	35	1	8
Item for the transportacōn of his L. and his sayd Trayne from thens to Dunkyrke	17	8	0
Item for his postinge chardgs with horssees and wagones from Dunkirke to Bridges	20	12	8
Item for the like noubere of horse and wagones from thens to the towne of Andwerpe	22	19	0
Item for his postinge chardges from Andwerpe to Cullen uppon the Ryne	47	14	0
Item for the hiere of three greate boots with tenne wattermen to carrie his L. and his Trayne upp the same River of Reyne and sixe horssees that towede the same boots from Cullen to Uppenham	35	0	11
Item for the hiere of horssees and wagons from Uppenham to Wormes	8	15	7½
Item for the hiere of horssees and wagons from Wormes to Spyres	8	17	10
Item for the hiere of horssees and wagons from Spyres to Ulmes	75	16	8½
Item for his Lordshipp's postinge chardges from Ulmes to Augusta	16	6	8
Item for his postinge chardges from Augusta to Donowyerte uppon Dañbye	16	8	0
Item payed for two ffootes and one boote to carrie his L. and his Trayne downe the sayede River of Danbye	21	13	4
Item for one great boote bought there to carrie him and his Trayne from Lynce to Vyenna, the ffootes serving no longer	16	0	0
Item for the hiere of xx ^{tie} wattermen to gide the same boots and ffoots downe the saide rivere to Vienna	36	5	10
Item for the postinge chardge of one that was sent before from Augusta to Vienna, to prepare for my Lordes comeing thither	12	13	6
Item for the postinge chardges of one other sent from Vienna to Crates, the Archduk's howse	11	7	6
Item for the posting chardges of Mr. Henry Cobham beinge sent with lettres into Englande to the Q. Ma ^{ty} , and from hir Highnes backe agayne	126	0	0

(Deduct 66L 13s. 4d. p^d to Mr. Cobham.)

	£	s.	d.
Item for the posting chardges of my Lorde and fifteen others, in his companye from Vienna to Tharchduke Charles at Crates, and from thens to Ryneshourge	72	16	6
Item for the hier of horses and wagones of Vienna, which carried the reste of my L. Trayne from thens to Reynsbrough	103	6	8
Item for the hier of post horses and wagones from Reynsbrough to Newringberge, and from thens to Bamberyke, where my Lorde and the Trayne toke the wattere	82	18	0
Item for fflowre boots bought, two grete and two lessere, with their fornytures which carried my L. and his Trayne by watter, viz. from Bamberyke downe the ryver, from thens to Cullen, and left his Trayne affore as Hartievanburse	33	13	4
Item for the hier of twenty marrinerss that rowede in the same boots from Bamberke to Meuse and thens to Cullen	45	19	6
Item for the hier of sixteen of the same wattermen from Cullen to Hartievanburse, with my L. Trayne and his Staffe, and for land carriages from thens to Andwerpe	33	14	0
Item for the hier of horses and wagones for my L. and those that went with him from Cullen to Andwerpe by lande	32	15	10
Item for the posting chardges of one sent from Andwerpe into Englande with lettres	13	13	4
Item for the hier of horses and wagones from thens to Bridges	25	6	8
Item for the hier of horses and wagons from Bridges to Dunkirke	25	4	0
Item for his Lordship postinge chardges with the greater part of his Trayn from Dunkirke to Callice	14	16	8
Item for the passage of iiij ^{or} barks, viz. one from Andwerpe, one from Dunkirke, and two from Callice, that transported my L. his Trayne and Staffe in ferry boots, and porteres	21	13	4
Item for his L. portinge chardges and all his hole Trayne from Doevere to the courte	36	16	4

Some totall of all the posting charges, 1,072*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

"The saide Earle of Sussex is to be allowed his dietts after vj^t per diem for cc.lxxvij. dayes, beginning the xjth of June, 1567, (the tenne dayes allowance before his L. toke his leave of the Q. Ma^{tie}, which was the xxjth of June herin comprehended) and endinge the xiiijth of March followinge, beinge the daye of his arryvall at the courte agayne 1,662 0 0

"The sayed Earle came to the Q. Ma^{tie} att Westm', on Sattarday the xiiijth of March, 1567.

W. CECILL.

	£	s.	d.
"Some totall as well of the posting chardgs as of the diatts to be allowed to the said Earle of Sussexe	2,734	6	8½
Mr. Garter	236	0	0
Totalis	2,970	6	8"

XVII.—*Conclusion of New Materials for a Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. In a Letter addressed to Lord Viscount MAHON, President, from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read June 2, 1853.

MY LORD,

With the permission of your Lordship I am about to address to you a short and concluding continuation of some Papers which were read in the season of 1850-1, containing hitherto unnoticed materials for a Memoir of Sir Walter Raleigh. Those materials were derived from various sources, public and private, and brought the history of one of the founders of our Society—a man of great learning, multifarious talents, and energetic and enterprising spirit—down to the year 1598; when I showed, I believe for the first time, that he was employed against the rebels in Ireland, and had offered a price for the head of Tyrone.

At what precise date he returned is doubtful; but we find him at his estate of Sherborne, in the summer of 1599, to which place Sir Ferdinando Gorges addressed to Raleigh a letter, dated 30th July, warning him of a meditated attack upon Plymouth by the Spaniards with a fleet of 60 galleys, 120 smaller vessels, and 3000 soldiers. Sir Walter Raleigh was at this period at the head of the military and naval force of the counties of Devon and Cornwall; but he could well rely upon the loyalty and courage of the Governor of Plymouth, who closes his communication (preserved in the State Paper Office) with the following spirited expressions:—"How this town is furnished for defence you partly understand, which defects we must supply as well as we may, with the old saying of England, 'God and St. George!' Let them come if they dare." That they did not dare is established by history; for, making their way round by the north of Ireland and Scotland, the Spaniards found shelter in a port of Flanders, without discovery by the English and Dutch fleets.

Notwithstanding these renewed threats of a descent on our coast, the inhabitants began to despise them, and for a year or two Sir Walter Raleigh remained in retirement at Sherborne, enjoying the society of his family and his friends. On the 23rd December, 1602, John Chamberlain, in one of his familiar epistles to Sir

Dudley Carleton, mentions that Sir Walter Raleigh had carried away Lord Cobham, Lord Compton, and others, to spend Christmas with him in Dorsetshire. It appears, however, from the proceedings in the Star-chamber, that Sir Walter was not without his troubles and annoyances even in the country. In my last communication I mentioned a person of the name of Meere, as having been supported in his hostility to Raleigh by Viscount Bindon. This is a matter that has escaped biographers; and it is perhaps not worth much notice, excepting as it shows that Raleigh, in the year 1602, was in open and direct conflict with the person who filled the office of Bailiff of the liberty of Sherborne. Meere occupied this position, and it became his duty (for what cause is not stated) to arrest certain persons connected with Raleigh; and the Bailiff complains that the knight and others in riotous manner had not only rescued the prisoners, but had actually put the highest civil functionary of the town and neighbourhood in the stocks. On this account Meere had made "a Star-chamber matter of it," and had petitioned that Raleigh might be compelled to put in an answer to the bill. The proceedings have been preserved, together with the answers of various parties accused, but Raleigh's reply to the charge is not extant; and it further appears that the Judges of the Star chamber had respited the suit *sine die*. We may, perhaps, infer that Raleigh had sufficient influence at Court to prevent the investigation of the subject, at least as far as he was personally concerned.

At this period, when in London, Sir Walter and Lady Raleigh resided in what had been the abode of the Bishop of Durham, which occupied part of the ground on which the Adelphi now stands: it was called Durham House, and must have been very much out of repair. In the library of the Earl of Ellesmere are several papers which relate to a dispute between Tobie Mathews, then Bishop of Durham, and Raleigh as to the possession of this building. Lady Raleigh, writing to Sir Robert Cecill a little before the date at which we have now arrived, viz. in October, 1600, mentions that her husband had laid out many hundred pounds upon it, and refers also to information, she had lately received from the Secretary, of a fire which had accidentally broken out (to use her own words in Additional MSS. No. 6177, in the British Museum) in that "rotten house," which had nearly consumed "all the poor substance, of plate and other things," belonging to herself and Sir Walter.

It is evident that, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, Raleigh and Cecill were externally upon friendly terms; and we may presume that it had been through the influence of the Secretary that Raleigh obtained the government of the Island of Jersey,—an important event in the life of the latter, which, however, has attracted so little general attention, that some of the biographies of Raleigh, now lying

before me, do not even allude to it. Lady Raleigh, in the letter above quoted, thus notices the arrival and reception of her husband in Jersey, and the disappointment he had experienced that the emoluments of the situation of Governor were far below what he had hoped to find them:—

“I did hear from Sir Walter within two days after he landed at Jersey, where he was safely landed and royally entertained with joy: but he was two days and two nights on the sea, with contrary winds, notwithstanding he went from Weymouth with so fair a wind and weather, as little Wat and myself brought him aboard the ship. He writeth to me, he never saw a pleasanter island, but protesteth unfeignedly it did not value the very third part that was reported, or indeed he believed.”

Sir Walter must have made a very speedy return from Jersey: his wife's letter to Cecill bears date in October, without the naming of the day of the month, and on the 15th of that month a letter was forwarded by her husband to the secretary, dated from Sherborne. It has never been printed, and as it is the first he is known to have written in his capacity of Governor of Jersey, although it is not worth quoting at length, we may be warranted in selecting some points from it. He politically begins by a compliment to the Queen, inasmuch as he tells Cecill that he had named a particular fort *Isabella Bellissima*, after her Majesty; and having praised the engineer, Paul Ivey, as the constructor of it, he proceeds, in the same strain as Lady Raleigh, to complain “that the profit of the island is so far under the common valuation, as until your honour see the King's own ledger-book you will not believe; but, howsoever it succeed, I hold myself immeasurably bound to her Majesty for her gracious respect to me therein, and I will never think of any penny receipt, till that piece of work be finished, and past the recovery of any enemy, be it but for the name sake which I have presumed to christen it by.” Hence he goes on to cast censure upon the last governor for lavish expenditure, and asserts that Paul Ivey had done more with only £400 than Sir A. Pawlett had accomplished with £2000. A claim of £500 had also been made upon the Queen for the castle of Mont-orgueil: of this important edifice Sir Walter speaks as follows:—

“I have viewed it, and I do not find that I had any commission to demolish it; and to say true, it is a stately fort, of great capacity, both as to maintenance and comfort, to all that part of the island next unto Normandy, which stands in view thereof; so that, until I know farther of her Majesty's pleasure, I have left, at mine own charge, some men in it; and if a small matter may defend it, it were pity to cast it down, having cost her Majesty's father, brother, and sister, with her own charge, 20,000 marks the erecting.”

We learn that Sir Walter Raleigh returned from Sherborne to his government in

Jersey in June, 1602, inasmuch as Chamberlain positively states it in one of his letters; but we may be sure that he did not long remain there, because, as already mentioned, he spent Christmas in Dorsetshire, in company with Lords Cobham, Compton, and others. The fact is, that he was in England again as early as the 15th September, for on that day he dates a letter to Cecill from Bath, among the domestic documents in the State Paper Office, inclosing another from his lieutenant-governor in Jersey, respecting some Spanish galleys and fly-boats, which were endeavouring to slip by the coast of France, on their way to the Netherlands: he adds, "I am at this instant in pain, and cannot write much;" but he gives no hint as to the cause or nature of his suffering.

Soon after the death of Elizabeth we arrive at the most painful and anxious crisis of Raleigh's life—his arrest, with Lord Cobham, Lord Grey, George Brooke, Sir Griffin Markham, and others, on a charge of treason. Camden fixes the date of their commitment on 2nd July, 1603; but he does not insert the name of Captain Lawrence Kemys as that of one of the parties accused and confined. Kemys had been an officer under Raleigh on his voyage to Guiana, in 1595, and he subsequently commanded a separate expedition to the same quarter of the world: it was he who destroyed himself on board his own ship in 1617, in consequence of having excited the displeasure of his old leader, so that a melancholy interest attaches to his history. He was taken up in 1603 on mere suspicion, and where he was at first confined is not known; but on the 15th August he addressed a very striking letter to Sir Robert Cecill, entreating his intercession on the ground of entire innocence. As no notice has ever been taken of this production, and as it relates to such persons and to such events, one or two extracts may not be unacceptable: the original is one of the Additional MSS. in the British Museum, No. 6177. It opens with this sentence:—

"If equity in a good cause, or piety towards a man not evil, may move your honourable heart to compassion, I have chosen you, and do most humbly beseech you, in the mercies and bowels of Jesus Christ, to procure me in the delivery of this inclosed letter, either sentence of life unto life, or of death unto death."

After a farther passionate appeal, in much the same spirit, he comes to the particular occasion of his imprisonment.

"See, then, in me, I beseech you, the power of the two extremes pressing heavily upon me; on the one side, as being supposed to be inward with Sir Walter Raleigh, I am so sifted and so narrowly sought unto, so examined and re-examined, upon points not including any offence against the laws, that whereas no man living can charge me with knowledge or concealment of any treason, I am doubtful, that as 24 letters

make any words, so any words, by position and exposition, by placing and displacing (good meaning notwithstanding) may encompass me On the other side, I that do not enjoy one denier of benefit by Sir Walter Raleigh (for in this cross, besides all other evil accidents, I bear the loss of 100 marks yearly which he gave me in Jersey), I that never asked anything for my private, and therefore may say I never was refused, am now destitute of any friend to make known my harmless unproved conversation, and am clean defeated of all hope of prosecuting any purpose of plantation in the Indies; for my mean and despised estate constrained me to lean to somebody, and to him most worthily."

Thus, while vindicating himself, he did not shrink from the avowal of the worth of the commander whom he had so long served, and this proof of a generous nature makes us regret the more that the impatient and unjust reproaches of that very commander, fifteen years afterwards, should strike so deep into the heart of poor Kemys, as to make him destroy himself at sea, in despair ever to regain the place he had lost in the esteem of Raleigh. It appears from the accounts of the Lieutenant of the Tower, to which I shall more particularly advert presently, that Kemys having been sent there on the 29th September (about six weeks after the date of his letter to Cecill), was discharged from custody on the last day of December.

The facts connected with the trial of Raleigh, and his supposed accomplices, at Winchester, in November, 1603, are matters of history, and I have nothing material to add to them. It may deserve a passing notice, however, that several ballads were written on the occasion: they have not survived; but that they were published is certain, from the registers of the Stationers' Company, where Valentine Symes, a respectable bookseller, entered them as "ballads of the traitors arraigned at Winchester," on the 5th December, 1603, a few weeks after their conviction. This delay was unusual with productions of a temporary class, and it is very possible that the state of public feeling prevented the grant of a licence on an earlier day. We shall see hereafter that a ballad is extant, though, I believe, never reprinted, upon the execution of Raleigh in 1618.

I have already spoken of the accounts of the Lieutenant of the Tower: this high, but irksome, appointment was held in 1603 by Sir George Harvey; and it was the custom for himself, or for some of his inferior officers, to make out quarterly accounts of expenses, in order that, after examination by the proper authorities, the charges might be reimbursed. One of these accounts, preserved at the Rolls Chapel, is thus headed: "The demaundes of Sir George Harvie, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, for the diett and charges of prisoners in his custodie, for one whole quarter of a yeere, viz., from Michaelmas 1603 to Christmas following." From it

we learn several facts, though none of them of much importance: one of them is, that Raleigh was sent to the Tower before he was conveyed to Winchester for trial; and another, the precise day when he was returned from Winchester to the Tower, a point not hitherto settled, his biographers all contenting themselves with the general statement that it happened about a month after his condemnation. Camden, in his *Annals*, gives the 9th November as the day of conviction, but others have placed it later; and Mr. Fraser Tytler is probably in error when he says that Michaelmas Term, 1603, was held at Winchester on the 17th November, because the usual day for the commencement of that term was the 6th November, which tallies better with the date given by Camden. On whatever day Raleigh was tried, it is certain, from Sir George Harvey's accounts, that he was not returned to the Tower until 16th December, for we there read an entry precisely in the following form:—

" Sr Walter Raleigh, Knight.	}	Item for the diett and charges of Sr Walter Raleigh, Knight, for himself and two servants, from the 16 Dec ^r , being then sent from Winchester to the Tower againe, for one weeke and a halfe, ended the xxv th of Dec ^r . at iiij ^{ll} the weeke vj ^{ll} ."
------------------------------------	---	--

Hence we see also that he was permitted to have two attendants, and that 4*l*. per week was the sum set apart for provisions for him and them. Items for "the late Lord Cobham," and for "the late Lord Grey," who had lost their titles by their attainder and conviction, precede the above, and it is followed by the entry already referred to for the support of "Lawrence Kemishe, esquier," as he is called in the account, and for whose maintenance only 40*s*. per week were allowed. The next statement of the Lieutenant of the Tower establishes another fact in Raleigh's history, namely, that after Christmas 1603 he was removed for more than a fortnight to the Fleet prison; but Sir George Harvey still charged for the prisoner's board there at the same rate as in the Tower. The whole of the next quarter was spent by Raleigh in the Tower, and, possibly because his wife was allowed to be with him, though the circumstance is not stated, 5*l*. per week was paid to the Lieutenant for his expenses. Thus, in the course of a few months Raleigh was first confined in his own house, then conveyed to the Tower, next sent to Winchester gaol, returned from thence to the Tower, imprisoned for between two and three weeks in the Fleet, and again removed to the Tower, where he remained until released, thirteen years afterwards, to undertake his new expedition to Guiana. One of the most interesting literary relics I possess is a copy of that rare tract "A good Speed to Virginia," 4to. 1609, with the autograph of this unfortunate and much injured victim of

English misrepresentation and Spanish persecution on the title-page, in the following form.—

“ W. Raleigh. Turr. Lond.”

It shews that at the time it was published, and read by Raleigh, he recorded himself as a prisoner in the Tower of London. It is, however, to be lamented that some subsequent and ignorant owner of the pamphlet, probably not being aware of the value and interest of the signature, endeavoured to erase it, but, I am happy to add, quite ineffectually.

To about this period belongs a very pathetic and powerful appeal which Raleigh made to Sir Robert Cecill, now Earl of Salisbury, who had succeeded Lord Buckhurst as Treasurer of England. The original is in the possession of Mr. Willoughby, of Lancaster Place, who with the greatest promptitude and liberality placed a copy of it at my disposal, when he was informed that I was collecting materials for a new memoir of the writer. It is in the form of a letter to Sir Walter Cope, and although dated only “ October the 9,” without the year, there is little doubt that it was penned in 1610. It may be remembered that Sir Walter Cope was the author of an Apology for the Conduct of the Earl of Salisbury after his death, which was addressed to King James. The matters of fact to be gathered from this letter of Raleigh to Cope are both new and interesting; for it appears that Lady Raleigh, after having been permitted, during six years, to reside with her husband in the Tower, had been for some unassigned reason forbidden to resort to him, and that for three months before the paper was sent the writer of it, instead of being allowed his liberty within the walls of the Tower, had been unaccountably subjected to close confinement. It is in these impressive terms:—

“ Sr Walter Cope, You are of my old acquayntance, and were my familier frind for many yeeres, in w^{ch} time I hope you cannot say that ever I used any unkind office towards you. But our fortunes are now changed, and it may be in your power greatly to bynde me unto you, if the bynding of a man in my estate be worth anything. My desire unto you is, that you wilbe pleased to move my Lord Treasurer in my behalf, that by his grace my wife might agayne be made a prisoner with me, as she hath bine for six yeeres last past. Shee being now devided from me, and therby to my great impoverishing I am driven to keip to howses. A miserable fate it is, and yet great to me, who, in this wretched estate, can hope for no other thing than peacible sorrow. It is now, and I call the Lord of all power to wittnes, y^t I ever haue bine, and am resolved that it was never in the worthy hart of Sr Robert Cecyll (whatsoever a councler of state and a lord treasurer of Ingland must do) to suffer me to fall, mich less to perrish. For what soever termes it hath pleased his Lordship to use towards mee, w^{ch} might utterly dispaire any bodie else, yet I know y^t he spake them as a councler, sitting in councell, and in company of such as would not otherwise have bine satisfied. But, as God liveth, I would have bought his

presence att a farr deerer rate than those sharp words and these three moneths close imprisonment; for it is in his Lordship's face and countenance that I behold all y^t remaynes to me of comfort and all the hope I have, and from w^{ch} I shall never be beaten till I see the last of evils and the dispayre w^{ch} hath no healp. The blessings of God cannot make him cruell that was never so, nor p^speritie teach any man of so great worth to delight in the endles adversitie of an enemy, much less of him who in his very sowe and nature can never be such a one towards him.

"Sr, the matter is of no great importance (though a cruell destinie hath made it so to me) to desire that my wife may live with mee in this unsavory place. If by your mediation I may obtayne it, I will acknowledg it in the highest degree of thankfullnes, and rest reddey in trewe fayth to be comanded by you.

" *October the 9.*

" *W. RALEGH.*"

How far this, as it may seem to us, irresistible appeal was effectual, we have no means of knowing, and we are in equal ignorance of the secret causes which led to the banishment of Lady Raleigh from the company of her husband, and to his imprisonment without necessary air and exercise. It seems certain that the effect was most seriously to impair the health of the lonely prisoner; and as the Earl of Salisbury called in the aid of a physician, who reported that it was fit that Raleigh should be removed from his "cold lodging" to warmer apartments, we hope we may conclude that the former and more favourable state of things was restored. Cecill died in 1612; but Raleigh's confinement was continued for four years afterwards, and was terminated, under circumstances that are well known, by the intercession of the new favourite, Villiers Duke of Buckingham.

It is unfortunate that Raleigh's letters are so frequently without dates, either of the day or year; such is the case with that which he wrote, as is supposed, in March, 1616, to the nobleman who had been most instrumental in his liberation. Mr. Fraser Tytler, from not recollecting that the year did not then usually end until 25th March, speaks of Raleigh's epistle of acknowledgment to Buckingham as of March, 1615, and he follows it up by the statement that, "three days after its date (when in truth it bears none), Sir Walter was discharged from confinement." The fact is, that he continued a prisoner in the Tower a whole year longer, as all other authorities testify. If he were liberated, as is undoubted, in March 1616, it must have been early in that month, and he instantly commenced his preparations for his new enterprise against Guiana. These were continued during the whole of the year between March 1616 and March 1617, when the expedition sailed from the Thames, although it was subsequently detained several months in the ports of England and Ireland. Our friend and Fellow, Mr. Robert Cole, is in possession of a valuable deed, signed and executed by Raleigh, dated 10th March, 1616-17, just before he sailed, in which he appoints Captain John Pennington his vice-admiral,

with full power to rule and order the fleet in case of the absence of the admiral. Of this document Mr. Cole kindly furnished me with a copy; and I have no doubt that he will be ready, if required, to favour our Society with a sight of the original.

Where I have nothing new to offer, it would be unwarrantable to occupy time by adverting to known details; and as the subsequent unfortunate proceedings of Raleigh and his adventurous followers must be well remembered, together with all the particulars of his most unjust trial and illegal execution, I shall merely mention a circumstance, I think, not hitherto noticed, that there exists in the Pepysian Collection at Cambridge a ballad with the following title:—"Sir Walter Rauleigh his Lamentation, who was beheaded in the Old Pallace of Westminster the 29 of October 1618. To the tune of Welladay."

It purports to have been "printed by Philip Birch," but as I have never had an opportunity of seeing it (not from any unwillingness on the part of the Dean of Windsor to allow me or anybody else, for the purpose of literary illustration, to inspect it), I can only speak most generally as to its import. After his fall there is no doubt that Raleigh was exposed to most violent and unjustifiable abuse; but, excepting the ballad above mentioned, I am not aware how much of it was printed. There was a manuscript in the library of the late Mr. Heber, from which he gave me leave to make extracts, which contained several poems, of great severity and considerable coarseness, directed against Raleigh after his fatal voyage to Guiana, and probably after the king, incited by Gondomar, had resolved, in 1618, to carry into execution the sentence of 1603. It will not be forgotten that, as early as 1590, Spenser had addressed Raleigh, in a sonnet prefixed to his "*Faerie Queene*," as the "summer's nightingale;" and the subsequent stanzas, written perhaps thirty years afterwards when the subject of them was in disgrace, had their poignancy increased by an allusion to this expression applied to him in the days of his prosperity:—

"I pity that the summer's nightingale,
Immortal Cynthia's sometime dear delight,
That us'd to sing so sweet a madrigale,
Should, like an owl, go wander in the night,
Hated of all, and pitied of none,
Though swanlike now he make his dying moan.
"Had'st thou continued loyal to thy king,
As to the queen thou evermore were't true,
My muse thy praise might uncontrolled sing,
Which now is forc'd thy dismal hap to rue;
And in these sable characters to write
The downfal of a sometime worthy knight."

Thus Raleigh's merit for loyalty to Queen Elizabeth is made, as it were, his demerit for supposed disloyalty to King James. Another passage from the same unpublished poem is well worth quoting, since it draws a sort of parallel between Essex and Raleigh, whose enmity was so known and lasting that the latter was charged with having been mainly instrumental in bringing his rival to the block:—

“ Renowned Essex, as he pass'd the street,
 Would vail his bonnet to an oyster-wife,
 And with a kind and humble congée greete
 The vulgar sort that did admire his life :
 And now, since he hath spent his living breath,
 They will not cease yet to lament his death.

“ But thou, like Midas, surfeiting with gold,
 Those gentle salutations did reject ;
 And when thou wast in greatest pomp enroll'd,
 Not poor men's love, but fear, thou did'st affect.
 This makes those men, whom thou did'st lately scorn,
 Disdain thee now, and laugh while thou dost mourn.”

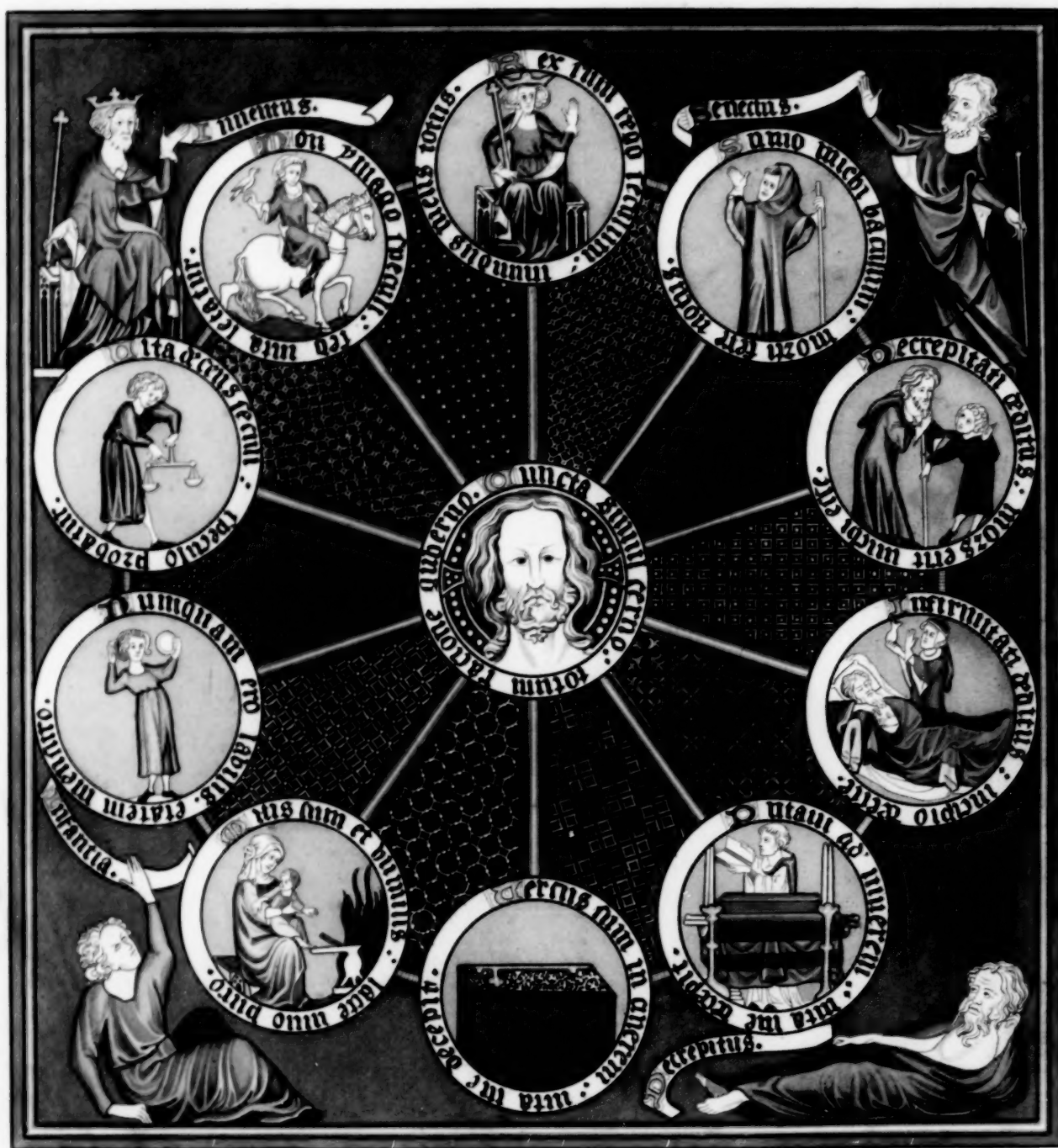
Raleigh, almost with his latest breath, and upon the scaffold, declared with the utmost solemnity that he had no hand in the death of Essex ; but it may be doubted if he were believed, and the Earl was still so great a popular favourite, even after the lapse of about twenty years from the date of his execution, that we may, at least in part, attribute to that feeling the little sympathy Raleigh seemed to excite when he, in turn, lost his head. In spite of the notorious injustice he received at the hands of the king and the judges of the land—in spite of the cruelty with which he had for so many years been treated—his execution seems to have been witnessed by the spectators with comparative indifference.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount MAHON,
 President of the Society of Antiquaries.

A 92
0210



Designed by William J. Lill

Engraved by J. B. Le Beau

THE AGES OF MAN.

FROM THE ARCADE, 1811.

Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1811.

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XVIII.—*Some Account of the Merovingian Cemetery of Envermeu; also of certain Weapons of the Franks. By W. M. WYLIE, Esq., F.S.A.: in a Letter to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read November 24, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR,

Oct. 19, 1853.

THE progress of Archæological discovery in France, elucidative of the Merovingian period, though always most important and interesting in itself, becomes yet infinitely more so when considered in connection with the advance we also have been able to make in the study of the remains of our own coetaneous Anglo-Saxon epoch. I therefore feel happy in being able to lay a few details on this subject before the Society, chiefly with reference to the Frankish cemetery at Envermeu, now under investigation by the Abbé Cochet in pursuance of his official duties.*

The Abbé has been engaged, at intervals, for some time past on this very interesting research, which was resumed last month as soon as the cessation of the labours of harvest gave access to the spot. The Abbé's politeness prompted him to direct the ground to be prepared for a further examination of the interments, by the removal of the deep surface soil, and when this was done I accompanied him, by express invitation, to Envermeu, on September 29th.

Envermeu is a village with 1400 inhabitants, situate in the pretty Valley de l'Eaulne, three leagues from Dieppe, on the high road from that town to Neufchâtel and Beauvais. The cemetery was accidentally discovered, a year or two ago, in cutting a cross road from Envermeu to a neighbouring village. But for this circumstance, it would probably have ever remained unknown, so deep are the interments, and so perfectly devoid is the surface of any sepulchral indications. It lies just out of Envermeu, facing the south. The whole surrounding country is of the most undulating description, and, in the days when the Franks sought there a resting-place for their dead, it was probably covered by dense woods, the remains of which still exist under the name of the Forest of Arques.

* As "Inspecteur des Monumens Historiques pour le departement de Seine Inferieure."

The attention of the Franks seems early to have been attracted by the rich soil and sheltered position of this valley, for their remains have also been discovered in the immediate vicinity, at Douvrend, Londinières, Parfondeval, and Lucy.

On arriving at the excavations, we found a long trench of eight feet wide and three deep already opened. The soil is rich and deep, lying upon chalk, and it is, therefore, tolerably easy to track out the interments, which, for the most part, seem to have been made in the chalk at the very considerable depth of from three to six feet. The weather was most unfavourable for our operations, but during our few hours' work we found no less than twelve interments.

Occasionally two bodies had been laid in one grave, a circumstance I have before noticed in England, at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Fairford. The bodies too, as at Fairford, were interred in regular order, with the heads to the south, which would seem to have been the prevailing Pagan practice of the Teutons in general. This regularity of position, the numerous interments, and the almost crowded state of their array, which the Abbé has always observed here, would show that this ground had been the accustomed cemetery of a Frankish tribe, during a long series of years, after they had become the hereditary possessors of at least this portion of the Valley de l'Eaulne. The authenticated existence of these circumstances, both in England, in France, and also in Germany, clearly proves what importance the Teuton race, even in their days of Paganism, attached to the rites of burial. It is evident that their dead were not usually buried wherever convenience or caprice prompted; but that a certain, and that too a limited, spot of ground was allotted—perhaps, according to their pagan notions, consecrated—as the public burial-place, and a regular order maintained in the lines of graves.

Another fact, too, was incontestably ascertained,—that the bodies had been interred in wooden coffins. Probably these were of oak, which, in its decay, has left a black stratum at the bottom and round the sides of the graves. This substance, in its present state, might easily be mistaken for charcoal. It is, however, very commonly met with in Frankish graves, and on being submitted for analysis to M. Girardin, of Rouen, that distinguished chemist pronounced it to be “une espèce de lignite, ou bois fossile, reste des cercueils en bois dans lesquels les cadavres furent inhumés.”^a Stone coffins have also been found. Cremation does not seem to have been practised.

Unfortunately the relics found on this occasion with the skeletons were of no

^a Analyses de plusieurs Produits d'Art d'une haute Antiquité. 2^e Mémoire, par J. Girardin, Professeur de Chimie de la Ville de Rouen.

great interest; we had not lighted on the sepulchres of the wealthy. By the hips of one skeleton were a few glass and amber studs or buttons; a bone comb, with an irregular pattern traced on it; and three Roman coins, all pierced to use as amulets. Of these, one bears a very rich patina, but is totally illegible; another much worn presents a Roman effigy, apparently female, and the loop of copper wire still remains attached; in the third, a bead of greenish glass has been inserted by cutting the coin, which is of base silver, bearing the head of the Emperor Posthumus, and on the reverse a female figure holding a cornucopia. These articles had, doubtless, been deposited in a purse attached to the belt, the massive clasp of which also remained. It was of iron, much oxidised, but had once been tinned or silvered, a process which served at once for ornament and to protect the metal from corrosion. It was also further decorated with rounded knobs or projections of glass, of different colours, with a view to present a jewelled appearance.

In another interment, where the skeleton had almost disappeared, were by the place of the hand two bronze rings, of the common Roman type, with several beads of glass, and one, apparently of porcelain, cut into various facets; these had formed a bracelet. By them was one of those curious implements not unfrequently met with in England, and which are supposed to have served the purpose of keys. It is of iron with a ring attached. This interment was at the considerable depth of nearly six feet, and no coffin appeared to have been used.

One or two small knives of the common type and some spear heads were all we further met with. The usual type of the Envermeu spear is long, and slight for its length. An example in the Rouen Museum, found on a former investigation, measures 23 inches in its broken state; its original length cannot have been less than 25 inches. The blade at the widest point measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. The spears had been placed here, as is usual also in Anglo-Saxon graves, with the heads pointing upwards by the skull of the deceased, and the ferrule of the spear-staff at the feet. In the Frankish graves at Selzen on the Rhine a remarkable variation in this respect occurs, and the plates illustrating Lindenschmit's work represent the spears reversed at the feet of the dead.* Such a departure from the ascertained general custom of the race is not without its significance. We may perhaps venture to suppose that the vicinity of the Riparian Franks to the Roman legions on the Rhine, and their occasional service under Roman standards, whether as mercenaries or allies, led them to adopt, in a spirit of imitation, many of the habits and customs

* Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen. Mr. Akerman has before alluded to this anomaly in his "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," p. 22.

of their more civilized neighbours. How far this kind of influence extended we have no certain evidence; but it must have had considerable sway, since in the days of Julian we find the tribes nearest the Rhine constructing their habitations in direct imitation of the Roman villas.^a Warriors, then, as the Franks were, the usages of Roman military funerals would be one of the first things to attract their attention; and that the Romans, on such occasions, reversed their spears and fasces, we have the abundant testimony of Latin writers.^b M. Cochet further informs me, that in those interments where the francisca occurs he has invariably found the spear reversed at the feet of the skeleton. The francisca or battle-axe is so completely the distinguishing weapon of Frankish warfare, that it is reasonable to consider interments where it is found to have been those of individuals of the military class—warriors *par excellence*.^c It would seem, then, that not merely the Ripuarian Franks had acquired this custom of reversing the spear, in imitation of what they had witnessed at Roman military funerals, but that the Salii and Sicambri, also, had carried with them into Gaul the observances formerly acquired, in their intercourse with the Romans, on the banks of the Rhine.

What precise date may be safely assigned to these Teutonic interments is difficult to ascertain, nor is it probable that further researches will afford a satisfactory solution. In common with all other sepulchral remains of their class, the absence

^a "Domicilia cuncta curatius ritu Romano constructa." Ammian. Marcel. xvii. 1.

^b At the funeral of Pallas, Virgil, *Æneid*. xi. 93,

——— *versis* Arcades armis.

At the funeral of Germanicus, "præcedebant incompta signa, *versi* fasces." Tacit. Ann. iii. 2.

So, too, Albinovanus Pedo,

"Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi *versos*, indiciumque mali."

Eleg. in Liviam, 142.

^c Oberlin (Museum Schœplini, p. 22, pl. 2, fig. 1, Argent. 1773) gives an account of a triumphal Roman monument found at Niederbron, where the remains of a fortified camp (*stativa*) were visible. It is a bas-relief, and represents a captive following an equestrian figure bearing a francisca. The learned Oberlin ascribes this monument to either Magnentius or Julian; more correctly, perhaps, to the latter. The victor's form is juvenile, and Julian had thrice crossed the Rhine and triumphed over the Alemanni and the Franks before he became Augustus (Amm. Marc. xvii. c. 1 and 10, xviii. c. 2). There is no inscription, and the distinguishing emblem is the national weapon of the vanquished, borne in triumph by the victor. "Securis, vel bipennis," says Oberlin, "qua armatus comparat eques, cum bipenni, sive franciscâ Francorum e Merovingica stirpe regum, optime convenit." But if the monument is to be ascribed to Julian, it commemorates the use of the Frankish weapon nearly a century before the time of Meroveus. The francisca so sculptured is not quite of the usual form; but an example resembling it, found at Parfondeval, exists in the museum of Neufchâtel.

of inscriptions bars chronological certainty. The interments evidently extend over a very long period, and may date from the settlement of Meroveus at Amiens, soon after the middle of the fifth century, down to the Carolingian period.

The best *indicia* of the data of each respective interment are perhaps to be sought in the character and artistic execution of its ornamental remains. When graves are found to contain rings, fibulae, &c. of evidently Roman, or Gallo-Roman workmanship, we are perhaps justified in assigning a very early date; for we may reasonably believe the relics to have been obtained from the conquered people by the first Frankish invaders. In such objects, it is not only by the eye that Frankish imitation is discernible from Roman art, but by the aid of chemistry we can detect a deteriorated metallurgy. M. Girardin's careful experiments have shown that the pure bronze of the Roman period, rich in its component proportion of tin, became debased in Merovingian manufacture. First, lead was introduced as an alloy, the presence of antimony and iron marking the impurity of the metals employed in the composition; while in other experiments lead was found to have been altogether employed in place of tin.^a

Little can be gleaned from the examples of Roman money, which must have long remained the common currency of these provinces, after the destruction of the Roman power. The perforated state of the few coins found, and the wire loops, by which they were attached to the person, show the talismanic use to which superstition had applied them. Merovingian money has, I believe, been found on two occasions; it is valuable, not only as affording an approach to dates, but because we thereby obtain positive proof of the presence of the people to whom these graves have been ascribed. These Merovingian coins had probably been concealed in the dress of the deceased, and thus escaped the notice of the survivors. Possibly to avoid exciting the cupidity of the lawless it was that the custom of burying money with the dead appears to have fallen into disuse. On several occasions, indeed, M. Cochet has found that the tombs at Envermeu had been violated and robbed. The too frequent occurrence of this crime is attested by the penalties imposed on its commission by the laws of various Teutonic nations.^b The temporal power seems to have been unable to repress the crime; for in a letter of Pope John II.^c about the year 534, we find the weapons of the Church brought

^a "Il paraît qu'à l'époque Mérovingienne, où les arts de l'antiquité étaient en décadence, on ne savait plus faire le beau bronze Grec et Romain, et que le plomb était substitué, soit partiellement, soit même en totalité, à l'étain." (*Analyses*, 2^e Mémoire, par J. Girardin, p. 19.)

^b Leg. Salicæ, tit. xvii. lviii. Leg. Ripuariæ, tit. lvi. lxxxvii. Leg. Longobard. Roth. tit. vi.

^c Epist. 1 Johan. II. ad Cæsarium Arelatensem, Concil. Ant. Galliæ, vol. i, p. 237, ed. Sirmond.

into use for this purpose. "Violatores vero sepulcri licet Augustorum principum capitaliter damnet sententia, tamen si qui in hoc facinore fuerunt reperti superstites, ab Ecclesiastica communione priventur. Quia nefas est," &c.

Such are the few details of my visit to the cemetery of Envermeu. I have purposely abstained from further entering on the highly interesting results of M. Cochet's researches both before and since this occasion, as he himself is about to publish a detailed account. Enough, however, has perhaps been said to convince those to whom Anglo-Saxon remains are familiar of the striking assimilation of the Frankish tribes who entered Gaul, on the decline of the Roman power, with those of the Saxons who, in like manner, possessed themselves of Britain. As so frequently is the case with individuals of the same stock, though the relationship may be remote, and points of difference may have been created by disunion, yet the family likeness is unmistakeably evident. At present we are but on the threshold of our subject. We see but darkly, but we see enough to encourage us to hope we are on the right quest, and that continued archaeological research will eventually clear up all doubt. It will lend no small assistance to the study of the dark ages, when we are able to interpret aright the records time has preserved for us in the sacred depository of the tomb, and to pronounce unerringly, "here lived, or passed, the Frank, the Lombard, the Burgundian, or the Goth."

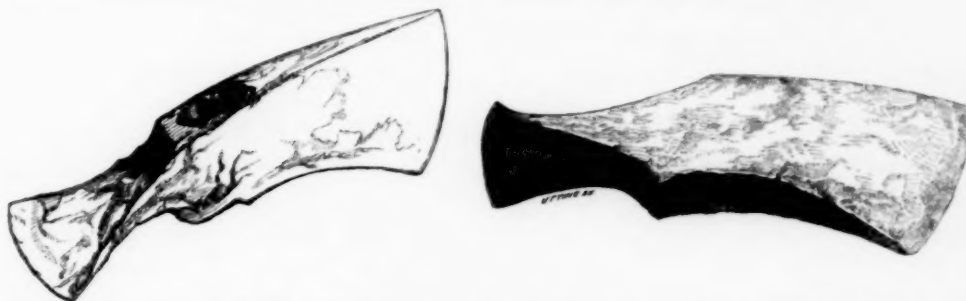
In the Abbé Cochet archaeology has a most indefatigable ally, whose researches are rapidly furnishing the museums of Rouen, Caen, and also of Paris. Greatly indeed is it to be desired that there were established in England the wise and excellent system under which such men as M. Cochet act in the French provinces as "inspecteurs des monumens historiques," and which confers the proper powers, and furnishes the funds when required, for the proper collection and preservation of the national antiquities.

The Museum of Neufchâtel, in the neighbourhood of Envermeu, has also enabled me to adduce an interesting fact in support of history. In a former paper on "the angon of the Franks," which I had the honour of laying before the Society in January last, I indulged in the hope that, as we had found the weapon answering exactly to the minute description given* of the angon by Agathias, "attentive observation would one day show him to have faithfully mentioned the *πίλεις ἀμφιστόμους* as weapons of the sixth century." Procopius, too, has expressly alluded to these weapons; and from the careful accounts severally given by these authors, we may infer that the axe and angon were in their day deemed very disagreeable weapons to encounter. It is certainly impossible to consider the

* Agath. Hist. lib. ii. chap. 5.

language of these writers as merely conventional; and in fact, in assuming historical obscurities to be merely myths, or unreal conventionalities, there is danger of striking at the root of all history.^a

Among the relics discovered in the Merovingian interments at Parfondeval,^b now preserved at Neufchâtel, are some battle-axes of unusual type, and among these the weapon a sketch of which I now submit, conceiving it to be the real *πελίκυς ἀμφιστόμος*. It is a double axe, of very solid and weighty proportions, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the full length of its two blades. One blade is vertical, and shaped like a francisca; the other is smaller, and of horizontal form.



There is no reason for assuming, as some have done, that the bipennis was necessarily the Amazonian axe of Grecian sculpture, and to which—at least to some *double-axe*—Horace alludes in his triumphal ode on the German conquests of Drusus.^c On one of the Etruscan vases in the British Museum an Amazon is

^a We have the direct testimony of Vegetius, lib. iv., that the bipennis was a real weapon, and used by the Romans. “Bipennis est securis habens ex utrâque parte latissimum et acutissimum ferrum.”

Corippus Africanus, also, in his vivid account of the court of the younger Justin, speaks expressly of this weapon. The troops who bore it were probably Teutonic mercenaries.

“Et lævâ, dextrâque acies adstare videres
Multaque ancipites splendescere luce bipennes,
Terribiles, ætate pares.”

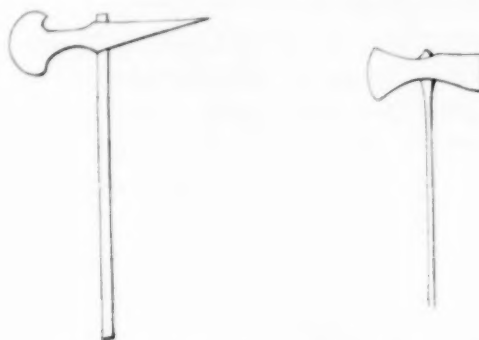
De Laudibus Justini Aug. Min. l. iii. b. 177.

^b The Parfondeval cemetery was also accidentally discovered in cutting a new road, and examined by the Abbé Cochet, who opened 150 tombs there. Parfondeval is a hamlet in a deep valley, as the name implies, branching out of the Valley de l'Eaulne.

“Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici, quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia securi
Dextras obarmet, quærere distuli.”

Hor. Carm. lib. iv. 4, 17.

represented combating with a double weapon, one side only of which bears the usual crescent-shaped blade, while the other is simply a long tapering point. On



another beautiful vase (Theseus and Procrustes), Theseus is armed with a double-axe, not very dissimilar from a double francisca. We have no authority for any particular form; but it is impossible to doubt that the Franks, at one period, used some such double weapon. Agathias expressly tells us the war-axe used by the Franks, at the battle of Casilinum, was a double weapon—*ἀμφιστόμος*; while Procopius remarks of the same weapon, on another occasion, that each of its blades was excessively keen-edged,—*ὁξὺς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἦν*.^b The whole conformation of the weapon before us, from Parfondeval, shows it to be Frankish. At present I know not of any other example, but there may be many such. Now that a portion of the Louvre has been devoted to a collection of Merovingian antiquities, the zeal and industry of the French archæologists will no doubt soon furnish it with many interesting and rare memorials of the noble race from which they claim descent.

In connexion with this subject, I beg to refer to a very interesting paper on a Scythian tumulus, near Asterabad, on the Caspian, communicated to the Society by the Baron de Bode, through Mr. Roach Smith, more than ten years ago, and printed in the *Archæologia*.^b In the plate illustrative of that paper, a double-axe (No. 13) will be found, closely resembling this remarkable weapon from Parfondeval. The *lancea uncata* of Sidonius Apollinaris,^c so commonly found in the Frankish graves of this neighbourhood, also finds its prototype in the Scythian spear (No. 14) of the same plate. These weapons from the Asterabad tumulus are of copper, which corresponds with the accounts Herodotus has left us of the usages of the people on the Caspian, whose country afforded no mines of iron.^d It is, doubtless,

^a Procop. De Bell. Goth. l. ii. 25.

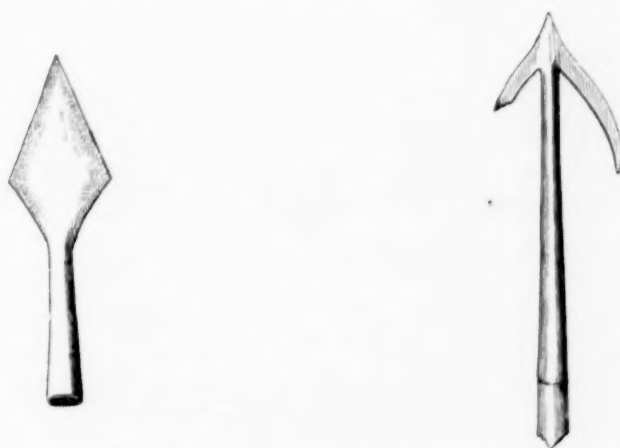
^c Lib. iv. epist. 20. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 51.

^b Vol. xxx. p. 248.

^d Herodot. Clio cexv.

in the wilds of Asia that we must seek for the earliest seats of the Teutonic nations; and these Merovingian weapons, of so unusual and remarkable a type, possess a still higher interest if we may venture to regard them as proclaiming the ancient Oriental traditions of the race, steadily preserved, through so many ages of adventurous migration, from the shores of the Caspian to the valleys of Gaul.

The kindness of the Abbé Cochet allows me to present sketches of some other weapons found by him, at Envermeu, on a former occasion. The barbed weapon, and two examples of Fig. 1, were found beneath a skeleton in a position that



induced the Abbé to think them to have been the heads of arrows deposited in a quiver. Their size and weight, however, rather prove them to have been *spicula*, or darts; and, in connexion with the mention of the angon, the barbed example carries some interest with it. It is singular how rare are examples of barbed weapons of an early date, although there can be no doubt such were in common use. They are of slight construction, and would quickly perish by corrosion. A few have occasionally been found in England, strongly, if not precisely, resembling this from Envermeu, but unfortunately never under circumstances deemed sufficiently authenticated. Archæologists have, therefore, properly hesitated to classify them; but the fact of thus meeting the weapon in a Merovingian grave will justify us in ascribing our own examples to the Anglo-Saxon period.

Believe me sincerely yours,

W. M. WYLIE.

To J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Sec. S.A.

VOL. XXXV.

2 I

XIX.—*Observations on the Celtic Megaliths, and the contents of Celtic Tombs, chiefly as they remain in the Channel Islands, by FREDERICK COLLINGS LUKIS, M.D. In a Letter to the VISCOUNT MAHON, President.*

Read Feb. 24, March 3 and 10, 1853; and Jan. 26, 1854.

MY LORD,

FEW of the structural works of former years require more patient and careful investigation than those generally attributed to the Celtic People.

It is very remarkable that, while some classical writers have alluded to their religious rites and ceremonies, they scarcely notice the stone structures, and are silent on their sepulchres and modes of burying the dead.

The attention of the moderns has only recently been directed to them; yet, from their size and prominent situations, they constantly obtruded distinctly, though in vain, upon the path of every antiquary. We now pay the penalty of this inattention, in that so few remain for examination; and severely, in that perhaps all have been more or less ransacked without care or record, and injured by the hand of time.

It is also much to be regretted that of late years many individuals, tempted by an unprofitable cupidity or an ignorant curiosity, have frequently assisted in the destruction of the little that had escaped the general wreck, which otherwise had proved of immense interest to the archæologist: we may add to these the annihilating sway of modern agricultural and engineering operations.

After a laborious exploration of about forty of these sepulchres in the Channel Islands, and some in England and in France, I have found a very remarkable similarity pervading all, as though a definite architectural law had regulated their construction in these countries, and a precise plan had determined the mode of interment, according to the particular species of sepulchre.

It is evident that these structures were applied solely to this use; and, though a difference of opinion has been advanced, it is superfluous to insist further on so clear and palpable a fact. With reference to the popular appellation of "Druids' Altar," it may be said that the term has been applied to cromlechs and raised stones suppositively, in ignorance of their real nature; for a moment's

reflection on their utter inapplicability to sacrificial purposes would have dispelled the illusion. True, there is an imposing solemnity in these raised masses. How few but have loved to rest near the venerable grey "inclined stone," and cherished visions of the dimly remote age of their erection; and in these dreamy wanderings have summoned to the view a thousand busy scenes and ideal embodiments of the many tales we all have heard! Thus almost unwillingly impressed, it was not without an oft-accusing sense of sacrilege that we thrust the first spade beneath our often-visited "inclined stone," and during the steady progress of investigation we were often compelled to acknowledge that our day-dreams of barbarous sacrifice, and writhing victims and yelling multitudes, were now for ever to be dispelled. No place of religious human sacrifice was here; it was evident we stood where mourners once had wept—where the last offerings and offices of affection had been bestowed and performed on departed relatives and friends—where the survivors had bewailed the common lot of all humanity—when they saw deposited in peace the mortal remains we now so ruthlessly disturbed.

Before detailing the results of these examinations, it may not be unadvisable to make a few observations on Celtic Megaliths in general.

In order to reduce the subject to a definite form, I have drawn up the following chart, which includes, in outline, a synopsis of the whole. It embraces only the outward remaining evidences of the ingenuity of that people in the mighty structures which they contrived to erect, with mechanical appliances of, no doubt, the rudest and the most elementary of which we can venture to form any idea. The object and contents of these structures we shall treat of hereafter.

CELTIC MEGALITHS.¹

ON PLAINS MORE OR LESS EXTENSIVE. (CHIEFLY CEREMONIAL.)

I. MAENHIR . . .	VII. MONOLITH ² . . .	A single erect raised stone.	
	VIII. ORTHOLITH* . . .	{ A single row, or broad line of erect raised stones.	{ The stones in contact.
	IX. PARALLELITH . . .	Double lines of ditto.	{ The stones standing apart.
	X. CYCLOLITH† . . .	{ Circle of erect distinct stones. concentric. Ceremonial.	{ Ditto.

COMMONLY ON HILLS AND ELEVATED SITUATIONS. (ENTIRELY SEPULCHRAL.)

II. DEMI-DOLMEN . . .	A large stone partly supported on one or sometimes two erect, raised, smaller: the sides open.
III. DOLMEN ³ . . .	A large stone entirely supported on two, three, or four erect, raised, smaller: the sides open.
IV. CIST-VAEN . . .	{ One, rarely two, large stones supported on several smaller horizontal or erect, raised: the sides closed. } Simple.
V. CROMLECH . . .	Successive Dolmens in contact, forming one common chamber, with the props erect, raised: the sides closed, excepting at entrance. } Compound.
VI. PERISTALITH† . . .	Stones usually erect and sometimes contiguous: arranged circularly, oval, square, &c., always surrounding Monolith, sepulchral chamber or grave. Sometimes concentric.

SYNONYMS.

- I. *Maen-hir* . . Mén-hir. Maensañs. Peulvan. Hoar stone. Mere stone. { VII. *Monolith* . . Pillar. Obelisk. Memorial Stone. Fichade. Bautastein.
VIII. *Ortholith* . . Giant's teeth! Alignement.
IX. *Parallelith* . . Dracontium.
X. *Cyclolith* . . Circle. Giant's Dance! Druid's Temple.
- II. *Demi-Dolmen*. Druid's Altar!
III. *Dolmen* . . Cromlech! Lichaven. Trilith. Druid's Altar! Quoit!
IV. *Est-Yaen*. *Histbaen* . . Roche ou Grotte aux Fées! Druid's Altar! Quoit! Bedd. Tomb-Coffin. Pouquelaye!
V. *Cromlech* . . Cercle! (Fr.) Druid's Altar! Chambre ou Creux des Fées! Witch's Stone! Quoit. Pouquelaye!
VI. *Peristalith* . . Circle! Témene! (Fr.) Chaudron du diable! Cromlech! (*Mahé*, pp. 35, 37, 100, 111, 264, 300.) Druid's Temple! Bardic Circle.

EXAMPLES.

- I. Any standing or intentionally erected large stone, whether alone or with many.
II. Numerous in the Morbihan; one in Guernsey. Llanwnda, Pembrokeshire.
III. Common in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, France, &c. None in Guernsey. Chûn-Quoit, in Cornwall. Kite-Cotty House (?). Whispering Knights. Enstone. On Mynydd Cefn Ammwich, Carnarvonshire. At Plas Newydd, Anglesea.
IV. Channel Islands. Britany. Great Britain. Ireland, &c.
V. Channel Islands. Gavr' Innis; Morbihan.
- VI. Rollrich, Oxfordshire. Two on L'Ancreuse, Guernsey. Herm. Pen-maen-mawr. Donside, Tullynessle, Aberdeenshire. Dance Maine, Cornwall. Stennis Circle, Orkney, &c. *Rectangular*, at Le Couperon, Jersey. *Concentric*, on Abdon Burf. Salop.
VII. *Pierre Longue*, &c., Guernsey. Great Obelisk, Locmariaker, &c. &c. Stone of Odin.
VIII. Carnac. At Great Cromlech, L'Ancreuse, and Creux des Fées, Guernsey.
IX. Abury. Stanton Drew? Merivale on Dartmoor. Carnac.
X. Abury. Stanton Drew. Ring of Brogar, Orkney.

PSEUDO-CELTIC OR TRANSITION.

MEGALITHIC.

- I. **CYCLOTRILITH.** § Ex. **STONEHENGE** . . Ceremonial. Hewn stones; rectangular; erect with tenon, transverse with mortise. Here is apparently an example of the respect paid to stone structures and their site, two ancient concentric circles being inclosed within the more modern.

TUMULAR.

- I. **SINGLE CHAMBER** . . With lateral opening and walls of columnar and short superimposed blocks.
II. **CHAMBERS** . . As above, each having a lateral opening into one common passage, or "allée." Chambers placed crosswise,^a opposite,^b saltirewise,^c or circularly. This last very rare.^d

EXAMPLES.

- I. Upper "Creux des Fées," Guernsey. II. ^aStructure at New Grange, Ireland. ^bWellow Cave, near Stoney Littleton, Somersetshire. ^cCairn on Airswood Moss, Dumfriesshire. ^dDruidical Temple, Town Heights, Jersey; now at Henley-upon-Thames.

MICROLITHIC.

CAIRN. CARN. CUIRN. KERN. KERN. GALGAL . . Sepulchral Heap, covering chamber or grave.

NATURAL ROCK.—CEREMONIAL.

CAIRN . . Large loose masses, as found in most countries. Cheesewring. La Rocque Balan, Guernsey. Buckstone, near Monmouth, &c.

ROCKING STONE . . Logan Stone, Cornwall. One in the parish of Kirkmichael, Perthshire, &c.

NEEDLE ROCK . . . "La Chaise aux Prêtres," Guernsey.

OBSERVATIONS.

¹ It is a generally received opinion that the Celts were the authors and architects of these Megaliths; these are, however, found universally distributed from Scandinavia to India, and in America, especially in the North. It must further be observed, that the same types of construction and use are equally universal, and that they are usually situated near the sea or the vicinity of some extent of water. It is evident from the universal distribution, likewise, of identical forms of the stone implements accompanying them, that the cromlech-building races sprang early from one central typical stock. Central Asia and the site of Nineveh produce genuine Celtic relics.

² Monoliths are memorial and monumental, and mark the site: advantage is very rarely taken of the proximity of elevated spots, which would increase the solemn character of these imposing masses, had this been desirable.

³ From this chart it will be seen that the type of Megaliths in England is the Dolmen, or chamber with erect props. That the type of those in Britany is the Cist, or chamber formed of laterally recumbent blocks. The true form of a Cromlech, or chamber of long triangular area with the only entrance at the apex, is seen in the magnificent examples of Gavr' Innis, in the Morbihan, those on the coast of Normandy, and in the Channel Islands.

* Ortholith, *môli* . . Ὀρθός, erectus. Λίθος, saxum.

† Cyclolith, *môli* . . Κυκλός, circulus. Λίθος, saxum.

‡ Peristalith, *môli* . . Περιστάς, part: circumstant. Λίθος, saxum.

§ Cyclotrilith, *môli* . . Κυκλός, circulus. Τρεῖς, tres. Λίθος, saxum.

From numerous accounts which have reached us, we have every reason to conclude that the same structures are to be found in most parts of the world. Cromlechs, Cists, Cycloliths, Peristaliths, &c., exist in Asia, Africa, and North America, and indicate that the Cromlech-building-people were the branches of one original stock. That they took with them, in their migrations, the same ideas, and preserved the same customs, as those whom we designate the Celtæ. And we find, further, that their modes of interment, and the types of their stone implements, were in every respect identical. We may scarcely conclude that different tribes practised and preserved identical customs, though the fact is possible; yet, when we examine the records of the earliest migrating nations, and their lines of transit, we do not find so much identity, or so rigid an observance of their original customs, as we may trace among the various ramifications of the Celtic people. We are induced to retain and apply the term Celtic to all those structures which present the same characters, wheresoever and in whatever country they may be found. Some modern writers have shown that a migrating people, quitting the high lands of Central Asia, at a very early period, soon divided and subdivided, passing in radiating lines to various countries, and conveying the same customs, whether for ceremonial, sepulchral, or domestic purposes.

The stone works of which we treat were not intended for indiscriminate uses; it is quite demonstrable that the ceremonial were perfectly distinct from the sepulchral. These latter will form, however, the chief subjects of this memoir, for they are necessarily more abundant, and are the true epitome of mankind, in pointing to the omnipresence of mortality.

In the Channel Islands, as in many much larger districts, there is a total absence of any structures of a simply ceremonial character, and indeed of these latter there are comparatively extremely few remaining specimens in any country.

We shall examine them in the order in which we place them in the chart, commencing with the

MONOLITH.

The most elementary and perhaps in consequence the most widely-diffused and long-retained memorial is a large tall stone, raised, not uncommonly, on its smaller end in an upright position. It may remain alone as a solitary beacon or aid to memory; thus fulfilling often more than one office, and often also in more modern times applied to purposes widely differing from its original. Maenhirs occupy situations which seem to indicate their memorial character as marking some spot

of note, now long lost to memory ; or as guide-stones (corrupted by imitation into the modern milestones) across a country which then possessed no road-ways. The headstones on modern graves may be the last remaining traces of their monumental office ; and, where they have been deified into Termini, represent the sacredness of land-marks, and not to be removed with impunity. The story of the intended temple on the Tarpeian rock records their inviolability ; and as boundary stones they still faithfully perform their duty from ages immemorial. When a Maenhir is surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, it is nearly in every instance ceremonial. Sometimes more than one are thus inclosed by the same ring.

The term Maen-hir is sufficient to designate a "long-stone," but does not allude to its position, number, or intention. We shall apply the term generally to all "long-stones" which were never intended in their erect position to support others, and divide it into four classes, as in the chart.

There are several notable examples in the Channel Islands, varying to the height of twelve feet and of proportionate width. They invariably stand singly and are not surrounded. Round the base of one in Guernsey was a flat floor composed of broken fragments of granite and shingle in a matrix of hardened clay, extending nearly twelve feet on all sides round the erect stone. In the loose soil which covered this floor were fragments of coarse Celtic pottery in small quantity.

This Monolith is about ten feet in height. A certain respect has preserved these imposing masses, though no name nor record is attached to any. Hoar-stones, when used merely as guidestones, are in general less elevated than those which we conceive to be, from their situation, intended as memorial or ceremonial ; hoar-stones are properly, as their name signifies, simply boundary-stones.^a

ORTHOLITH.

Maenhirs are sometimes arranged in lines. They then are placed close together, rarely in immediate contact, and generally of small size, proceeding to and from cromlechs or graves. The lines are sometimes straight, or they are more or less undulating. In Guernsey two cromlechs possess them, from one of which they extend in two directions about one hundred yards. Their exact use is not evident. It may be taken as a general rule that these lines which we name "Ortholiths"

^a Compare Genesis xxviii. 18, 22, memorial ; xxxi. 51, 52, boundary ; and xxxv. 14, 20, which is monumental ; Levit. xxvi. 1, Deut. xvi. 22, ceremonial ; Judges ix. 6. Absalom's pillar, 2 Sam. xviii. 18. Pillar of witness or agreement, Isaiah xix. 19 ; Exodus xxiv. 4 ; Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3 ; Jos. iv. 5, xv. 6, xviii. 17 ; xxiv. 26, 27 ; 1 Sam. vi. 14, 15, 18, vii. 12, xx. 19 ; Pr. xxiii. 10 ; Jer. ii. 27.

are in some way connected with places of sepulture, of which however they do not appear to constitute any very necessary appendage. They more usually occur at the western extremity of cromlechs. On l'Ile aux Moines, in the Morbihan, may be seen a very remarkable example, though its immediate connexion with the grave or cromlech is not now evident. The wonderful lines of stones commonly known as Carnac, in Britany, are considered as Parallelitha, but at many points the parallelism is interrupted, and they are so unlike the Paralleliths of England and other countries, that considerable doubt may be raised as to their similar adaptation. In fact, the close proximity of the numerous splendid cromlechs, &c. converting the whole country into a vast cemetery, give it a very close resemblance to the Ortholith.

PARALLELITH.

These double lines of stones are of various lengths, and are straight or waved. The term is a near approximation to the truth. These double lines are not always parallel, neither along their whole length nor at every part of it. Those of Abury and on Dartmoor are of considerable extent, and in the former are formed of immense stones. Individual specimens only describe determinate figures, which have been supposed to constitute the varieties of the Dracontic, or serpent-folds, and to have been erected for serpent-worship.*

It certainly does require some straining of the imagination to discover therein the Ophite hierogram; yet, if we adopt this opinion, we are induced naturally to ask at once, "Why should so very great dissimilarity exist between the principal hierograms as distinguishes those of Abury and Carnac?" When so much time, thought, and labour have been expended, we undoubtedly have just reason to expect a positive and definite form, expressing one common intention. And further, it has been advanced by the advocates of the Dracontic theory that here the Celts worshipped.

We learn from other sources, however, that the Druids, who were Celtic priests, performed their mystic rights in sacred groves and in secret places. These characters do not apply to Abury, nor Dartmoor, nor to Carnac, nor indeed to any of the situations of Celtic structures.

There is no Parallelith in the Channel Islands; yet we do not hence infer that there were no forms nor ceremonies of a religious character, but we have reason to suppose these singular works were in a great measure constructed as places of

* *Archæologia: Observations on the Dracontia*, by the Rev. John Bathurst Deane.

assembly or deliberation for the principal portion of the tribe or people, and therefore not required by a small insular community.

CYCLOLITH.

That of Abury has two Paralleliths connected with it; that of Stanton Drew seems never to have had any. We find the stones that form the circle standing apart, which is not always the case when the circular arrangement was to be applied to sepulchral uses, as we shall hereafter have occasion to remark, in another division of the subject. These immense circles must have been places of convocation, and were better adapted than Paralleliths for the purpose. Here the priests and warrior chiefs appeared in public, but what the ceremonies were it is impossible to determine, for we rarely find two Cycloliths alike, as, for instance, the two above mentioned. One of the Paralleliths of Abury leads to Clatford Bottom, where its extremity incloses a Dolmen. To those who would entertain the Dracontic opinion, this seems figurative of death residing in the head of the snake!

Smaller circles of sepulchral character usually accompany Cycloliths, as those near Stanton Drew, and the Ring of Brogar, near the Stennis circle.* There are others in Great Britain, but none in the Channel Islands.

It is worthy of remark, that Monoliths are constantly placed in the immediate vicinity, and in most cases on the east of Cycloliths. There is rarely more than one, which is sometimes perforated in some conspicuous part. Rude, rough blocks, are generally set round the Cyclolith, at some distance from each other and from it; then, beyond these, we sometimes find a ditch, and a rampart encircling the whole. Rarely is this arrangement to be found about the Peristalith, to be described hereafter. Arbor Low, Derbyshire, is of this character.

These four divisions of erect stones are commonly on plains, and in this respect differ from the next division of our subject, which is entirely of a sepulchral character, and in most instances on hills and elevated places.

SEPULCHRES.

The most primitive form of Celtic grave is a simple trench of three or four feet in length, by one or two in width, and a few inches in depth, with occasionally a rude floor of flat stones or pebbles, on which the remains are laid, and covered with a layer of light clay, or, as invariably occurs in the Channel Islands, a layer of

* See Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, by D. Wilson, Esq., p. 109, *et seq.*

three or four inches in thickness of limpet-shells only, the whole being concealed by a large, rude block of granite. Coarse pottery, clay and stone beads, flint arrow-points, and a few flakes, generally accompany the remains, which are usually completely reduced to an amorphous state from the slight protection thus afforded. In the island of Herm the deposits were however tolerably well preserved, being surrounded by a close, compact sand.

This stone is in other cases lifted at one end upon another smaller stone, and this arrangement constitutes what is known as the

DEMI-DOLMEN,

which from slight accidents is easily thrown down, and all traces of the original simple structure at once for ever lost. Still, however, on carefully examining the spot, some disturbance or depression of the surface-soil near the remaining support (supposing the fallen cap-stone to have disappeared) will indicate to the practised eye the former existence of the monumental structure.

Few specimens are found in any country, in consequence undoubtedly of the above causes, and we are led to discover their former presence only from existing local names. One is still to be seen in Guernsey quite perfect, the raised or supported stone weighing several tons. From that specimen we have taken pottery; the human remains were entirely indiscernible. In France and elsewhere many are still remaining. There are several in Wales and Britany. The term is given by the French authors, and well defines the "Half-table-Stone."

DOLMEN.

This is a table-stone, that is to say, the top stone is entirely raised from the ground, on two or more supports or props, after the manner of a table. The number of props rarely exceeds four; the sides, therefore, are always more or less open between the props, and the capstone is in general very large. We lay stress upon the open condition of the sides, which serves to distinguish it from the next structure; and we repeat that the Dolmen consists of a large, somewhat flat stone, entirely supported on two or more upright single shafts, leaving free open spaces between these. By carefully considering these specific characters, we shall the better understand the varieties hereafter, which occur in later periods. There are many Dolmens in America, as well as in most parts of the Old World from Northern Europe to Southern Asia. The Channel Islands are now without them.

CISTS.

These are small inclosures of erect and recumbent supports in contact at their edges, covered by one or, rarely, two large flat stones. The shape of the inclosure frequently depends on that of the covering-stone. Cists may be found attached to the sides of Cromlechs, or be grouped together, or may be detached and at a distance from any other structure. The sides, which are entirely closed, may have vertical props, always of single shafts, or horizontal recumbent supports, or both combined in the same specimen.



The mode of interment was invariably by first removing the capstone, and lowering the contents into the interior. Successive layers thus occur, and are separated by flat stones, as seen in our engraving. Two and three layers may thus be found in the same cist. The capstone was undoubtedly replaced after each interment. From the more perfect protection thus afforded the contents,

these are usually well preserved. We have taken from them complete skeletons, and stone celts retaining the most beautiful polish. In a small cist in the island of Herm, were skulls only.

We now observe a new feature, intended to afford additional security and permanence to the structure, in a bank of earth heaped up against the supports outwardly, to within a few inches of the under surface of the capstone. This earth-work is the first indication of those lofty tumuli which were raised by politer nations of the world, and of the barrows of other incursive and nomadic tribes. We shall see how the raising of mounds has affected the laws of Celtic architecture, and introduced a debased order. While navigation was still in its infancy, and Celtic canoes of hollow trees were risked upon the waters and seas of Britain, the native population respected the resting-places of their departed countrymen, and, trusting confidently to this feeling, gave only slight protection to their tombs; but as warlike strangers succeeded in disturbing the peace of the community, they buried their dead more securely; and ultimately, as though in imitation of other nations, raised over these megalithic vaults, high mounds of earth intermixed with small stones and fragments.

Cairns of stone alone, were the tributary and respectful offerings of all who passed the grave; every passer by threw on the heap his small contribution. As, however, these cairns are not to be found in all countries where megaliths abound, we have not included them in this division of our memoir.

We now pass on to those wonderful efforts of rude mechanical architecture well known by the general term

CROMLECH

—a name frequently applied to megalithic structures, without recognition of their specific characters. This indiscriminate nomenclature has been the source of much confusion: we therefore restrict the term to a vault formed of vertical single stones or shafts, in close lateral approximation or actual contact, supporting a roof of large transverse blocks, the flatter surface of which, as of the shafts, is turned towards the interior. The area is usually of a long triangular shape, having the apex directed always towards the east in those of the Channel Islands, and with few exceptions to this rule in other countries. In fact, so continually do we find this orientation in those Cromlechs which are not concealed beneath tumuli, that we believe it was intentional on the part of the builders. In large Cromlechs, it often occurs that the props, at least many of them, have their smaller extremity downwards. As the capstones lie transversely to the length of the structure, they,

therefore, individually lie lengthwise, from north to south. It would seem quite unnecessary to mention this, did we not observe the reverse, very usually, in the direction of the covering stones of Cists. These are slight and trivial facts, possibly, yet become interesting from their almost constant occurrence. They are thus placed, without exception, in these islands, which, with the orientation of Cromlechs, do not appear the results of accident. The eastern narrow portion of the Cromlech is sometimes found to be prolonged into a kind of avenue, and, this being the only entrance into the vault, rendered it necessary to creep into it in a stooping posture, or actually, in some cases, with difficulty on hands and knees. The size of this avenue is very rarely more than three feet in height by two in width. It is difficult to form an idea of the mode by which the dead were introduced, or even the urns to accompany them, some of which were eighteen inches in height; and we have taken more than one of this size from beneath Cromlechs in Guernsey and Britany. But the question receives some solution when we find that only the bones, burnt or not, were thus to be introduced. The western extremity was invariably, like the sides, at all points closed by large props supporting the top stone, which at this end is also always considerably the greatest.



This, as well as the easterly direction, may be seen in the accompanying view of the exterior of the Great Cromlech, situated on the summit of a hill, near the plain of l'Ancresse, Guernsey.

This large Cromlech is forty-five feet in length by fifteen wide, and nearly eight in height within the area at the western end, so that a tall man, while it was empty, might freely walk with his hat on beneath this stone: from this point it gradually contracts on all sides towards the eastern end. This space is covered by five larger and two smaller blocks of granite: the western is computed to weigh about thirty tons; it is nearly seventeen feet long, ten and a half wide, by four and a half in thickness. The second is sixteen feet long, the third again smaller, and so they gradually diminish to the seventh: they are not in contact. A very imperfect description of this Cromlech is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xvii. p. 254, when it was first discovered. It was then most imperfectly explored, through a fear of its insecurity, which, however, was found to have been entertained without reason. It was left filled and partly buried beneath the drift sand of the neighbourhood till the year 1837, when, after considerable labour, it was emptied of its accumulated sand, and its primæval contents exposed. In this state the interior



presented the appearance seen in the engraving, which gives a very accurate view of the huge stones, the size of the vault, and the two layers on the floor consisting of human bones, urns of coarse red and black clay, stone and clay amulets and beads, bone pins, &c., the layers, like those of cists, being separated by flat fragments of granite: the lower stratum was laid on a rude pavement on the natural

soil. The remains were deposited in a singular manner: the unburnt bones occupied either end of the floor, the middle third being allotted to those which had been submitted to the action of fire; not a vestige of charcoal was to be detected with them. The urns in this part were of remarkably rude shape and material. But the bones of individual skeletons were heaped together confusedly, and each heap surrounded by a small ring of round flat pebbles: the urns were near or within the rings. Some heaps consisted, as it were, of parents' and childrens' ashes mingled together, for within the same ring of pebbles were the bones of individuals of all ages. In this Cromlech were found many more bones of very young children than in any other that has come under our notice. We may mention, that the human remains presented less appearance of decay in this Cromlech than in any other, which may account for this fact being observed. The lower stratum only contained the burnt bones, among which, likewise, a few of the boar, that is to say tusks only, were seen: whether these had been worn as trophies of the chase, and consigned to the fire with the hunter's dead body, may remain a speculation. Be it here remarked, once for all, that in no instance was the urn used to contain the ashes of the dead; it, no doubt, was filled at the time of sepulture with liquid or food of some kind, which was so universal a practice. Four flat discs from six to twelve inches in diameter and one in thickness, were found in this Cromlech, formed of the same ware as the urns, and doubtless served as lids to some, which have broad flat edges. As these lids are furnished with central handles, it is reasonable to infer that the urns were visited and replenished from time to time, for it must be recollected that the Cromlech was a hollow vault or catacomb. About one hundred and fifty urns were removed from this spot; some were quite entire, but many broken have been restored.

As time and ages elapsed, and, possibly, as all memory of the departed became lost, their remains were removed to make room for other. These so removed were placed in the intervals between the props, and were lost to sight; but further space being again required, a quantity of limpet-shells, amounting to many cart-loads, and a little yellow clay, were strewn upon the original deposit, and flat stones, as we have seen, were placed over all to form a new floor. When these floors and deposits occupied so much space as to prevent an easy ingress for further interments, the area was increased by additional side-props and capstones, placed always at the eastern side, where, the entrance being removed or enlarged, made the additional portion appear almost an integral part of the original structure.

Every Cromlech did not readily admit of this, and either a chamber or a cist

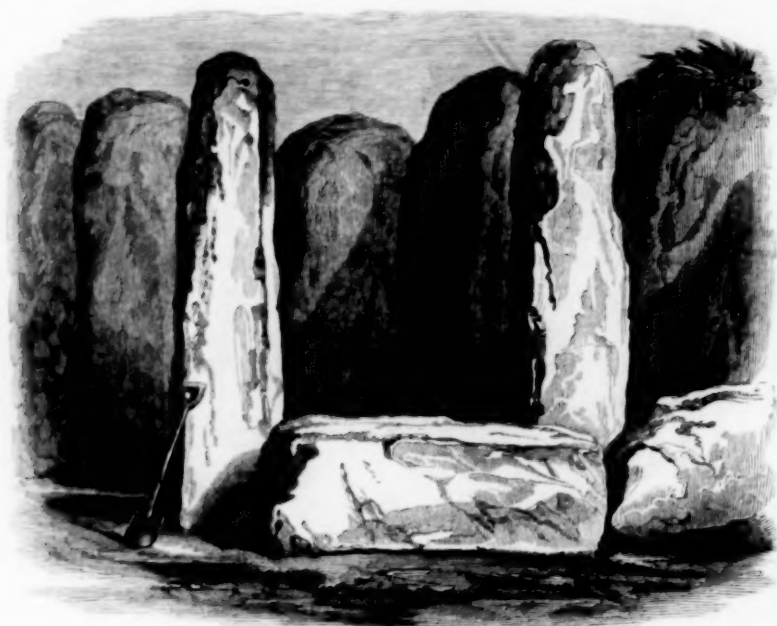
was attached to the side, or, where additions had been made, the cists were always placed in contact with the newer portion.

Three successive portions were added to the Cromlech called "Dehus," in Guernsey, and to these were laterally attached four separate cists. We have already seen the interior of one in our first illustration. The following represents a curious and unique form of interment in another.



Three flat small stones placed in a triangular manner inclosed a space containing broken bones of the fore part of the chest, with the clavicles and a vertebra (this last may subsequently have fallen among them by accident), and the whole was covered by a hemispherical, bowl-like urn inverted over them. This urn is again represented in p. 255. It would appear, that in this very unusual manner had been deposited the heart and contents of the chest, rudely removed with portions of the parietes. This was found at the lowest part of the cist, at the base of one of the props. Besides the chambers and cists intended to afford additional room, there are, not uncommonly, certain

recesses of large size communicating freely with the Cromlech, as the two, at least, which are opposite, in Weland Smith's Cave, several in Britany, &c., and as in a remarkable instance in St. Clement's parish in Jersey. This is on the south side; and the entrance from the main Cromlech is bounded by two remarkable pillars, at the bases of which a long transverse, somewhat rectangular, block extends from one to the other: see the Engraving. In all the examples of subsequent additions, a transverse block lies in this way, unless the division be otherwise evident. The two pillars appear to have been reduced by rough hammering to the same height, and probably supported a large capstone, which partly covered the recess.



In all the Cromlechs in which the animal remains were discernible, we have found the bones of fishes, especially the hard palate of the labrus, which fish is so readily caught from the rocks round the islands; also those of oxen, goats, and the boar. These were always found lying on the upper layer of remains, or had become intermixed with these by subsidence and disturbance at some remote period. Burnt granite querns were with the burnt bones.

Nothing was found within the urns, excepting the limpet-shells and yellow clay in which they had been embedded; in one very perfect urn, was a slight incrusta-

tion of a dark, resinous appearance, giving off when burnt dense smoke without smell, and leaving considerable earthy residuum: the quantity was insufficient to be further tested.

No metallic instrument nor ornament, with one exception, was discovered, nor even indications of the knowledge or use of metal. The exception was that of a kind of armlet of a highly decomposable alloy of copper, which was found with one of jet formed of a single piece. The former was a spring of nearly half an inch in thickness, the ends terminating in knobs of an oval, compressed form, somewhat more than an inch in the long diameter. The latter ornament was thin, an inch and a half in width, sufficiently large to slip over a female hand and arm; the flat surface scored with chequered lines, much resembling the patterns on some of the urns, and perforated at four points with a depression in each to receive, apparently, a stone.

A singular interment in a small lateral cist on the north side of the Cromlech "Dehus," in Guernsey, consisted of two skeletons kneeling side by side, the face of one directed northward, and of the other southward. In this instance, the constant rule of osseous interment was departed from, as living or fresh bodies only could have assumed that attitude. The skulls were completely fractured, possibly only from decomposition, as they were nearer the surface, the other parts being deeper necessarily, in a bed of limpet shells introduced around them at the time of interment. As is usual in well-made cists, the shells and bones were comparatively perfect. The floor on which the skeletons knelt was formed of two small blocks of granite, and nothing else was found within the cist, which was just large enough to hold two such bodies, the heads of which must at first have been in contact with the capstone.

We have remarked above, that into the spaces between the lower ends of the props, bones and urns were inserted without order, as though they had been removed from their first resting-places on the floor. It is unnecessary to mention that no pebbles accompanied them.

From these secret hiding-places, which were only discovered by minute exploration, the most complete urns were taken; the props affording them constant protection and relieving them of the pressure of the superincumbent substances.

Among the burnt bones within the great Cromlech at l'Ancresse, was one exhibiting an unreduced dislocation of the right elbow of long standing, and the consequent formation of "false-joint." The teeth were much worn, especially the molar, and showed that "dental operations" were not much in vogue. Caries was more frequent in the molars, and these teeth in several cases had evidently fallen

from the jaw, from natural efforts alone, after much protracted suffering and abscess. We have a fine specimen of a maxilla, showing the effects of a recent abscess on one side, and the sympathetic action dislodging, by a similar process, the corresponding tooth on the other. The alveolar processes were considerably involved in the disease.

Anchylosis of the phalanges of the toes was not unusual, which led to the inquiry as to the sandals worn, but it seemed rather that some, if not all, the instances arose from injury.

All cromlechs do not contain burnt bones, and, with this exception, invariably contain the same sepulchral indications. Excavators must be careful to separate the layers, removing first all recent and mediaeval introductions, and to examine the exterior earth against the props, or that which is raised in some specimens high over the stone-work, for relics discarded by former treasure-seekers.

PERISTALITH.

This term is applicable to every megalithic arrangement intended to surround monoliths, tombs, or graves.

They have acquired some celebrity from the Cyclopean magnitude of some of their constituent stones, and from the name of "Bardic circles," sometimes attached to them.

The most ordinary shape of the Peristalith is circular or nearly so, but it may be square or a parallelogram. It is placed round the cromlech, invariably in the Channel Islands, but not so in Britany, where, indeed, it appears to be somewhat rare, compared with the numerous structures of all the former kinds; it there, however, occurs apart from them.

This form of sepulchre is widely diffused over the old world, and is also found in North America. Like the former it is more frequently seen on hills, sometimes surrounding the apex or inclining on the side. Several may occupy the same hill.

The place of the interment within the inclosure is not always in the centre, nor always marked by a stone; and from the large diameter of some of these circles it is difficult to find the exact spot. Some Peristaliths are double or concentric, or inclosed by the Cyclolith, and are then not always sepulchral. Two are seen within the circle of Avebury; but more usually they accompany the Cyclolith at short distances, as the two near Stanton Drew, and the Stennis Circle near the Ring of Brogar.

The diameter of the Peristalith very rarely exceeds one hundred feet; when surrounding the Cromlech, generally sixty feet; less than this of course for the single

Cist, with every intermediate measurement to that of only four feet. The stones may be erect or recumbent and on their edge, sometimes partly buried beneath a circular ring of raised earth common to all the stones of the same circle; and they may stand wide apart or be in actual contact. In large specimens an entrance is observable on the east, being an interruption in the periphery, where an avenue of parallel stones often conducts into it. This very constant orientation, as before remarked, cannot be considered as accidental.

Tumuli are sometimes raised within them, or two or more barrows may together occupy the area; but the previously respected spot has, in this case, merely been preferred to another by those who raised the barrow, possibly when all memory of its nature had long been forgotten. The barrows here have no other connection with the far more ancient Peristalith than those within the Cyclolith of Abury, those about Stonehenge, or any other part of the country; in fact they are the work of quite another people. On digging beneath them and their contents the primeval deposit will be found totally distinct and widely different from the cinerary urn and metallic and glass ornaments of the barrow above it. A similar and unquestionable act of trespass may be seen on the eastern surface of the rampart which encircles the ceremonial Peristalith of Arbor Low, on which spot a large tumulus was raised, evidently long subsequently to the use of the Celtic structure.

The Peristalith called the Roll-rich, in Oxfordshire, has all the stones in contact, some of which, having their smaller extremity downwards, only come into contact a short distance above the ground. Several have been broken. Its diameters at right angles are 100 feet and 103 feet. In that of Dance Maine, Cornwall, the stones are far apart; as likewise in Mitchell's Fold, Salop, and in the collections of these circles on Abdon Burf and on the neighbouring hills, &c. A portion of one remains visible on the plain of l'Ancresse, Guernsey, the stones of which are in contact. When surrounding the Dolmens, Cists, or Cromlechs, they may be likewise far asunder or in close contact. We may mention here that the additions to the east end of Cromlechs never exceed the limits of the Peristalith.

It is a remarkable fact that all those Peristaliths which surround Cromlechs in the Channel Islands are of the same diameter, that is, sixty feet; we have observed the same measurement exactly in examples in England.

The Peristalith occurs round Cromlechs that have no investing mound, as well as round tumuli inclosing large megalithic chambers; and two or three have been observed at different elevations on the same tumulus, serving to indicate successive sepulchral sections of it. In some of the smaller specimens a large flat stone is to be found lying within the area, beneath which are the human remains. Under

one of these large stones in the Island of Herm were dry sand, limpet shells, and ten adult skulls, five being disposed at either end in an accurately quincuncial order. Pottery and other relics are found in Peristaliths, the former usually much broken and decomposed.

The Cromlech called "*Le Couperon*," in Jersey, lies within a parallelogram, and this is the only instance in these islands.

A Peristalith in Alderney, now much destroyed, was of an oval form, one hundred feet in the long diameter; the stones were rough polygonal masses, scarcely to be recognised as standing on end.

Before we pass to the next form of sepulchre, we must observe certain additions to Cromlechs not yet noticed; these are little cells, and cistlike chambers within the area, which are, probably, the work of subsequent races, or of the last of the cromlech-builders. They rarely contain any pottery or relics, but are merely sufficiently large, with some exceptions, to hold the bones of a few skeletons. A singular congeries of these has recently been discovered in Alderney, which we shall describe hereafter.

It is proper to mention also, here, that the singularly engraved patterns which adorn the interior surfaces of several Cromlechs in Wales and Britany, can scarcely be attributed to the early times of cromlech-building, but rather to those when metallic instruments had been introduced. It is extremely difficult to understand the possibility of effecting the elaborate designs on the stones of Gavr' Innis, in the Morbihan, for example, without the use of at least copper tools, as were used in very early ages by the Egyptians in their granite quarries. The quartz props in that Cromlech are untouched, but nearly every other is elaborately scored with curved, concentric and other undulating lines, and even the frequent repetition of the stone celt. The same kind of tool as to size and intention in every respect was used in engraving the lines on the prop of a Cromlech near Dyffryn, Wales. These are precisely of the same form and width as those in the former. The prop of the Cromlech called *Dol-ar-Marchant*, near *Loc-Maria-ker*, is elegantly engraved on its inner surface and edges, and the under surface of the large capstone is depressed, with the exception of the pattern, thereby left in relief. May not these indicate an advance in the arts of the period? In all these instances the stones were engraved previously to the construction of the Cromlech, for the scored lines pass over the tops of the props at the points in contact with the capstones; this ornament was, however, only completed after the erection of the whole structure, for in the instance of Gavr' Innis the smaller stones wedged into the spaces between the principal have the scored

work continued in like manner over their surfaces. These smaller stones are inserted between the principal in all tumular Cromlechs, in order to keep the ground from falling into the interior. Of all the stones in this very remarkable Cromlech, none attracts so much attention as the second on the western side, in which a deep cavity is sunk, divided along the edge by two equidistant pillars. These being convex, protrude from the stone, showing that every other part of it has been purposely depressed.

The engraved designs are, perhaps, less regular, but while they resemble are much more idiographic than the tattooing of the New Zealander. Some are like the herring-bone; others are concentric flowing curves, or inclose the very representation of the stone celt, sometimes repeated more than once on the same stone, or surrounded by a sort of halo or glory.

The transverse blocks, on the floor, which we now know mark the several additions, are likewise engraved, as is also the square block occupying the whole floor of the northern end.

The careful reader will remark a difference in the compass-bearings of this Cromlech. Its opening is southward (according to our own observation on the spot), and its long diameter consequently north and south—a variation which we shall find indicates a debased order in Celtic architecture, and accompanies it at all points from the east, by the southwards, to the west, until, in the last direction, the tumular structure has lost all the specific characters of the genuine Cromlech, and is in fact a new, but imperfect, imitation or order of Megalithic architecture. To this latter class belong the Wellow Cave, Somersetshire, and New Grange, Ireland, &c. These, we conceive, appertain to what we designate a pseudo-Celtic or transition period, and are the connecting links between the stone graves beneath barrows and the true Celtic period.

PSEUDO-CELTIC OR TRANSITION PERIOD.

We have already had a glimpse sufficiently clear to enable us to understand those positive changes in the Megalithic architecture which lead irresistibly to the conclusion that a period existed synchronously with, or following hard upon, the decline of the Druidical hierarchy, during which the recollections, as it were, of former laws and customs still influenced the public mind. And that these recollections were not easily extinguished we have evidence in those which we have seen continued in our own time, and still to be ignorantly practised by the common people, as in the burning of the Yule-log, the remnant of the sacrificial

feast of Iuul, on the 24th of December, and the gladsome return from the woods and groves on the 1st of May, laden with leafy boughs and with the green mistletoe. Is the mistletoe still danced under, simply for the pleasing penalty incurred? or hung at tavern doors with holly and ivy boughs without meaning? Many a maiden places the wish she has breathed into a lock of wool, with it upon the tall grey stone, and, leaping down, expects its certain fulfilment. Still, in some parts of France and other countries, do they leap, with noisy revelling, through a public fire, each person taking away with him a piece of charcoal, as a charm till the next anniversary of the ceremony; and edicts of Christian rulers have prohibited the bowing in religious exercise before stocks and stones. So places of former resort have been purposely selected for the site of churches to lead the people more directly to believe in the true God; and with like feeling, though different intention, do we consider the gigantic undertaking known as

STONEHENGE

to have been contemplated and erected. At the first view, the huge chiseled pillars absorb the whole of our attention: but these we believe to be a second structure, raised round a former Peristalith of sepulchral character. This is concentric, as those on Abdon Burf, &c., and was, doubtless, a place of note and frequent resort. The stones are of a species of granite, and are unhewn blocks, of the same nature as those we have alluded to in the former part of this memoir. Round these sepulchral rings rise the rectangular columns with mortise and tenon for security, but perfectly dissimilar to anything we have hitherto seen. Yet the circumvallation, and the outstanding Monolith guarding the eastern only avenue, give it a close analogy to the ceremonial Cyclolith of previous ages. It is evident, therefore, that this was the labour of two distinct periods.

The diameter of the Peristalith, within the trilithons, corresponds exactly with that of others elsewhere.

We term it the Cyclotrilith, and shall not further describe this noble effort of early mechanical genius and skill. The barrows in and about the circumvallation, are independent of Stonehenge, or the uses to which it was applied.

TUMULI

may contain a single somewhat squared chamber in each, or several which open into one common passage.

The sides of the chambers are formed rarely of single shafts, and never of these alone, but of recumbent blocks piled one upon another, after the manner of a

Cyclopean wall. No lime mortar was ever used. The ceiling is formed of transverse blocks and smaller stones, so placed as to support the tumulus, which is in some specimens raised to a great height. These ceilings are more uneven than those of cromlechs, and occasionally are arched, or conical, as that of the eastern extremity of that at New Grange, Ireland, built like those again still more recent, and which are known as "Picts' houses." The narrow avenue is, likewise, analogous. In the Wellow Cave, the chambers are placed at the sides of one common avenue, and, in the so-called "Temple" removed from the town heights in Jersey are open towards a circular area, round which they are situated. The whole arrangement is peristalithic, and the chambers, by their position, interrupt the circle of upright contiguous stones which is continued between them. The common entrance is a long, extremely narrow covered avenue.

Kits Cotty house, Kent, though associated in the Chart with the Dolmen, appears, were it not for the absence of tumulus, to be one of these chambers, being similarly constructed, and having only one side open; in which respect it differs from the Dolmen.

A dry wall of closely fitting stones secured the opening and prevented the intrusion of the tumulus, and at the same time facilitated the introduction of occasional interments. In Alderney there are some "*allées couvertes*" still closed in this manner at both ends.

The roofs of the chambers in the Wellow Cave are rarely, if at any point, in contact with the sides, which are formed of slabs lying on edge; smaller stones are placed on these, on which again the capstones rest.

It is extremely difficult to understand how the engravings in Gavr' Innis could be ornamental, or of what other use they could be, and the same may be said of those in the structure at New Grange, for the interior was at all times perfectly dark. In the former, except at the northern end, it is utterly impossible to stand upright, the extreme height there being five feet ten inches, and not likely to have been continually illuminated, though a very small lamp may have been kept burning as a perpetual fire in the hollow stone before mentioned. Even had this been the custom, how very little of the mysterious gloom had been dispelled, how little of the tedious labour of years had been revealed! And then, its limits were further contracted by its contents. At the northern end is a square chamber, over which the highest point of the tumulus is raised, which declines towards the south.

The covered avenues, "*allées couvertes*," of the French writers, before alluded to, lie northwards and southwards. Alderney contains several, and many have

been entirely destroyed. In the interior of one, explored this year (1853), a considerable surface of the floor had been previously cleared of the first deposits, which were thrown confusedly upon the undisturbed portion, the urns being broken and their fragments lying about in all directions. Upon the cleared floor were observed several cells, each about a foot square, and flat stones, placed on edge, forming the sides or septa of two contiguous cells, each covered by a similar flat thin sand-stone, somewhat larger, and these lids laid in an imbricated manner. Other flat similar stones, strewn about, suggested the former existence of more of these box-like cells. The contents consisted of a skull in each, with a few bones, all unburnt, the long bones frequently protruding between the lids and sides. No pottery nor a trace of relic was to be discovered, though fragments of numerous urns lay in the primeval deposit around. These cells occupied a space on one side of the interior, and were evidently the work of subsequent inhabitants of the island. This small island, which is the nearest of the cluster to the coast of France, being within a few miles of that near Cherbourg, has for successive ages been used as a burial-place, doubtless by many of the occupants of that part of the coast as well as its own. There appears to have been a large Celtic population, for their works are extensive and numerous; their stone celts and implements of all kinds exceed, comparatively with the size of the island, the number found in any other. Here, for a subsequent race, was an extensive factory of bronze war-like weapons; we have seen the crude metal and the castings. Stone graves and barrows still furnish beautiful and perfect specimens. Roman red ware, with elegant devices and makers' names, may be taken in some districts at every step, and, narrow as its limits are, it is nevertheless a wide field for the antiquary. There are no cairns of a sepulchral character in these islands, and the natural rocks alluded to in the Chart are too well known to require further comment.

CELTIC URNS.

We present outlines of a few of such as were exhumed during the previously-mentioned explorations.

Of their forms there are four principal, viz. straight-sided, concave, convex, and bell-shaped. The two former are in general thick, coarse, and uneven; the convex are of a finer ware; and the bell-shaped by far the most elegant and well-finished and somewhat thinner than the convex. The patterns likewise follow the same order, and in the latter are the most minute. These seem made by impressions of twisted narrow thongs, and some appear to be filled with white encaustum.

The general colours are light brick red, yellow, and black. They have all been

submitted to the action of fire directly applied to the base, in the process of hardening and perfect baking. None were only sun-baked, which effect were impossible in these climes. The lower parts therefore are always the most reddened, and the upper margin generally black, proving that no oven was ever used in the process. The potter's wheel does not appear to have been known, but to some a certain amount of slow rotation, as might be given by one smooth flat stone upon another, is supposed to have been adopted: this is a point of much value in determining



the period to which even a small fragment belongs. These urns were solely intended to contain food, presents, or libations in honour of the dead. Not one was glazed. Many are furnished with two or more knobs for handles and also for ornament. These knobs are sometimes perforated with one or more holes, in general vertical, for suspension by a thin string.

Their capacities vary between that of two fluid ounces to that of at least four

gallons. Some have flat bases, but many are rounded. Thirty of the latter were taken from one cist in Guernsey.

The patterns resemble those of urns of the same period in most countries, and the borders were impressed or engraved with some pointed instrument. This was performed after a certain amount of consistence had been obtained by drying in the sun-light, which alone may account for the sharpness of the edges, previous to their exposure to a slow fire, over which they were baked.



We say that similar urns are to be seen in many extensive museums, but certainly very far short of the numbers which all countries afford.

Their general aspect, also, differs from those usually designated as "British urns," yet they are placed indiscriminately together. The reason that so very few are collected being, clearly, that the contents of Celtic tombs are always much broken and decomposed, in fact, too much injured to stimulate any desire to

restore them. Those few we have seen in the museums of France are like our own in every respect, but are also few in number.

We have spent many hours, after often a fatiguing day's work with spade and sieve, in patiently re-adjusting the dried fragments so collected, and thoughts of former amusements returned, when, in younger days, we conquered the difficulties of the "dissected map."

Appended is a list of the ornaments worn by this very primitive people.

Personal Ornaments.

Bone	{ Rings, being transverse sections of cylindrical bones.
	{ Beads, of various forms.
	{ Pins.
Stone	{ Flat, perforated discs of ollaris, sometimes scored.
	{ Beads of the same.
	{ Broad, flat discs, five inches in diameter, with large perforation, of serpentine. ^a
Clay	{ Beads, plain and scored; some are two inches in diameter and one in thickness.
Jet	{ Bracelet.

Classification of Stone Implements.

Mullers or Rounded	{ Without lateral depressions.
Grindstones	{ With one or two depressions on each side.
	{ Flat, worn at an angle on one or both sides of the ends.
Long Stones	{ Cylindrical, rubbed, or fractured at one or both ends.
	{ Larger than the above, used as hammers, with marks or evidences of use on the sides of the larger end.
Grinding-troughs . .	{ Oval.
	{ With one or more surrounding grooves.
Weights	{ Perforated . { In the centre.
	{ At one or both extremities.
Hammer-head	{ Single . . . { Handle attached externally.
	{ Double . . . { Perforated to receive handle.
Adze-edge, or Point.	Celtic?

^a It is remarkable that those discs which we have seen in Normandy correspond precisely, in shape and size, with one taken fourteen feet below the surface, in a submarine forest on the coast of Guernsey. It is doubtful whether the metallic armlet, the only instance of metal, belongs to this period; and, with the jet bracelet, it must have been an importation.

Hatchet-head	{	Single	} Handle attached externally. Perforated to receive handle.
		Double	
Compound	{	Axe-hammer, occasionally very large, one side conic pointed.	
		Axe-hatchet, one side conic pointed, curved, the other broad, flat, sharp. (Found in Guernsey, Jersey, and Sark.)	
Stone Celts	{	Sides rough, rectangular. (Scandinavian type.)	
		Somewhat constantly triangular. Sides smooth, rounded. (British and Gaulish type.)	
Arrow and Spear	{	Flint. Quartz. Usually barbed on one or both sides.	
Points			
Knife and saw, of flint.			
Flint flakes, in small quantity.			

I remain, my Lord,
Your Lordship's obliged and obedient Servant,

FREDERICK COLLINGS LUKIS, M.D.

Guernsey, 1853.

XX.—*An Account of Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Burial Ground at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A. *Secretary.*

Read Nov. 17, 1853.

IN the summer of the present year, a paragraph appeared in the newspapers stating that some ancient weapons had been discovered at Harnham Hill, in the neighbourhood of Salisbury, in a field in the occupation of William Fawcett, Esq. one of the borough magistrates. The description of these relics was sufficiently accurate to assure me that they were of the Anglo-Saxon period. I immediately wrote to Mr. Fawcett, who most promptly and kindly replied to my inquiries, and promised me the requisite facilities for a proper exploration of the site as soon as the crop which the field then bore should be carried. He further stated, that about eight years ago a carpenter, in digging a hole to receive a gate-post on the south side of the field, had turned up a spear-head and part of a human skull. This circumstance attracted no attention at the time, but in June last a further discovery was made by Robert Wallan, "the drowner," or person in charge of the water meadows in the occupation of Mr. Fawcett, who, when employed in the field, perceived, about two yards from the gate-post, a spear-head protruding from the ground. This induced him to make further search, and in a short time he discovered the iron umbo of a shield and portions of a skeleton. Subsequently, an iron knife and a buckle were turned up with the remaining portions of the skeleton.

The fact of the field in question bearing the designation of the Low-field, afforded good grounds for the supposition that the locality was the site of a pagan cemetery, the hlāwes or tumuli which once covered the ground having long beyond the memory of man been removed by the operations of agriculture. Many Anglo-Saxon charters make mention of groups of tumuli, as landmarks, in various parts of England which the antiquary will now look for in vain.^a

The spot in question appears to have been included in a large grant of land given by Cenwealh, the second Christian king of the West-Saxons, to the church of Winchester; and it is possible that some of the landmarks mentioned in the

^a Cf. Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, passim.

charter may at this time be recognised and identified. It is situated at the foot of Harnham Hill, nearly opposite the south transept of the cathedral, looking over the valley of the Avon, in the direction of Old Sarum. Above it runs the bridle-way which leads over the downs to Shaftesbury; and at the bottom of the field is the turnpike road leading from East Harnham to West Harnham. There is not perhaps a view in all England on which the eye of the antiquary may rest with deeper interest than that obtained from the site of this early burial place.

Permission to excavate having been kindly afforded by the Viscount Folkestone, Mr. Fawcett accompanied me to the spot on the afternoon of the 21st of September. Wallan attended, as our chief excavator, and, as the surface of the field afforded no external indications, I directed him to open the ground at a venture, a little west of the gate-post. The result was the discovery of a skeleton with the iron umbo of a shield, resting on the left shoulder, and with a knife on the right side. The femur of this skeleton measured $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and was with one exception much longer than any subsequently discovered. Encouraged by our success, I directed the surface ground to be removed for several yards in a westerly direction under the hedge, and this occupied the workmen until the close of the day. The following is a diary of succeeding excavations:—

Thursday, 22 September.

Grave No. 2. Skeleton in good preservation, the femur measuring 19 inches. A knife on the right side, and a flat bone bead near the left wrist.

No. 3. Skeleton, femur $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The head on one side to the right, a knife near the left arm.

No. 4. Skeleton, apparently of a woman, a comb on the right side of the head.

No. 5. Skeleton, the legs crossed, head lying on the right side.

No. 6. The skeleton of a child apparently about 14 years of age, with the skeleton of an infant. Minute search was made for relics, but none were discovered.

No. 7. Skeleton, with a knife under the left arm.

Friday, 23 September.

No. 8. Skeleton, femur 17 inches. Iron buckle in lap.

No. 9. Skeleton of a male child, apparently about 15 years of age. A knife on the right side, and a small spear on the right of the head.

No. 10. Skeleton, lying near the surface, and partly destroyed by the plough-

share, which had passed over it. A plain metal ring on the finger of the left hand.

No. 11. Skeleton of a young person, with a bronze circular fibula on each shoulder, and a knife by the side.

No. 12. Skeleton, apparently of an aged woman, the femur measuring $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the wrist of the left arm, which lay in the lap, were eight blue glass beads. The right arm was extended by the side, and on the wrist were eleven similar beads. An iron buckle and bronze tweezers at the waist. A cup-shaped bronze fibula was found on each shoulder, and had imparted a beautiful blue tinge to the clavicles.

Saturday, 24 September.

To day only three skeletons were exhumed, the men being chiefly engaged in opening surface ground.

No. 13. Skeleton, apparently of a woman, the head inclined to the left. A knife under the left armpit. Between the knees, which were slightly bent, and widely extended, lay the skeleton of a very small child, on the shoulders of which were a pair of small fibulae of bronze gilt.

No. 14. Skeleton, apparently of a young person, the head inclined to the left. A spear on the right side of the head.

No. 15. Skeleton, apparently of a young woman, the pelvis 14 inches wide.

Monday, 26 September.

No. 16. Skeleton of a very young person, much decomposed, the head alone being nearly perfect. No relic.

No. 17. Skeleton,* with a small knife under the left armpit.

No. 18. Skeleton, femur 17 inches long. No relic.

Tuesday, 27 September.

No. 19. Skeleton of an infant, with a slight quoit-shaped fibula.

No. 20. Skeleton of an infant, without any relic.

No. 21. Skeleton of an infant, with fragment of a fibula of the later Roman type.

No. 22. Skeleton of an adult, with the right hand on the lap. No relic.

No. 23. Skeleton, lying on the right side with the knees doubled, and the hands near the face. On one of the wrists a bronze armlet.

No. 24. Skeleton, about 5 feet long, the legs crossed at the ankles. On the right shoulder a diamond-shaped plate of bronze, which had apparently been fastened by nails to the staff of the spear, the iron of which was found on the right of the head of the skeleton.

* Of a young person not exceeding twenty-eight years of age, according to Professor Owen.

Wednesday, 28 September.

No. 25. Skeleton of an infant. Near the left arm two beads, one of red paste, the other of blue glass and double.

No. 26. Skeleton of an adult. No relic.

No. 27. Skeleton of, as appeared by the teeth, an aged person. No relic.

No. 28. Female skeleton, about 5 feet long. The teeth very perfect, and the skull unusually thick. The body lying on the back, and the head inclined to the left. On one of the fingers of the right hand a spiral ring. At the waist a belt ornament of bronze gilt. Near the left arm, blue glass beads, a large amber bead, and two smaller ones. Near the left hand, the knuckle-bone of a sheep, a small brass Roman coin, a small flat square of bone or ivory with marks like those on dice. On the left breast a small bronze ring, on which are strung two toothpicks and an ear-scoop.*

No. 29. An adult skeleton; some fastenings of bronze near the left side of the head.

No. 30. Skeletons of a woman and an infant; the latter near the right arm of the former.

Thursday, 29 September.

No. 31. Skeleton of an adult, much decomposed, but the teeth perfect. Head on one side to the right. No relic.

No. 32. Skeleton of an adult, between those of two children. On the wrist of the small skeleton on the left, a bronze armilla, and at the head, some small beads.

No. 33. Skeleton of an adult. No relic.

No. 34. Skeleton of an adult, the wisdom teeth undeveloped. No relic.

Friday, 30 September.

The men were all this day engaged in removing the surface earth eastward of the gate.

Saturday, 1 October.

Our researches were renewed this day, when seven skeletons were exhumed.

No. 35. Skeleton of a young person, 5 feet long. No relic.

* These are very like the same description of toilet implements discovered by Mr. Wylie at Fairford. Fairford Graves, Pl. ix. fig. 10.

No. 36. Skeleton of an adult,^a much decomposed, the teeth showing it to be that of an old person. The grave 4 feet deep from the surface of the ground. A silver spiral ring on the middle finger of the right hand. A long strip of bronze near the right hip. On the shoulders two fibulae of bronze, beads of various colours, and of amber, in the lap. A single amber bead at the neck.

No. 37. Skeleton of a young person; near the side, a small bronze ear-scoop.

No. 38. Skeleton of an adult. No relic.

No. 39. Skeleton of an adult, the femur measuring 19½ inches.

No. 40. An adult skeleton, the bones, even to the skull, nearly decomposed. At the feet a bone spindle socket, which has evidently been turned in a lathe. On the breast, two small cup-shaped bronze fibulae.^b Among the bones of the fingers of the left hand a silver ring of solid form, another of spiral form, and a plain gold ring. In the lap a fibula of bronze resembling those of the later Roman period; also beads of amber and paste, fragments of a comb, and an object in bronze like a small spatula. Under the left armpit an iron knife, the point upwards.

No. 41. Skeleton of a young person, about four feet long. The teeth very perfect. The left hand in the lap, and near it a large amber bead.

Monday, 3 October.

No. 42. Skeleton of an adult; femur 18 inches long. A bronze gilt fibula, with a blue bead of glass in the centre, on each breast; a bronze pin on the right side.

No. 43. Skeleton of an adult, the head to the left. Femur 18½ inches. Teeth very perfect. No relic.

No. 44. Skeleton of an adult, the head dislocated, and lying on the breast, apparently owing to the pressure of the superincumbent earth. In the lap, some minute blue glass beads. On the left side, the remains of an infant skeleton.

No. 45. Skeleton of a young person, 3 feet 6 inches long. Some small glass beads near the left wrist.

Tuesday, 4 October.

No. 46. Skeleton of an adult, superficially buried. Knife, and small bronze buckle. The rain here interrupted our proceedings, which were resumed on the following day.

Wednesday, 5 October.

No. 47. Skeleton of an adult. No relic.

^a Not above fifty-five years of age, according to Professor Owen.

^b These resemble very closely the fibulae found in a tumulus on Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight. See the Winchester Book of the B. A. Association, pl 3, fig. 2. But the workmanship is superior.

No. 48. Skeleton of a young person,^a 5 feet 7 inches long. Under the right armpit, a knife of the usual form, a fork, with a handle of deer's horn, a pin, formed of deer's horn, a pair of bronze tweezers, and a steel for striking a light.

No. 49. Skeleton of an adult, the head slightly inclined to the right. No relic.

No. 50. Youthful skeleton, with the knees doubled, lying on the right side. Near the ribs, a small knife.

No. 51. Skeleton of an adult, the arms lying close by the side, the head to the left. No relic.

No. 52. Skeleton with the legs crossed at the ankles; length 4 feet 9 inches. At the neck, two beads of amber and one of paste. Two bronze fibulae on the shoulders, and a latten clasp at the waist.

Thursday, 6 October.

No. 53. Skeleton of an old person, lying on the right side, with the knees doubled. A knife under the right fore-arm. A penannular fibula on the first rib. Bronze buckle at waist; bronze ring on the left hand, which lay in the lap. Amber beads on the breast. Fibula of a different form on the left shoulder.

No. 54. Skeleton of an adult, about 5 feet 7 inches long. The skull of very peculiar form. Fragments of bronze on the left of the pelvis, and on the right, a glass bead. Beads of glass, and a bronze ring at the waist. A very broad iron buckle at the waist. A bronze flat circular fibula on each collar-bone.

Friday, 7 October.

No. 55. A youthful skeleton, lying doubled up, the head to the south, the feet to the north. Near the lumbar vertebrae a knife, and near the knees the handle, which crosses the umbo of a shield, but no umbo was found.

No. 56. Skeleton of an infant. No relic.

No. 57. Skeleton of small stature, apparently of a woman, the teeth much worn. No relic.

No. 58. Skeleton of an adult of small stature. On either side, the skeleton of a child. No relic.

Saturday, 8 October.

No. 59. Adult male skeleton, head to the right, left hand in lap, right hand extended by the side. Teeth very perfect. No relic.

No. 60. Adult skeleton, the hands crossed on the lap. No relic.

^a Between the ages of twenty-eight and thirty-five, according to Professor Owen.

Two things appear to me to be peculiar to the interments at Harnham Hill; first, the very obvious regularity and order in which the bodies had been laid in their last resting places. With few exceptions, and some of these appeared to be accidental, the skeletons lay due east and west (the heads to the west). One body, as already noticed, was found doubled up, and deposited north and south; but this may have been owing to some unintentional dislocation after burial, since only a knife, and the flat iron bar which crosses the inside of the umbo of the shields of this period, were found with it. Secondly, it seems to have been the practice of these people to excavate the alluvial soil down to the chalk bed on which the body was then laid. This mode differs from that which is common in the Anglo-Saxon graves of Kent and Sussex, where a cist is formed in the chalk below the base of the tumulus.

No trace of a coffin was discovered. The greater part of the bodies were protected by large flint stones, placed so as to form a coffin-like cist, and among the earth in more immediate contact with the remains, were found fragments of pottery of an earlier age. Some of these were clearly of Roman or of Romano-British fabric. The appearance of such fragments has already been noticed by antiquaries, and their occurrence has been referred to a practice glanced at by our great poet:—

———— Her death was doubtful;
And, but that great command o'ersways the order,
She should in ground unsanctified have lodg'd
Till the last trump. For charitable prayers,
Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her.

HAMLET, act v. scene 1.

I was, for a long time, unwilling to assent to such a conclusion, but I am compelled to confess that the constant finding of these shards, so near the bodies exhumed at Harnham, leaves me no alternative. I have collected a number of these fragments, and it will be perceived that they uniformly bear marks of abrasion, some appearing as if water-worn, and all plainly indicating that they had been mere fragments, long before they were used in the manner here described.

I have given, as far as is practicable, a minute account of the exact position of each skeleton. I may here mention that in many it appeared that one office had been neglected by those who had consigned them to the earth, namely, the closing of the jaws, which were often found widely distended, in a manner that can scarcely be attributed, in every instance, to dislocation caused by the subsidence of the superincumbent earth. In some, however, the jaws were found perfectly closed.

It will be observed that several of the skeletons were unaccompanied by the knife, that very characteristic deposit, and in fact by any relic whatever. Of this I can offer no explanation. If it may be supposed that interments in this cemetery continued down to a period subsequent to the conversion of the West-Saxons, we shall yet require proof that pagan funeral ceremonies were so soon extinguished by the new faith. On the other hand, while the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical canons simply denounce the violation of sepulchres,^a the secular laws of the Franks, and other people of Germanic origin, prove beyond doubt that the despoiling the corpse of its accompanying implements or ornaments was a crime not unknown among a people of cognate race and habits.^b

It is somewhat remarkable that not a single example of a sword was discovered during the whole of these excavations; nor, except beads, was any specimen of glass, or fragment of glass, observed.

Among the more remarkable objects thus brought to light is a gold ring, exactly resembling our modern wedding-ring, found among the finger bones of the left hand of the skeleton No. 40. Of this ring I may observe, that it was discovered in a manner that affords no room for any doubt of its being coeval with the interment. It is, I believe, an unique example of a ring of this description found in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery.

The fork placed with the knife under the arm of the skeleton No. 48, appears to have been an implement of daily use. It affords us something like evidence, if evidence were required, that the knives found in these graves are not to be regarded as weapons. The antiquary well knows that our ancestors conveyed their food to their mouths on the points of their knives: that the fork, however, was known to the Anglo-Saxons was already proved by the example found with coins of Ceolnoth, Berhtulf, Egbert, Ethelwulf, and Athelstan, ranging from the year 796 to 890, at Sevington, in the county of Wilts.^c The latter specimen is of silver, two pronged, and differs altogether from the example now exhibited to the Society, which is plainly the companion implement of the knife found with it.

^a Lib. Penit. Theodori Arch. Cant. xxii. § 14; et Excerpt. Egberti Eborac. Archiep. ex Can. Toletan.

^b "Si quis corpus hominis mortui, antequam in terram mittatur, per furtum expoliaverit, iud. den, qui faciunt solidi LXII. s. culpabilis judicetur." *Legis Salicæ*, tit. lvii. cap. 1.—"Si quis hominem mortuum effoderit, et expoliaverit, sol. cc. culp. jud." Ibid. tit. lxxx. epil. c. vi.; Cf. *Legis Ripuariorum*, tit. liv. c. 1, et tit. lxxxv. c. 1, 2; *Legis Alamannorum*, tit. l. c. 1, 2, 3, 4; *Legis Baiuvariorum*, tit. xviii. c. 1; *Legis Wisigothorum*, lib. xi. tit. ii. c. 1.

^c *Archæologia*, vol. XXVII. p. 301. Mr. Edward Hawkins, who communicated this account, cites another example of a fork engraved by C. M. Grivaud, in his "*Antiquités Gauloises et Romaines recueillies dans le Jardins du Palais du Senat.*" Paris, 1807.

The fork was not unknown to the Romans, as may be seen by the specimen engraved by Caylus, and stated by him to have been found in the Appian Way.^a This, however, may have been used, like that of a later age, found at Sevington, for sacred purposes; but no doubt can be entertained of the use to which that discovered at Harnham was appropriated.

The spears are of various forms; three of them found with the skeletons of boys (Nos. 9, 14, 24) are very characteristic of a people with whom "wæpned and wyfman" expressed male and female.^b

The girdle ornament found with the skeleton No. 28 is a novelty in these interments. The pattern, which would proclaim its origin, wherever it had been found, seems stamped from a die, and is the same on both sides. When first brought to light, the gilding was as bright as when it came from the hands of the workman.

The two small dish-shaped fibulæ, found with the same skeleton, are remarkable for their minuteness. They are not pairs, but the lines on the one of ruder fabric appear to indicate a degeneracy of art, with which the antiquary, but especially the numismatist, is not unfamiliar.

The object in bronze, discovered with the same body, appears to be the tag or finish of a belt, the fastening of which would seem to have been similar to that recently adopted by our French neighbours for the fastenings of parasols and umbrellas.

The iron instrument found in juxta-position with the knife and fork, and the bronze tweezers, is similar to that found by Wallan. It appears to be a briquet, or steel implement for striking a light. Mr. Charles Roach Smith has recently engraved in his "Collectanea Antiqua,"^c a similar one found at Ozengal, near Sandwich, and supposes it to have formed part of the clasp of a purse. The metal of which it is composed seems, however, to negative such an explanation. Had it been designed for such a purpose, it would, in my opinion, have been formed of bronze.

^a Recueil d'Antiquités, tome iii. p. 312, pl. lxxxiv.

^b So the Anglo-Saxon Gospels: "Fram fruman gesceafte, God hig geworhte wæpned and wyfman." S. Mark, x. 6.—The German jurists still divide families into male and female by the titles of *schwerdtmagen*, sword-members, and *spindel-magen*, spindle-members. The spears in these graves are as significant as the spindle-bead at the feet of the skeleton No. 40. Thus Alfred the Great, in his will, says: "Mīn yldra fæder hæfde gecweden his land on ƿa sperehealde, næs on ƿa spinl healde;" i. e. my grandfather hath given his land to the *spear side*, and not to the *spindle side*. In the preceding sentence he speaks of ƿa wæpned healde. Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxonici, vol. i. p. 116.—Among the Ripuarian Franks, the choice of the spindle, or the sword, decided the fate of the free woman who had attached herself to a slave: "Quod si ingenua Ripuaria servum Riparium secuta fuerit, et parentes ejus hoc traducere voluerint, offeratur ei a Rege, seu a comite, *spata et conucula*. Quod si spatam acceperit, servum interficiat. Si autem conuculam, in servitio perseveret."—Leg. Ripuar. tit. lviii. c. 18.

^c Vol. iii. p. 16.

On mentioning my conjecture to Mr. Josiah Goodwin, who was present at the discovery of the specimen found by Wallan, he at once came to the same conclusion, and stated that he had taken from the place where it lay, a fragment of flint which is notched at the edges, as if it had been frequently used. The graves of Selzen contained steels for striking a light;^a and Scheffer tells us, that, so late as the 17th century, such of the Laplanders as yet adhered to their ancient idolatry, buried their dead with similar implements.^b

The bronze fibulæ found on the skeleton No. 42 differ in their style of ornament from any yet discovered. The setting of the beads is peculiar. In the collection of the British Museum is a bronze fibula, somewhat resembling this design; but, instead of containing a bead, the projecting stud was probably faced with enamel.

These fibulæ are dish-shaped, and their inner surface is covered with a foil of bronze gilt, and bearing a pentagonal figure. The soldering having decomposed, these surface ornaments have become detached. These dish-shaped fibulæ are generally formed of solid metal; but an example discovered at Fairford, by Mr. Wylie, is covered with a surface of bronze foil like those here described, the pattern, however, being altogether different.

The two small fibulæ of bronze-gilt found with the infant skeleton lying in the lap of No. 13, are interesting objects. They resemble in style those found in a tumulus on Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight.^c

The knuckle-bone of a sheep discovered with No. 28 may be one of a number of *tali*, but some may be inclined to regard it as a relic of a superstition not quite extinct in our own days.

Tali formed of the bones of sheep, and artificially of ivory, and even of metal,^d are well known to the student of classical antiquities, and have been frequently met with in ancient sepulchres. Whether the example found in the Harnham grave is one of these playthings, or a veritable "cramp-bone," must be left to conjecture. In the Museum Schoepflini^e is a representation of one of these bones,

^a Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen. Mainz, 1848. 4°. Folding plate, fig. 10.

^b "Ceux qui n'observent pas les ceremonies de Christianisme, enterrent avec le corps du defunt sa hache, un caillou, et un morceau d'acier pour faire du feu."—*Histoire de la Laponie*, p. 292. Paris, 1678. 4°.

^c "Lappones hodieque cum mortuis sepeliunt arcum, sagittas, securim, silicem et chalybem, quorum usus esset, tum in vita futura tum via ad eam patefacienda."—Keyser, *Antiquitates Septent.* p. 173.

^d See the Winchester Book of the Brit. Archaeol. Association, pl. iii. fig. 4.

^e The tali of Tiberius were of gold. They were used sometimes in divinations.—Suetonius in Tiberio, c. 14. See the work of Francesco de' Ficoroni: "I tali ed altri Strumenti Lusori degli Antichi Romani." Roma, 1734. 4to.

^f Museum Schoepflini. Argent. 1773. 4to. Tab. xv. fig. 14.

which, from the character of other objects engraved in the same plate, may be supposed to have been found in some Frankish grave.

With the exception of the instances already mentioned, all the skeletons were found in a very perfect state of preservation. This remark, however, does not apply to those of very small children, which, as might be conjectured, were generally much decomposed. Several of the skulls were preserved entire, and were delivered by me to Dr. Thurnam and Mr. J. B. Davis, in the hope that they might furnish materials for the projected work, "*Crania Britannica*," but the majority fell to pieces on removal. As far as might be judged from the appearance of all of them, not one had received injury before interment. One arm-bone bore marks of fracture, and had, very plainly, been set. In some instances the jaws indicated that a tooth had been drawn, the alveolar process having closed up. Caries of the teeth was observed in some of the adult skeletons.^a

A drawing of the skull of the skeleton No. 2 is exhibited, and it will be perceived that the frontal suture was never closed, although the individual had attained to middle age. Another skull, that of the skeleton No. 54, is represented in the drawing now exhibited, not, however, as a type of those found in this cemetery, but on account of its peculiar configuration, differing totally from any that I have ever observed in the burial places of this period. As already mentioned, this skeleton had a broad buckle at the waist of unusual size, and adapted to a very broad belt. From its appearance it would seem to have been once highly ornamented. The length of the skeleton (5 feet 7 inches), which from the state of the teeth was doubtless that of a person who had attained the middle age, together with the glass beads, favour the inference that the individual was a woman.

Lastly, we have to consider the period to which these interments may safely be assigned. Its earliest limit, then, must be the first settlement of the West Saxons in this district, which could not have been prior to the close of the fifth century. Its latest limit would probably be the first half of the seventh century, when, according to Beda, Cynegils, king of the West Saxons, was converted to the

^a The number of skeletons exhumed may be divided into four classes, thus:—

Infants.	Persons under twenty years of age.	Young and middle-aged adults.	Old persons.
11	10	43	3

Of course this table is only given approximately ; but the proportions appear to be about the same as those of the Frank cemeteries, according to the Abbé Cochet.

Christian faith in the year 635.^a Cynegils died A.D. 643. On his death his son Cenwealh forsook the faith, was embroiled with Penda, king of Mercia, and fled to Anna, king of East Anglia. The same authority,^b however, tells us that he was restored to his kingdom and to the church in 646, and died in 672. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that some time in the reign of Cynegils, the Pagan mode of interment among his subjects ceased; and, although the canons of Ælfric forbid the heathen songs of the relatives and friends of the defunct,^c and thereby indicate that Pagan customs still lingered among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, we can scarcely suppose that those who were converted to the true faith would be buried with *all* the ceremonies and observances of the worshippers of Woden, of which we find so many traces in these graves.

The small brass Roman coin found with the skeleton No. 28 may perhaps be regarded rather as a tessera or token, than as money current at the time of the individual with whom it was interred,^d although there is every reason to believe that the money of the Romans circulated throughout Europe for a very long period after the fall of the Empire of the West.

The animal teeth, exhibited with these relics, are selected from a number of the same kind found during the excavations in the cemetery at Harnham. They are pronounced by Professor Owen to be the teeth of oxen and of sheep or goats. I know not how to account for their presence in this isolated spot, unless by supposing them to be the evidences of those feasts which our pagan forefathers were accustomed to celebrate over the graves of their dead, a practice censured and denounced in the Indiculus of the reign of Carloman, A.D. 743,^e and in the Capitularies of Charlemagne and Ludovicus,^f as well as by Saint Boniface,^g who

^a Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 7.

^b Ibid. loco citato.

^c Priests are enjoined not to attend funerals uninvited, but if invited, they are to forbid such pagan practice: "Forbeode ge þa hæðenan sangas þæra læwedra manna. 7 heora hludan cheahchetunga."—Canons of Ælfric, xxxv. The same injunction occurs in the Capitularies of Charlemagne and Ludovicus, lib. vi. c. 197, as noticed below.

^d This coin is much corroded; but the letters *CONST* are legible on the obverse. The reverse appears to bear the device of two figures of Victory supporting a shield, a very common type of the family of Constantine the Great. It is most probably a small brass coin of Constantine his son.

^e Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum:—

1. De Sacrilegio ad sepulchra Mortuorum.

2. De Sacrilegio super Defunctos, id est *Dadsisas*.

^f "Admoneantur fideles ut ad suos mortuos non agant ea quæ de paganorum ritu remansuerunt. Et quando eos ad sepulturam portaverint, illum ululatum excelsum non faciant . . . et super eorum tumulos nec manducare nec bibere presumant." Capitularium Karoli Magni et Ludovici Pii, lib. vi. c. 197.

^g "Omnia autem sacrificia et auguria paganorum, sacrilegia sunt, quemadmodum sunt sacrificia mortuorum super defuncta corpora, vel super sepulchra illorum."—S. Bonif. Sermo vi.

distinctly mentions bullocks and goats as the animals immolated on such occasions.^a The fragments of these feasts would probably be conveyed away from the spot, while the heads of the animals, perhaps elevated on poles, would be left as offerings to the gods. This would account for the presence of the teeth alone.^b

At the commencement of this account I stated my belief that the land-limits recited in the charter of Cenwealh, might, to some extent, be identified at the present day. I have not been disappointed in my expectations. With the zealous co-operation of Mr. Josiah Goodwin of Salisbury, I have been enabled to trace out various localities included in this extensive grant, the subject of which is thus particularised:—

CHARTER OF CENWEALH OF WESSEX.

Dis synt ða landgemáro tó Dúntúne. Erest of cradwan crundul on wereðan hylle; on fyrdinges leáe; on Ebblesburnon tó Afene; on pysere; on ða fúlan lace; on earnes beærh; on díc, æt beredes trówe; on ðone herepað tó heáddan gráfe; ðonne on ðone hagan tó pitan wyrðe; on dyre bróc; on welewe; on ða díc æt hicles wyrðe; ðonne ofer ðone feld on hagan út þurch breemberwudu on ðone sténeþan stapol; anlang herepaðes tó fobban wylle; anlang herepaðes tó ðas hagan ænde tó fegerhilde forde; on ðone hagan; on ceorles hláwe; on cradan crundul; ðonne on ða yferan gemére on Ebblesburnan; on Strétford; on hrofan hric; andlang weges on ða díc tó byméra cumbe; and ðér þwyres ofer þrý crundelas; ofer ða strét; þwyres ofer ða dúne tó wudubeorchhyll; ofer berigan cumb on Ybblesburnan; on beordúne; on ðes hlines ende; on ðone smalan weg; ofer higcumb on ðán smalan wege; on ðon stán; on ðet héð westeweard; on ðone beorh tó ðán rigwege; ðonne eæst andlang hrigweges tó Brytfordingea landsceære; ðonne súð on Strétford.^c

This grant was confirmed by Ecgberht A.D. 826; by Æthelstan A.D. 932; by Eadred A.D. 948; and by Ethelred A.D. 997.^d It may be rendered in English thus:—

These are the land-limits to Duntun. First from Crows' Crundel, on Werethan Hill,—on Fyrdinges Lea—on Ebbesbourne to the Avon—on Pyser—on the Fowl-Lake—on the Eagles Hill—on the Dyke at Beredes Tree—on the military road to Headgrave—then on the Hay, to Pitanwyrthe—on Deerbrook—on Welew—on the

^a "Pro sacrilegis itaque presbyteris, ut scripsisti, qui *tauros et hircos* diis paganorum immolabant, manducantes sacrificia mortuorum, habentes et pollutum ministerium, ipsique adulteri esse inventi sunt, et defuncti." —Epist. 71.

^b Besides these, several teeth were found in one spot, which we are informed by Professor Owen are those of a very large dog.

^c Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxonici, No. DCCCLXXXV.

^d My best acknowledgments are due to Sir Frederic Madden for the kindness with which, at my request, he has compared these charters, now preserved in the British Museum.

Dyke at Hicklesworth—then over the Field, on the Hay out through Bremberwood—on the Stone pillar—along the military way to Fobanwell—along the military way to the end of the Hay—to Fairhyld ford—on the Hay—on Churle's Low—on Crows' Crundel—then on the upper boundary, on Ebbesbourne—on Stratford—on the High ridge—along the way,^a on the Dyke to Bemercombe—and there across over three Crundels over the street—across the Down to Woodbury hill over Berycombe—on Ebbesbourne^b—on Beordune^c—on the linch's end—on the small way over Highcomb—on the small way—on the stone—on the Heath westward—on the hill to the Ridgway—then east along the Ridgway to Britfording land-share—then south on Stratford.

The map now exhibited will show that the land given by Cenwealh to the church of Winchester included many places which may be identified by the ordinary observer; but there are others which do not appear to agree so palpably with the Anglo-Saxon designation. I take them in the order in which they are recited in that interesting document.

Cradwan Crundel.—This, there is every reason to believe, is the spot marked as Crowden Farm on the map. *Crundel*, according to Mr. Kemble, is a small stream;^d and, as there is one in the immediate neighbourhood resembling the Wiltshire "bournes," many of which are nearly dry in summer, I think with Mr. Goodwin, that we may consider this spot as identified. It is important as affording the starting point.

Werethan Hill.—I do not feel so certain as to this locality, but it is not improbable that we may look for it in the spot called Vern Hill, at a little north of Grimsdike.

Fyrdynges Lea appears to be the original designation of the place called *Stoke Farthing*. The compilers of the History of Wiltshire, which bears the name of Sir Richard Hoare, were evidently in error in supposing that the proper name was *Stoke Verdon*,^e an error the more palpable from the fact of there being a *Stoke Penning*, a little north of Stoke Farthing.

Ebblesburn.—This is, without doubt, Ebbesbourne Wake, on the Avon.

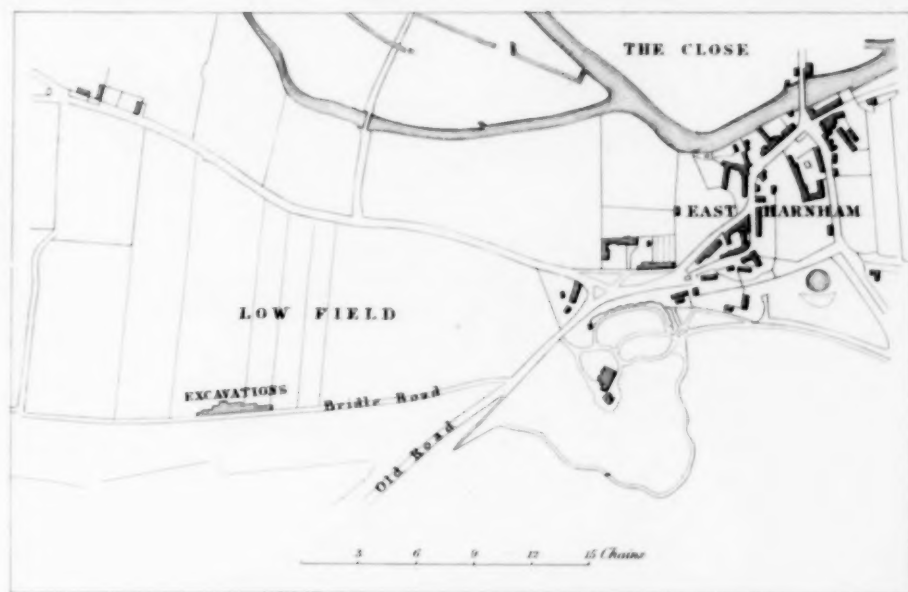
^a The charter of Egberht has from this word the following variation :—"On the Great Dyke,—so to the Chalk Boundary—thence to Woodbury Hill—so to Ebbesbourne—thence on Beordown—so to the Hawks-linch—so on to the rugged Hill—thence along the military way on the land boundary to Britford—from the military way, eft on Stratford."

^b Here the charter of Æthelstan inserts "on Stratford," which may be an error of the scribe.

^c There is a part of the Down, near Ebbesbourne, known at this day as Bare or Bear Patch.

^d Cod. Dipl. vol. iii. p. 21.

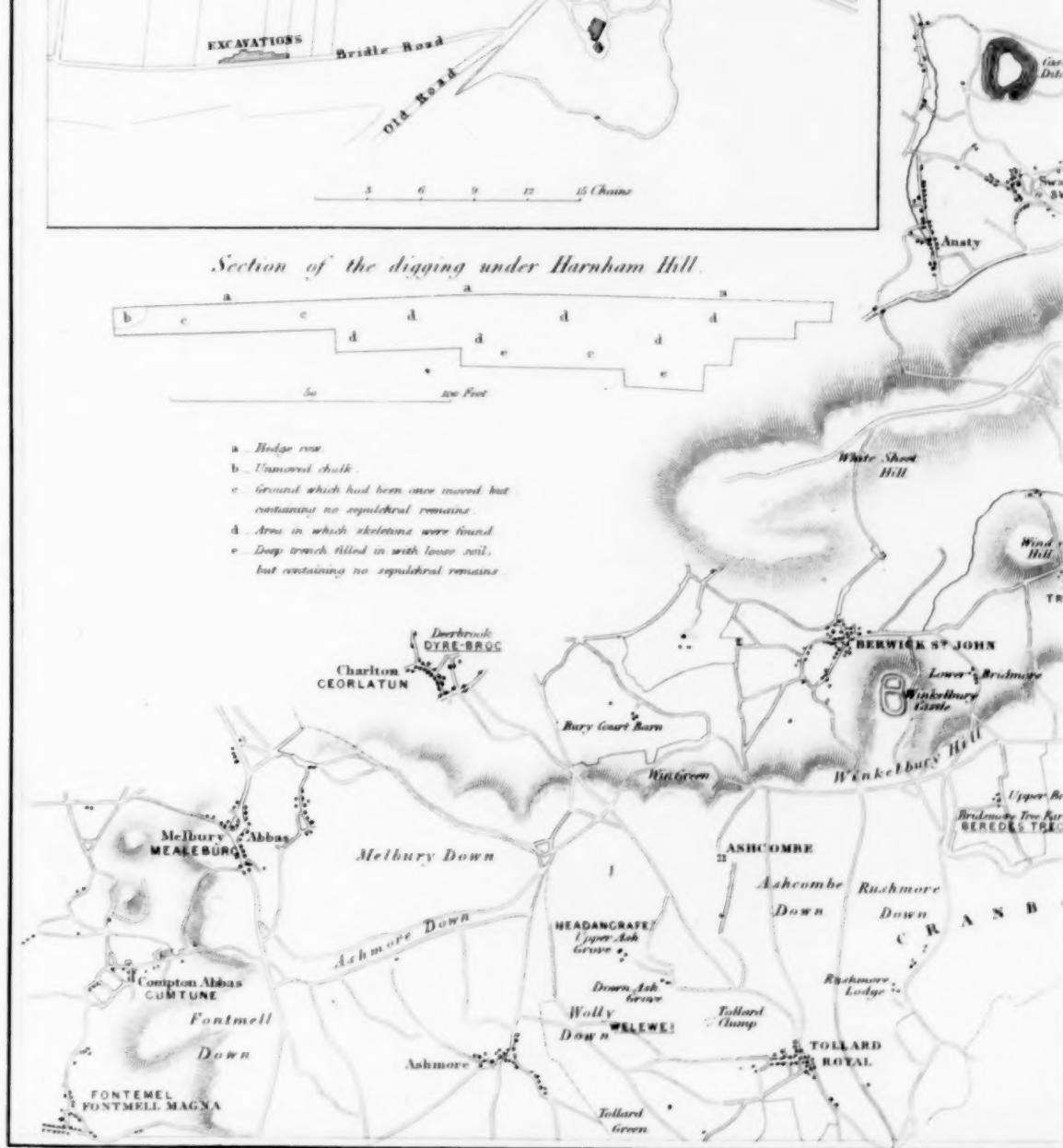
^e *Stoke Verdon* seems rather a provincial form of the name.

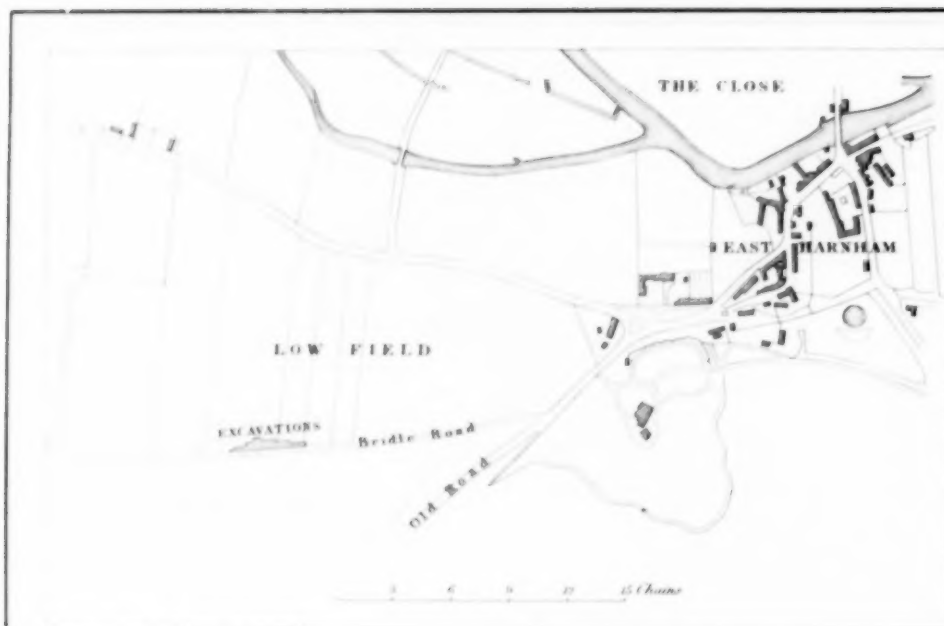


Section of the digging under Harnham Hill.



- a. Hedge row.
- b. Unmoved chalk.
- c. Ground which had been once moved but containing no sepulchral remains.
- d. Area in which skeletons were found.
- e. Deep trench filled in with loose soil, but containing no sepulchral remains.





Section of the digging under Harnham Hill.



- a. Hedge row
- b. Damaged chalk
- c. Ground which had been once moved but contains no sepulchral remains
- d. Area in which skeletons were found
- e. Deep trench filled in with loose soil, but containing no sepulchral remains

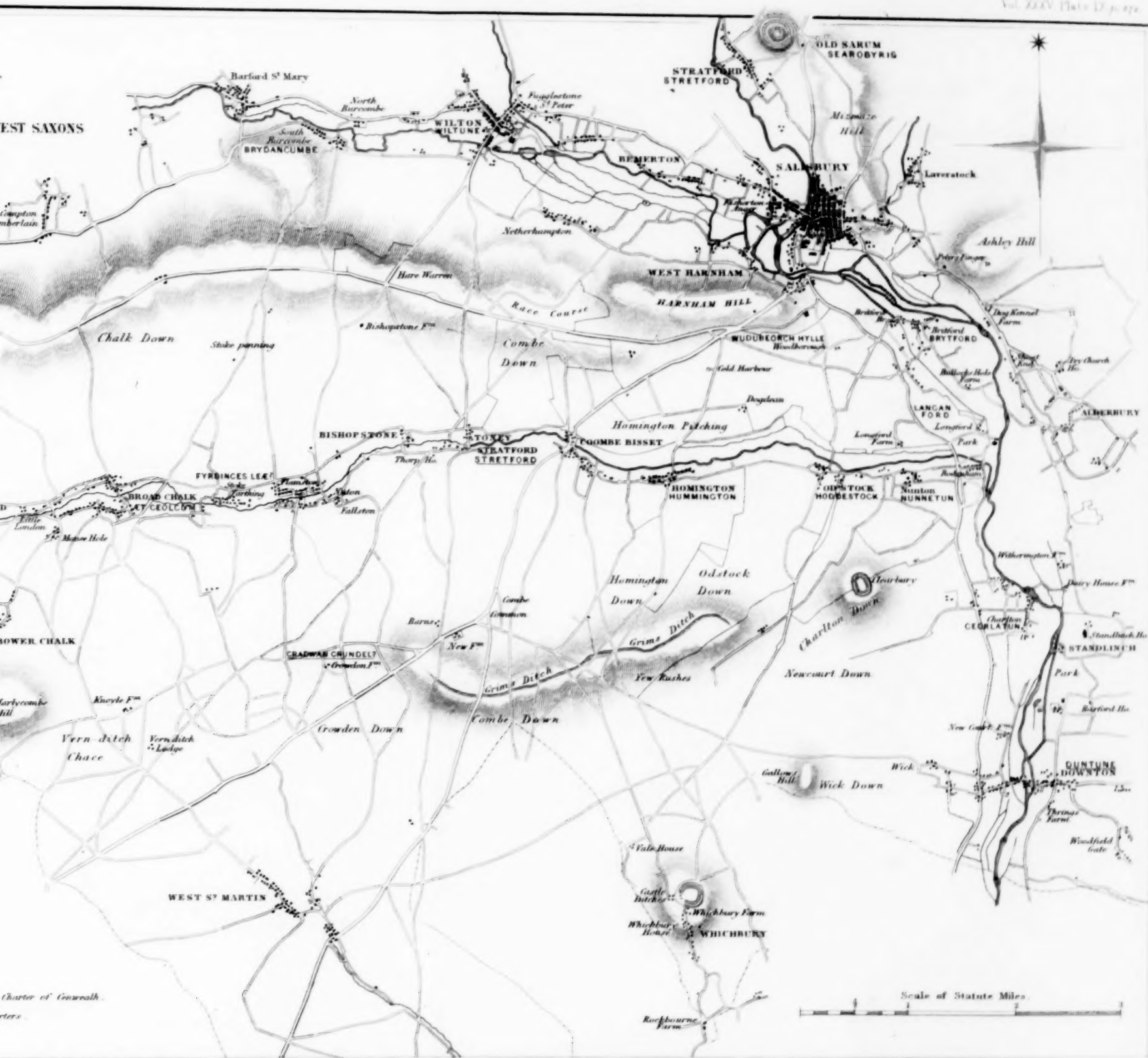


Map Illustrating the Grant of

CENWEALH THE SECOND CHRISTIAN KING OF THE WEST SAXONS

to the Church of Winchester.

*The names underlined are mentioned, or presumed to be mentioned in the Charter of
The other Saxon names not underlined are mentioned in other Charters.*



Pysere.—I do not attempt to explain the meaning of *Pysere*, and it is unfortunate that Mr. Kemble has neglected to notice it in the Glossary prefixed to the Third Volume of the *Codex Diplomaticus*. I am informed that a cross once stood here called "Pyser's Cross," but it has long since disappeared, the spot still retaining the name.

Fúlan lace.—This spot is now a swamp, which is still occasionally the resort of flocks of wild fowl. Above it, is a hill still known as *Fowler's Hill*. It is situated between Ebbesbourne and Alvediston.

Earnes Beorch is probably the spot at this day known as *Hern Farm*, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of Alvediston.

The Dīc at Beredes treowe.—There can be scarcely a doubt that *Bridsmore Tree Farm*, situated south of Upper Bridmore, marks the spot where this once well-known tree stood. The addition of "more," a provincial name yet in use for a *root*, may probably be traced to its condition before it finally disappeared, the roots and portions of the trunk having perhaps existed long after the tree had decayed. *Trough Elcombe*, a place at a short distance, may have derived its name from this tree.

The Herepath.—This, probably, indicates the highway leading To *Headangrafe*, which appears to point to the spot now known as "Upper Ash Grove."

Dyre-broc is now known as *Deerbrook*, the main source of the *Avon* just under *Melbury Hill*, on the borders of *Dorsetshire*.

Welewe.—This word appears to point to some natural spring or fountain, the name of which seems to be retained in "Wolly Down."

Hiccleswyrthe.—Now *Hicklesworth*, in *Dorsetshire*.

Bremberwudu.—There appears great difficulty in identifying this spot, but it may possibly be discovered by some person better acquainted with the localities mentioned in the grant of *Cenwealh*.

Fobbanwylle appears to be *Fontmell*. In later records *Fovant* is termed "Fobbanfunte," which is nearer the Saxon name. *Fovant*, however, can scarcely be the place termed *Fobbanwylle* in the Saxon Charter. It is probable that the name was at one time generally given to natural springs.

Fegerhildeforde is probably *Fairfield Ford*, in the neighbourhood of *Melbury Hill*.

Ceorles hláwe.—This spot may be that now known as *Charlton*. It must, however, be borne in mind, that *Charlton*, found in so many of our counties,* signifies the *Charles'tun*, and that it occurs always in the plural

* In many of the northern counties we find *Carlton*.

number (Ceorlatun) in Anglo-Saxon charters. The hláwe here indicated may have been the general burial place, like that of Great Driffield in Yorkshire, the tumulus being used in common by the inhabitants of the district.^a

Here, it will be observed, we again arrive at the Crows' Crundle, and I am compelled to confess that, even with the assistance I have received, I am unable to arrive at any positive identification of the localities specified in what appears to be the line of the upper boundary of this grant. Although Wudubeorchylle would appear to indicate Woodbury, and Britfording landshare to point to land about Britford, the mode in which the limits are traced is still obscure and difficult of identification. In the charter of confirmation of Ethelred, the land given to the church at Winchester is stated to lie in two portions;^b but that of which Ebbesbourne appears to be the centre is much more clearly defined than the other. In this we seem to have ascertained the limits from east to west; but there are others which, as already observed, are not so easily recognised and have hitherto defied identity, notwithstanding the diligent investigation of the gentleman who has so kindly and patiently assisted in this inquiry. The map here given will, however, shew the extent of the important grant of the Saxon monarch; and it is hoped its appearance may incite to further inquiry our Wiltshire antiquaries and topographers. There can be little doubt that so large a gift was an expiatory offering to the Church, in consequence of Cenwealh's apostacy from the true faith, and its importance in helping us to arrive at a conclusion as to the time when the pagan mode of interment ceased in this district is therefore obvious.

I cannot conclude this account without returning my best acknowledgments to Viscount Folkestone for permission afforded me to prosecute my researches in the Low Field; to Mr. Fawcett, to whom I was previously a stranger, for much kindness and hospitality; to the Rev. William Biscoe, incumbent of Coombe Bisset, for inquiries kindly promoted with a view to afford me information regarding the land limits described in the charter of Cenwealh; and, lastly, to Mr. Josiah Goodwin, who, by numerous inquiries and many personal visits to the localities therein named, has rendered me the greatest possible service. Indeed, but for the zeal and perseverance of this gentleman, I should have abandoned all hope of identifying any portion of the grant.

^a Remains of Pagan Saxondom, p. 13.

^b Quæ tamen tellus duobus in locis est dirempta, L^a scilicet ac V^a in ipsa supradicta villa continens mansas per ripas amnis Avenæ nuncupatæ, quæ circa eandem villam decurrit, adjacentes XL^a vero et V^a in altera inde non longe et Ebbesburnan appellatur secus decursus ejusdem torrentis extensas. (Cod. Dipl. Ævi Sax. vol. iii. p. 301.)

NOTE by DR. THURNAM, F.S.A.

The form of the crania, nine in number, from the cemetery at Harnham, resembles generally that observed in ancient Anglo-Saxon skulls. The outline of the upper surface of the crania is, for the most part, of an elongated oval form, which places them in the dolichocephalic class of Professor Retzius. The forehead, in the majority, is poorly developed, being narrow and rather receding; and the other dimensions are under, rather than above, the average. In two of the male skulls, indeed, (Nos. 2 and 22,) the forehead is broader and better developed, particularly No 2 (in which the frontal suture is persistent), and consequently the upper outline is of a less distinctly lengthened oval form.

The surface of the crania generally is smooth and gently undulating, without those angularities and nodulated prominences—the result of an exuberant ossific growth—which are so often observed in ancient British skulls. The bones of the face, including the lower jaw, are rather fully developed; and, in the best formed skulls, the upper jaws do not deviate much from the upright or orthognathic form. In one or two instances the deviation from this form is considerable.

The crowns of the teeth are almost universally much reduced by mechanical attrition, the effect of the hard and coarse food which must have formed, much of the staple diet of these people. In a few instances carious teeth are observed.

Altogether the examination of these skulls does not warrant the conclusion of any high grade of intellectual endowment or mental cultivation, or lead us to assign these graves to other perhaps than the lower rank of the West Saxon settlers and conquerors.

Observations on the Human Cranial Remains, and some Associated Fragments of the Skeletons of Inferior Animals, disinterred at Harnham Hill, Wiltshire.

By PROFESSOR OWEN, F.R.S.

No. 17 is an under jaw with the adult series of teeth in place; the last two grinders (m. 2 and m. 3), are but little worn; the incisors are worn at their margins; the first molar of the right side (m. 1), is much worn and slightly decayed; that on the left side is much decayed, and the fangs have been exposed by ulceration of the jaw. This jaw has belonged to a man between twenty and thirty years of age, with a good prominent chin, and with the premaxillaries and front teeth not too projecting.

No. 42 is the lower jaw of an older man, between thirty and forty years of age. The molars are much worn; the incisors and canines are also much more worn than in No. 17. The first molar of the left side has been lost during life with ulceration of the alveolus; the rest of the molars are in place. The chin of this man is less developed, and the front teeth are more produced, indicating an individual of lower intellect and more animal nature than No. 17.

No. 48 is the lower jaw of a man, with the molars rather less worn than in No. 42; and with the loss, during life, of the first molar (m. 1), of the right, and the last molar (m. 3), on the left side. The front teeth are not unduly prominent.

No. 36 is a mutilated lower jaw, apparently of a man, with all the teeth much worn, the front ones nearly to the fangs, leaving broad grinding surfaces, which depend upon the conical form of those teeth. The two last molars of the left side (m. 2 and m. 3) shed, and their alveoli have been absorbed. This jaw is from an individual of probably between forty and sixty years of age.

No. 53 is the skull of an old person, many teeth having been lost and their alveoli absorbed. The sutures have been partly obliterated. This skull is of an Anglo-Saxon character. The cranium is of a narrow oval form; the molar bones are slightly prominent; the upper jaw is slightly prognathic.

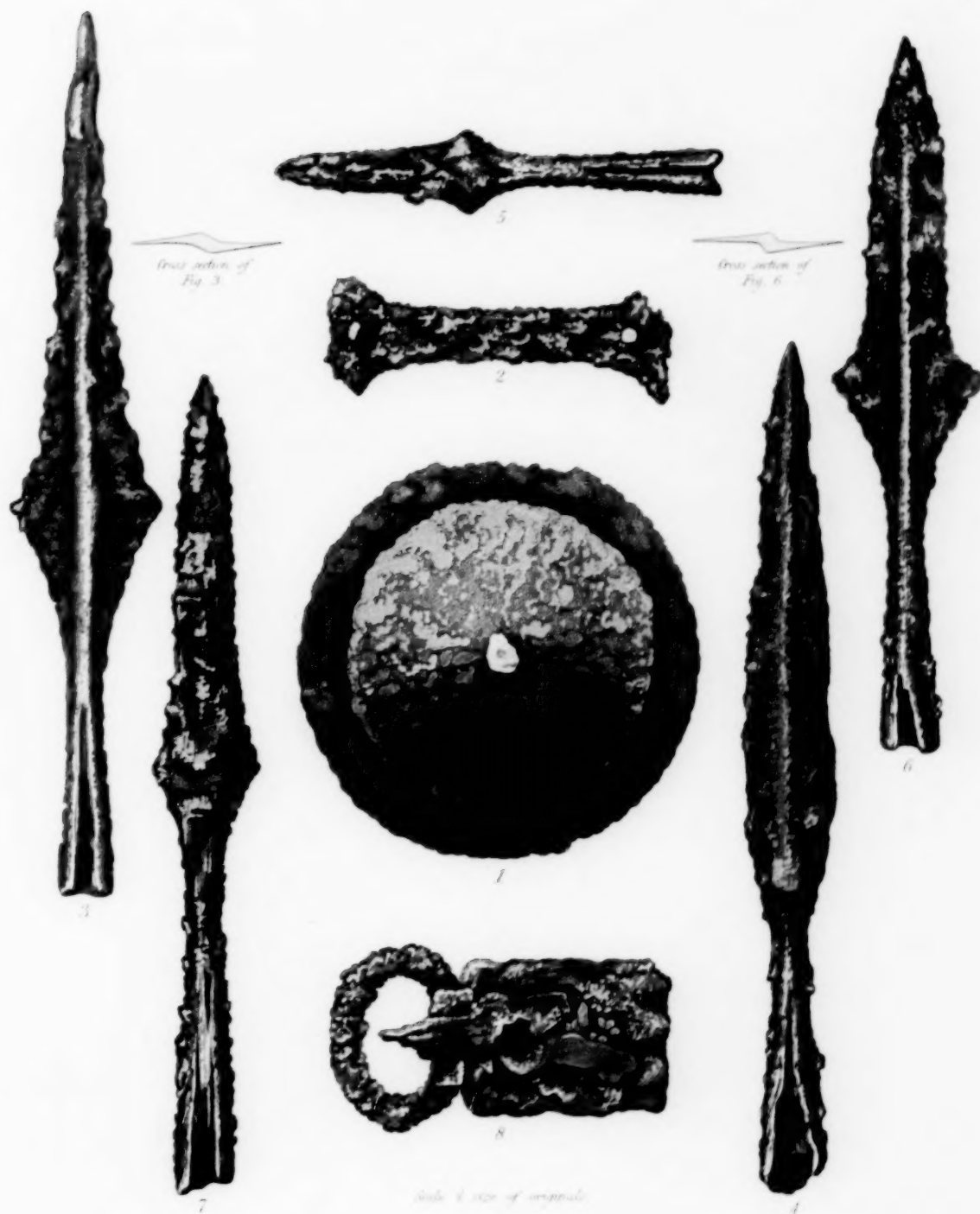
The remains of the lower animals include the teeth of the ox, horse, goat, dog, and field mouse.

PLATE I.

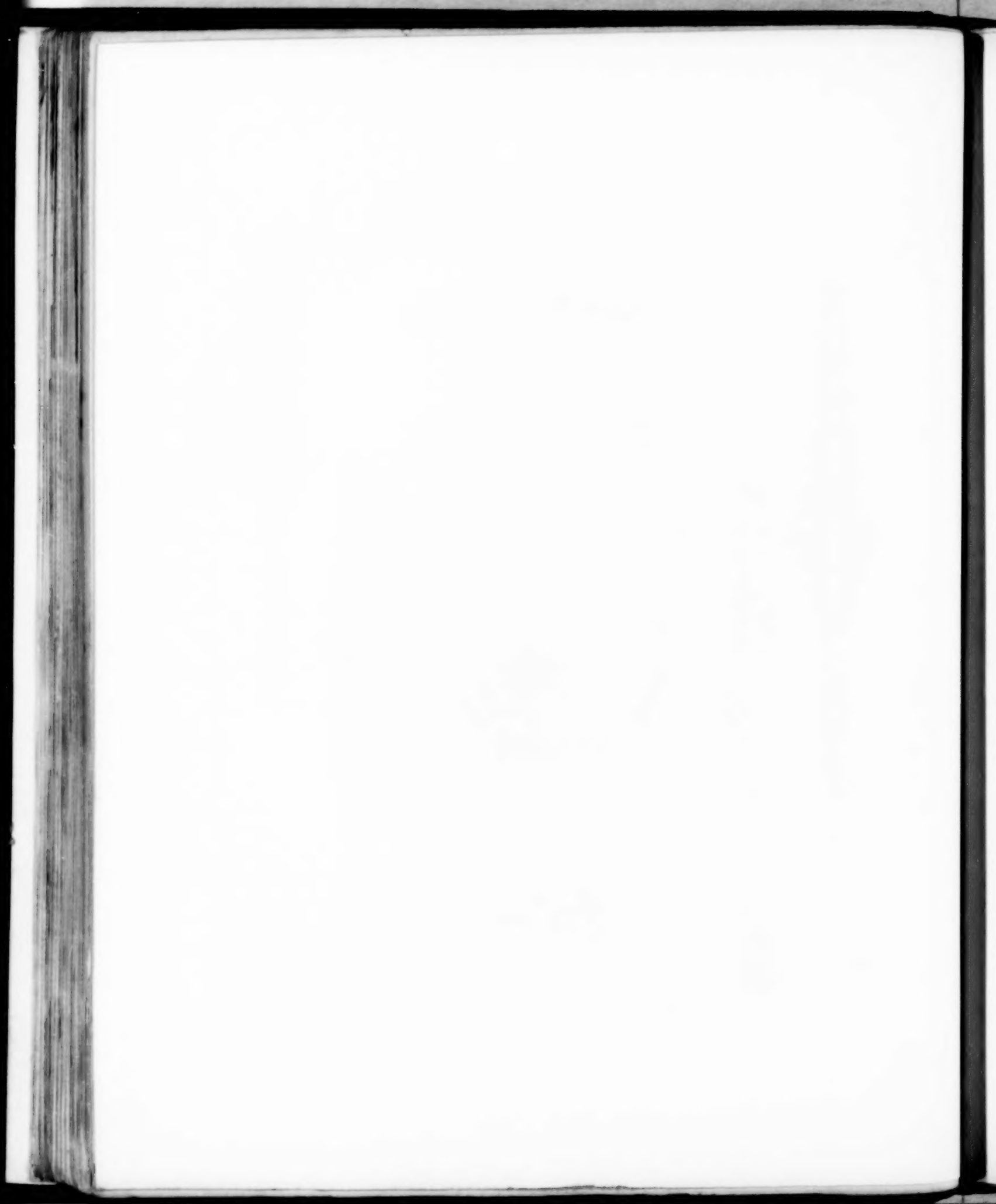
The objects in this Plate are all drawn of half the actual size.

- Fig. 1. The iron umbo of a shield, discovered with the skeleton No. 1.
2 is the iron bar forming the handle of the shield.
3. Iron spear-head, discovered by the carpenter in setting a gate-post.
4. Spear-head, discovered by Robert Wallan.
5. Iron spear-head, discovered with the skeleton No. 9.
6. Iron spear-head, discovered with the skeleton No. 14.

It may be observed that the blade of this weapon, like that of Fig. 3, is of a form which will be best understood by reference to the cross section. This form is evidently a contrivance to cause the weapon to rotate in its flight—a significant proof of the mode in which the smaller spears or spicula of the Anglo-Saxons were used. We have in our possession a Hottentot assagaye, the blade of which is



UMBO, SPEAR-HEADS and BUCKLE, found at Harnham Hill, Salisbury



formed in a similar manner. The Anglo-Saxon youth—and it will be seen that these spears were discovered with the skeletons of boys—were, doubtless, trained in infancy to the use of such weapons, as their descendants were afterwards taught to use the bow.

Fig. 7. Iron spear-head, found with the skeleton No. 24.

8. The broad waist buckle found with skeleton No. 54. It appears to have been originally covered with some ornament, which has perished.

PLATE II.

These objects are all drawn of the actual size.

Fig. 1. Iron knife	}	discovered with the skeleton No. 48.
2. The fork		
3. The steel		
4. Pin of deerhorn		
5. Bronze tweezers		

The steel, No. 3, is smaller than that found by Wallan, but its shape is identical. There appears some reason for supposing that these implements were deposited in the grave from other motives besides those assigned by Keysler. Fire produced from flint and steel was supposed to be a preservative from demons. See the account of its use in Saxo Grammaticus, Lib. viii. p. 431,^a “*extusum silicibus ignem, opportunum contra dæmones tutamentum.*”^b

Fig. 6. Bronze diamond-shaped plate, discovered just below the socket of the spear lying by the head of No. 24, probably an ornament of the staff.

7. Another similarly-formed object, but of iron, found with the skeleton dug up by Wallan.

8. Bone spindle-bead or socket, found with the skeleton No. 40.

9. The tag of bronze found with the same skeleton.

10. Slip of bronze, found with skeleton No. 36.

^a Ed. Müller, Hauniae, 8vo. 1839.

^b All iron-work was supposed to be equally efficacious; an axe, key, knife, needle, &c. were held to possess the same power. See W. Müller's *Geschichte und System der Altdeutschen Religion.* Göttingen, 1844, 8vo.

PLATE III.

All these objects are drawn of the actual size.

- Fig. 1. Bronze pin, found with skeleton No. 42.
2. Bronze fibula, found with skeleton No. 53.
3, 4. Bronze fibulæ, found with skeleton No. 40.
5. One of the pair of bronze fibulæ found on the youthful skeleton No. 13.
6. One of the pair of bronze fibulæ found with skeleton No. 36.
7. Bronze ring, with monogram, found with skeleton No. 54.
8. Silver ring, found with skeleton No. 40.
9. One of the pair of bronze fibulæ, with a bead of blue vitrified paste in the centre, found with skeleton No. 42, and the pin, No. 1 of this plate.
10. One of a pair of bronze circular fibulæ, ornamented with indentations formed with a triangular punch, discovered with skeleton No. 11.
11. One of a pair of bronze concave fibulæ, found with skeleton No. 12.
12. Bronze ring and socket, probably the mounting of a pin of some perishable material which was not recovered, found with skeleton No. 54.
13. Bronze toilet implements, found with skeleton No. 28.
14. Silver twisted ring on the middle finger-bone of skeleton No. 36.
15. An unknown object of bone or ivory with marks as on dice, found with skeleton No. 28.
16. Bronze fibula, found with skeleton No. 53.
17. The belt ornament of bronze, gilt, found with skeleton No. 28.
18. The knuckle-bone, found in the same grave as the preceding.
19. Bronze fibula, found with skeleton No. 40.

It remains only for me to add, that the whole of the relics discovered in the cemetery at Harnham Hill have been most liberally presented by Viscount Folkestone to the British Museum.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.



STEEL, KNIFE, FORK, ETC. found at Harnham Hill, Salisbury.



FIBULAE, RINGS, ETC., found at Harnham Hill, Salisbury.

XXI.—*An Examination of the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, with a view to ascertain whether the claim usually accorded to Simon de Burton, and the two William Canynges, as the founders and re-constructors of that edifice, is based upon fact.* By GEORGE PRYCE, Esq. of Bristol: in a Letter addressed to JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.

Read April 14 and 28, 1853.

SIR,

6, Hillgrove Street, Stokescroft, Bristol,
March 11th, 1853.

IN the progress of some inquiries into the history of the noble church of St. Mary Redcliffe in this city, I have been much struck to find so trifling an amount of information, documentary or otherwise, relating to the commencement, progress, and completion of this magnificent fabric. This paucity of tangible evidence upon the subject induced a close inspection of the building itself, as the only means of eliciting the intelligence desired; and the remarks which follow are the result of a patient investigation of this interesting topic, and the conclusions arrived at after much anxious thought and solicitude.

In conducting this examination to its close, I have found it necessary to divest myself of all preconceived opinions based upon the writings of other authors, and to come to the building itself as the only safe guide in my inquiries. Mystery has sufficiently stamped her impress upon every portion of this remarkable church to excite our interest, and tradition has set its broad seal of uncertainty upon the already dark enigma so indelibly, as to awaken curiosity regarding its history. Authors too have upon this subject spun an "entangled thread," which it requires much labour to unravel; and, as Mr. Britton has truly said in his account of this structure (page 3), "In examining the history of the church of Redcliffe, the inquirer is alternately confounded by the opposite statements of different historians and topographers, discouraged by the absence of all satisfactory information, and perplexed amidst the mazes of falsehood and forgery. Many of the particulars recorded by former writers depend for their authenticity upon no better authority than the manuscripts of Chatterton; and even those statements that have been

collected and published from original documents are deprived of their appropriate weight by the suspicion that attaches to every historical record connected with the subject. The writers who have paid the most assiduous attention to the early history of the church are perpetually at variance, and the manuscript memoranda contained in different collections, and relating to the more recent stages of inquiry, are equally uncertain and unsatisfactory."

It has been usual to ascribe the foundation of the splendid building under review solely to Simon de Burton; its completion to William Canynges, the first of that name; and its re-construction at a subsequent period to the grandson of the latter, who is always denominated William Canynges junior. How far these statements are founded in truth will appear as I proceed to examine the subject, and bring out the facts of the case, as they stand recorded in the structure itself. Mr. Britton, in "An Appeal for the Restoration of St. Mary Redcliffe," says, "The church of Redcliffe is not only popularly called Canynges' work, but the topographers of the city also ascribe it to a person of this name. Hence much error, and much confusion, have prevailed. There were several persons named Canynges, two of whom appear to have been rich merchants, mayors, and liberal benefactors to the poor and to the religious fraternities of Bristol. Barrett, Seyer, Evans, Dallaway, and other antiquaries, have failed to identify the works and deeds of the senior and junior members of that family—Seyer and Evans have not made out the true history of the edifice, nor was my former essay at all successful."

The Rev. James Dallaway, in his "Essay on the Life and Times of William Canynge," expresses an opinion that the first structure erected upon the site of St. Mary's "was not built before the reign of Henry III." and that "it was founded by contribution, oblations for indulgences, and legacies of those who had newly inhabited Redcliffe Street as the feudal tenants of the Lords Berkeley, in right of their great manor of Bedminster." But this opinion, as far as I am aware, is opposed to that of all other writers upon the subject; for gifts towards the repair of a previous structure appear to have been made so early as 1207, 1229, and 1230. Various indulgences were also granted between the years 1232 and 1287, to all who should "devoutly visit the church of the Blessed Mary of Redcliffe in Bristol, and there charitably contribute towards the repair of the same, and pray for the souls of those there interred." (Barrett's History of Bristol, p. 567.) These indulgences I regard as peculiar to the church mentioned by Mr. Dallaway, but all the former gifts certainly refer to a church constructed here before it is attempted to be shown by any writer that the oldest part of the present fabric was raised, and the documents referring to them are said by Mr. Britton "to have

been found in Canynges' chests; and, notwithstanding they were the gift of Chatterton to Barrett, their number, the difficulties that would have prevented their execution by the want of specific evidence to their fabrication, and their coincidence with other documents, to which it does not appear that Chatterton had access, are in favour of their reception as genuine authorities." (Redcliffe Church, p. 6.)

The principal documentary evidence upon which it has been attempted to shew that Simon de Burton was the *founder* of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, is recorded in Barrett, p. 568, where is an account of this circumstance, which is said to have been "transcribed from a parchment manuscript of Rowley's communicated by Chatterton." Another authority is that noted by the Rev. Samuel Seyer in his "Memoirs of Bristol," vol. ii. p. 77; and a third is by Robert Ricaut, who was appointed Town Clerk of Bristol in the year 1479. An examination of the claims of these documents to credibility will necessarily first occupy a brief space, before proceeding to ascertain how far the church itself verifies the truth of the statements contained in them.

With regard to the first of these authorities, little need be said in the present day to convince the intelligent reader that small indeed is the amount of confidence to be placed in the writings of Chatterton; nor is it necessary to enter into a discussion in this place to disprove their authenticity. It will suffice to remark that the grave references to his forgeries by Mr. Barrett in many parts of his work are "indicative," says a recent writer, "not only of the profoundest architectural ignorance, but of a natural incapacity to imbibe any knowledge from observation." It is a subject of deep regret that this unfortunate youth should have palmed off so many writings upon that author as the productions of Rowley which are now rejected as spurious; and equally to be lamented that a writer should have received them from a mere boy with so little caution, and incorporated with his history so many documents of a dubious character. We are not surprised that the result of this culpable inattention should have cast a considerable amount of doubt over many portions of the narrative of that writer; and that perplexity should frequently embarrass the inquirer in his endeavour to separate truth from error and fact from fiction.

I shall now offer a few observations on the statement of the Rev. Samuel Seyer, and that of Robert Ricaut, the Town Clerk. The former says, "It was about the year 1293 or 1294 that Simon de Burton, a person of wealth and consequence who was Mayor of Bristol in that year, and bore the same office six times, built the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, where the eastern end now is." The above is given

by Mr. Seyer on the authority of manuscript calendars, the writer of which is not named ; but, as so many forgeries have been perpetrated in connection with the chronicles of ancient Bristol, we shall do well to withhold our assent from the correctness of this assertion until the genuine character of the document has been established beyond dispute ; for it is a well-authenticated historical fact that all the calendars of acknowledged authority, relating to the old town, and the validity of which was undoubted, were destroyed by an accidental fire in 1466 ; and in the same disaster perished also the valuable library of the Society of Kalendaries (who kept these records), said to have been rich in Saxon and later chronicles. These calendars were monthly registers of all public acts, including deeds, rolls, &c. which it was the business of this brotherhood to preserve, and the loss of which was irreparable. Of this fraternity Robert Ricaut was a member, and his chronicle (still in the custody of the corporation) is a valuable register of all public transactions relating to Bristol from the year of his appointment as town clerk in 1479 ; and passing events are prefaced, as it would seem, with such notes of bygone incidents as either himself or his brethren could remember to have been preserved in the records which had been so unfortunately destroyed. On referring to this calendar I find it reads thus : "1293. Thys yere the above sayd Simon de Burton (then mayor) began to builde Redclyf Chyrche;" no mention whatever being made of any particular part of the structure, as in Seyer's record, nor is another word added in registering the event to which the entry in the calendar has reference. Barrett, upon the authority of the parchment presented him by Chatterton, says that "Inne M.CC.LXXXI. hee (Simon de Burton) ybuylden a godelye chyrch from a patterne of St. Oswaldes Abbyes Chyrche." Seyer and Robert Ricaut place the date of this event two years later, and the former of these two writers states that the structure was commenced "where the eastern end now is." That no such church was founded by Simon de Burton at the point indicated by Seyer will, I think, be clearly made out as we proceed to examine the fabric ; and that both Barrett and himself were deceived by fictitious documents can scarcely be doubted, since the latter gives no authority for his statement, and the former relies on the testimony of a parchment coming through the hands of Chatterton. The record of Robert Ricaut also with regard to this circumstance would be entitled to much more respect could it be shown that he derived his information otherwise than from memory ; thirteen years having elapsed between the destruction of all the authentic calendars of the city, upon which alone any reliance could be placed, and the time of his elevation to the office of town clerk.

Before quitting this part of the subject, it may be mentioned that another manu-

script (entitled "Hobson's") says, "Simon de Burton, mayor in 1294, had two years before began to build Redcliffe Church, but he lived not to finish it, which afterwards William Canynges did." This document, it will be seen, differs in point of date from either of the three before quoted; and the finishing of the church by William Canynge, as there stated, will be sufficiently shewn to be incorrect as we proceed in our examination of the edifice.

Very little is known of Simon de Burton beyond the fact that he was an opulent merchant, and that he filled the highest civic dignity in old Bristol no less than six times; his last year of office being 1305, soon after which date he is believed to have died. His birth is stated in the parchment manuscript ascribed to Rowley and presented by Chatterton to Barrett to have taken place "on the eve of the Annunciation M.CC.XXXXXXV.;" if so, he must have been steward or seneschal of the city at the age of twenty-five, and mayor when he had attained his twenty-sixth year only! This I regard as not merely incredible, but going very far to vitiate the validity of the document in its entirety.* At twenty, according to the same manuscript (six years before he was first mayor), he engages in a tournament in the presence of "Kynge Edward," who "kepte hys Chrystmasse at Bryghtstowe," with "Syrre Ferrars Nevylle," who had already overthrown two knights in the rencontre, and "then dyd Syrre Symonne de Byrtonne avow that if he overthowen Syrre Ferrars Nevylle, he woulde there erecte and buylde a chyrche to owre Ladye," on the spot where the struggle for the mastery took place, which was "on Sayncte Maryes Hylle." Having "encountered vygorously, and bore Syrre Ferrars horse and man to the ground, remaynyng konyng, victore knyght of the joust, and settynge atte the ryght honde of K. Edward," he proceeded to fulfil his vow in the "ybulden a godelye chyrch," after the pattern before stated, and which on "the day of our Lordes natyvyty M.CCC.I. Gylbert de Sante Leonfardoe, Byshope of Chychestre, dyd dedicate it to the Holie Vyrgynne Mary, Moder of Godde."

From the foregoing remarks it is certain that little reliance can be placed upon the documents adduced to prove that Simon de Burton founded Redcliffe Church. Barrett's authority is a manifest forgery; those of Seyer and Hobson may be classed in the same category; and the most respectable of all is deprived of much of its credibility from the fact that it must have been recorded through the aid of memory alone. None of them agree in the particulars they have stated, either as

* The first mention of Simon de Burton in Barrett's list of mayors and seneschals occurs in 1290, when he appears to have filled the latter office, and that of mayor in 1291, 1294, 1296, 1302, 1304, and 1305.

to date or circumstances; hence they are all alike open to suspicion, and, until some more positive and trustworthy evidence is brought to light, proving beyond dispute that Simon de Burton at his own sole cost founded any particular portion of the church, we are bound to discard the vague and uncertain testimony contained in the documents above cited, as altogether, in this matter at least, unworthy our regard.

From these unsatisfactory sources of intelligence, I now proceed to the structure itself; in examining which a very careful investigation of its many parts, as well as a cautious consideration of the various styles of architecture observable in the building, is necessary, before we can arrive at anything like a safe conclusion regarding the date at which the several beautiful portions of which it consists were erected.

In prosecuting these inquiries, it will be obvious that the oldest parts of the edifice have a primary claim upon our attention, for with them our examination will, as a matter of course, have its commencement. An attentive inspection of this church will shew that the first erections of the present structure were the lower stage of the tower, the interior north porch, and the most westerly arch at that end of the north aisle of the nave. All these portions are of pure Early-English architecture, and the date of their construction not later than the year 1250, that is, upwards of forty years before it is stated in either of the calendars I have quoted that "Simon de Burton began to builde Redclyf Church."* It is clear therefore that of these parts of the structure he was not the founder, and we must look to some other portion of the edifice for the work of this wealthy individual.

In addition to the examples of Early-English architecture to which I have referred, it appears extremely probable the first church on this spot was finished in that style; for it is deserving of note here that in the present restoration of the structure it became necessary to remove part of the exterior wall on the north side of the chancel, between the clerestory windows and the parapet; in doing which portions of Early-English columns were discovered, the reverse side of which was wrought into Perpendicular English panelling, this part of the church being constructed in that mode of building. The Early-English parts of the fabric formed, as it seems to me, portions of the structure founded here, as already mentioned, "by contribution, oblations for indulgences, and legacies of those who

* I have given the latest date at which I consider these Early-English parts of the structure could have been erected; perhaps twenty years prior to this time would have been nearer the period of their construction.

had newly inhabited Redcliffe Street, as the feudal tenants of the Lords Berkeley, in right of their great manor of Bedminster." Its continuation was effected by means of the indulgences, of which also I have spoken as having been granted between the years 1232 and onward to the close of the period assigned by Mr. Britton to the duration of the Early-English style, which terminated about 1272, by the gradual introduction of the Decorated fashion at that time.

Before passing on to notice those parts of the church erected in the latter style, I would just remark that Leland makes no mention whatever of, nor does he even allude to, Simon de Burton having any connection at all with the building of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, although he refers to other matters with which his name was undoubtedly associated. His words are (*Itinerary*, vol. vii. p. 96)—
"The almese howse by Seynt Thomas Church is called Burton's Almes Howse. Burton, maior of the towne, and founder, is buried in it." He is equally silent also with regard to the existence of any documents relating to the subject; and this fact I cannot but regard as at least negative evidence that no such writings as those I have quoted, excepting the calendar of Robert Ricaut, were then known to be in existence. Even this, if examined by Leland, would have been rejected as unsatisfactory, because, as he would discover, recorded but a few years before, and then probably only from memory.

Finally, on this point: As no reliable testimony has yet been produced to shew that Simon de Burton did more with his wealth than found an almshouse in the parish of St. Thomas, and which remains to this day, it is not very likely he began to build a church in that of St. Mary Redcliff, a parish in which he does not appear to have had any greater interest than many other wealthy men of his time; nor does he seem to have even possessed any property whatever in it. That he contributed towards such an erection is highly probable, and perhaps he laid the foundation stone of some part not yet referred to; and this I conceive to be the meaning we are to attach to the calendar of Robert Ricaut. Had he been the founder of the church, or begun in reality to build it, as the record would seem to intimate, surely he would have been entombed in it rather than in an almshouse! It must be remembered also, that many wealthy merchants and opulent families resided in Redcliffe parish in the time of Simon de Burton; whilst the little we know of the latter rather induces the belief that his domicile was situated in the neighbouring parish of St. Thomas.

I now turn from the Early-English portions of the church, and with the erection of which it is evident Simon de Burton was in no way connected, to the next oldest part of the structure, which will be found in an arch opening on the north

side of the nave into the space beneath the tower, the mouldings of which connect it with the acutely pointed lancet arch before mentioned. Above these, the majestic superstructure of the tower rises in all the beautiful proportions and finished excellence of the Decorated style. From the fact that the first-named arch is an early specimen in the latter fashion, I am inclined to believe this was the last built of the four sides which comprise the first stage of the tower, the other three being, as we have seen, constructed in the Early-English mode of building, later insertions excepted. I have no idea, however, that even in this arch we shall find anything to connect the building of the church with Simon de Burton, the date of its erection appearing to be not later than 1280; that is to say, it was constructed at a very early period after the discontinuance of the Early-English fashion in 1272, and the adoption of the Decorated style which immediately followed.^a

In the continuance of the superstructure of the tower, and the construction of the exterior north porch, both being in the last-mentioned mode, we recognise a new era in relation to the erection of this fine building. As the former parts undoubtedly progressed by means of funds supplied by the wealthy inhabitants of the parish, with the assistance of such non-residents as were friendly to the undertaking, the previously-erected structure—towards the repair of which indulgences had long been granted, and gifts had been bestowed—was by degrees removed, to make way for a fabric commensurate with the ideas of those noble-minded men as to what was a befitting house for the worship of God. The result of this benevolence, next to the continuance of the tower, was the erection of an exterior north porch in the same costly style of architecture, which should vie with any known example; and with the construction of which the name of Simon de Burton is imperishably linked, if it be linked with the building of the church at all, as the date of the foundation of this part of the structure is undoubtedly referrible to the commencement of the fourteenth century, at which time Simon de Burton was chief magistrate of Bristol.

The construction of a building of such magnitude as the tower of this church was an important undertaking at that time, and must have occupied its projectors

^a There is a very singular fact in connection with this arch, which is, that in the soffit three clustered pilaster columns occur in the Perpendicular style, with bases of the same. The only way to account for this anomaly, is to suppose that for some unknown reason it was found necessary to cut away portions of that side of the Early-English arch, and the Perpendicular addition to the Decorated arch was placed there as a support when the finishing of that end of the nave in the Perpendicular style was effected at a subsequent period.

for a considerable period. It is customary to regard the first William Canynges as the builder of the entire of this part of the edifice, but this opinion I think cannot be sustained; for, however we may revere his memory, and accord him all due honour in connection with the erection of this church, it must not be forgotten that the Le Fraunceys, De la Rivières, and many other rich merchants, as already intimated—contemporary both with de Burton and himself—were undoubtedly engaged in the pious undertaking; and the truth in all probability is, that, having resolved to rebuild the church on a more extensive scale, they proceeded with the tower, and then, while it was progressing, added the exterior north porch, the foundation stone of which was most likely laid in due form by Simon de Burton—a compliment paid him by his fellow townsmen as their chief magistrate. To the church of St. Mary the Le Fraunceys were great benefactors, and in it they had founded chantries in the time of this first William Canynges: here also they were sepulchred, and it is but reasonable to conclude that they contributed towards the erection of the structure with a liberality equal to that of either Simon de Burton or William Canynges, neither of whom seem to have resided in the parish, and only the latter, as will be shewn, had any possession in it whatsoever. The only way in which the name of the latter is mentioned in connection with Redcliffe Church is, that at his death he leaves twenty shillings only “as a customary dole to the vicar.” “Is it probable,” asks Mr. Dallaway, “that if he had built the church he would have so poorly remunerated its minister?”^a

But I have no doubt that with the erection of the tower and exterior north porch other parts of the church were also at the same time progressing; and, as the whole of the lower stage of the edifice throughout, from east to west, is constructed in the Decorated style, it would appear that with the finishing of the tower, and the erection of the exterior north porch, the foundation of the entire church had been laid. As the two portions named may be regarded as examples of rather an earlier date in the style last mentioned, so the whole of the columns throughout the nave, chancel, transept, and aisles, to the summit of their capitals, may be referred to as specimens of the same fashion, but erected at a later period—the tower and exterior north porch progressing in the time of Simon de Burton, who laid, as I think, the foundation of the latter; and the body of the church in the pillars to their capitals from end to end of the building in that of the first William Canynges, who performed the same ceremony in regard to the latter portion of the structure. In the Mayors' Calendar he is said to have “built the body of Red-

^a By referring to the will of this William Canynges, I find Mr. Dallaway is in error; for this donation, small as it is, was left to the church of *St. Thomas*, where Canynges was buried, and not to the vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe.

cliffe Church from the cross aisle downwards, and so the church was finished as it is now;" that is, as I think we should understand it, he laid the foundation of the entire fabric eastward, beyond those parts already commenced, and which were advancing towards completion. On examining the will of this first William Canynges, I find him described as a "merchant," but search in vain for any gift or donation bestowed in any shape whatever to the church of St. Mary Redcliffe; nor is any sum mentioned as being left to any person connected with it, except the pittance to its minister before named; and also "to the vicar of Redcliffe for tithes forgotten, six shillings and eight pence;" which must have remained unpaid for the only solitary small tenement he possessed in the parish! As therefore all the property of this first William Canynges, with the above exception, lay in the parish of St. Thomas, where also he carried on an extensive manufacture in cloths, and in the church of which both himself (says his will), his wife, and his son John were buried, surely it is a fair presumption that at most he, like Simon de Burton, merely contributed, with the Le Fraunceys and others who resided in the parish, and who possessed nearly the whole of it, towards the pious work; for that it was constructed by means of donations, legacies, &c., and not by any private individual, is clear from the fact that John Muleward, by will dated in 1388, bequeathed a sum of money "ad opus Beatæ Mariæ de Radeleve," which sufficiently proves that the church was then in process of erection. Barrett observes (*History*, p. 569) that "William Canynges was a merchant of great fortune, weight, and respect among his fellow-citizens; in a station of life fitted to be a leading man, and to have the character of a founder of such a work, promoted no doubt by donations by will and voluntary contributions of other devout and well-disposed people, as well as by grants and indulgences from the bishops of those days." To this testimony I may add that no record whatever has yet been brought to light to prove that this first William Canynges was in any way connected with the erection of the structure before us, other than as a contributor, the circumstance of his being the founder of the church, as generally reported, resting entirely upon unconfirmed tradition and some scattered MSS., to which no value is attached, because probably the forgeries of Chatterton.

It is well known that the erection of nearly all our large ecclesiastical structures was uniformly commenced at the east end; but in the building before us it is manifest on examination that this course was departed from; for the only portion of the church which exhibits any Decorated English architecture above the capitals of the columns, rising from the foundation, is the south transept, which throughout may be regarded as a beautiful example of that rich and elaborate mode of building; every column, capital, and window, with the tracery which adorns them, being

wrought in that elegant style of architecture. It is not improbable this south transept may be regarded as peculiarly that part of the edifice to which the first William Canynges more especially contributed; but its completion was not accomplished until the Decorated English fashion in architecture, which almost imperceptibly glided into the Perpendicular style, had commenced what has been appropriately denominated a "transition style," when it is sometimes extremely difficult to determine by what name to designate particular examples. This remark is peculiarly applicable to the vaulting of the roof and other portions of the upper part of this transept—so nearly allied is it to both the Decorated and the Perpendicular styles of building. The whole interior of this part of the structure may however be classed generally under the former fashion, and its completion, both internally and externally, to the moulding which runs round the church beneath the parapet on the outside, may be regarded as having been achieved during the lifetime of the first William Canynges. It is worthy of observation that, while the entire superstructure of the exterior of the body of the church—the nave, north transept, and chancel—except the east end of the latter, is adorned with panelling in the Perpendicular style, this south transept only should be totally devoid of any such adornment, the walls being quite bare.

This transition from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style of English architecture is more observable in the windows of the structure than in any other part of it. The large window in the north transept exactly corresponds with that in the south transept opposite, both being of pure Decorated design. Those also in the aisles of the former part of the building are for the most part Decorated English also, but in some respects they so closely approximate to the Perpendicular style that it is difficult to decide to which fashion they really belong. In the east window of the chancel the resemblance to the Perpendicular style is more decided, the lateral mullions indicating the first approach towards the new fashion, by running directly into the head of the arch, while every other feature of the window is Decorated English—a style just discarded when the death of the first William Canynges took place, and the advent of the Perpendicular mode was about to be ushered in by its universal adoption as a national style of architecture. In this new fashion in building the whole of the superstructure of the church is constructed; and to the invention of which the preceding remarks have gradually conducted us.

Mr. Barrett, at p. 570 of his work, says that the first William Canynges "lived to the year 1396, when the church was probably finished;" but this is a great mistake, for, as the Decorated style ceased to be practised about the time that

worthy man died, it is obvious that those parts of the church only which have already passed under review could have been erected previously. For the building of the remainder we must undoubtedly proceed to a period subsequent to that event; and to ascertain when those portions of the structure not yet noticed were constructed I must again refer to the church itself as the only sure guide in such an inquiry as the present.

On comparing the roof of the transepts with that of the chancel, we shall find much in common both in design and enrichments: which leads to the inference that the latter was constructed very soon after the former, and from a plan furnished by the same architect. The period of the erection of this part of the superstructure I should place not later than 1410; and my reason for doing so is, that the arch dividing the chancel from the transepts, and which continues throughout the entire nave, for the sake of uniformity, as it would seem, so far declines from the perfection of that architectural member as to leave no doubt that it was erected soon after the Perpendicular style had obtained permanence as a national mode of building, that is, at the commencement of the fifteenth century. By dividing the horizontal line at the base into eight parts, the centre of this arch will be found at the seventh.

We have no means of knowing by whom the superstructure of the chancel and transepts were designed, particularly the latter on the north side of the church; but I think there is sufficient evidence in the vaulting to shew that they were the work of one presiding genius; and that he was employed to superintend the erection of the entire of these parts of the structure above the first stage, from about the death of the first William Canynges, until at least the close of the first ten years of the following century. From about that time I conceive another architect was employed, and that to him is to be ascribed the design of the elaborate vaulting which so enriches the nave of this beautiful church: but the name of this architect, like that of his predecessors, is entirely unknown to us.

The completion of so elaborate a superstructure as that of the nave must have occupied a longer period than the erection of any other part of the interior. It is by far the most costly portion of the entire fabric, and displays an example of decorative excellence scarcely to be paralleled. The space between the arches above the first stage of the building and the clerestory windows is filled with Perpendicular English panelling, as also is the same space in the north transept and chancel, that in the south transept only being designed in the Decorated style. The clerestory windows which rise above are uniform in structure throughout the entire nave, chancel, and north transept, all being in the Perpendicular fashion;

but those in the south transept are constructed in the style which preceded it. The screens also at the east end of the chancel and its aisles may be classed with the Perpendicular portions of the fabric; as may likewise several subordinate erections in that part of the edifice.

It can scarcely be doubted, I conceive, that the whole of the superstructure of the church was raised upon the work of the first William Canynges, excepting the Decorated English portions which occur in the south transept. Its progress must have been slow, from want of sufficient funds, for in those days of patents, licences, monopolies, and charters, the wealth of provincial towns was confined chiefly to the mercantile few, to the comparative exclusion of the trading many; contributions therefore could be obtained for the most part from those only who were so favoured; and of course the work was more or less retarded in consequence. The completion of the church was, I think, far from accomplished, when, as we find it recorded in a manuscript cited both by Barrett and Britton, with a difference of one year in the date, "Anno 1442 (I quote Barrett, whose date agrees with the Mayors' Calendar), William Cannynge (the second of that name) wyth the helpe of others of the worshipfulle towne of Bristol, kepte masons and workmenne to edifie, repayre, cover, and glaze the church of Redcliff, which his grandfather had founded in the days of Edward the 3d."

If any reliance can be placed upon the genuineness of this document, it is evident that William Canynges junior was, like his grandfather and Simon de Burton, a contributor only towards completing the church; and is an additional proof that no part of the structure whatever was raised at the sole expense of any one individual; but that, with the Harringtons, Hungerfords, Cradocks, Medes, Sturtons, Dyricks, Says, Graunts, Cheneys, Fulks, Fitzwarrens, Inyns, Rivers, and others among commoners, whose arms were formerly blazoned in the windows of the church as benefactors to the edifice (and some of whom have monuments still remaining there), together with the Straffords, Berkeleys, Beauchamps, and Montacutes, among those of noble blood, whose heraldic shields, charged with their family devices, are sculptured on the roof of the north aisle of the nave, William Canynges junior, "wyth the helpe" of the above named donors, and "others of the worshipfulle towne of Bristol, kepte masons and workmenne to edifie" or complete all imperfect detail and embellishment; "repayre" the unfinished building of his predecessors wherever injured through the length of time occupied in its erection; "cover and glaze," that is, finish, the vaulting already in progress, roof in the church, erect the parapet, and glaze the windows. These, the only incomplete parts of the structure to the date last mentioned, is all that can with certainty be

ascribed to the time of the second William Canynges, previous to the falling of the spire in 1445. If he had been more than a contributor with others to the work, surely some mention of such a circumstance would be recorded, either on the monuments erected to his memory, and still standing in the church, or that he would in his will have named a fact so remarkable; yet nothing of the kind was ever placed upon record on either memorial. What is still more strange is, that whilst by his last testament he particularly specifies a gift of "twenty pence to the mother church of Wells;" directs that the "lights and torches" used at his funeral should "be given and distributed" by his executors "to twenty-four of the neighbouring parish churches without Bristol;" gives to the fabric of the church of Westbury forty shillings; and a like sum to the church and tower of Compton Braynesold, no mention whatever is made of any such gift to the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, neither do we meet with the slightest notice of any donation being made by this second William Canynges towards the erection in any memorial to which the slightest importance can be attached. The inscription on a board at the back of his tomb in the south transept of the church is regarded as the composition of that well-known maker of epitaphs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Churchyard, and is therefore unworthy further notice.

The part undertaken by William Canynges junior in the completion of the church was evidently to superintend the application of the funds raised for that purpose; and Norton, whose first name is not recorded, was the "master mason" or architect employed by him to carry on the work. To the latter may be ascribed the finishing of the structure at the west end, and also the portion of the spire as it now appears, that part of the building never having been rebuilt. I have no doubt however that the church was finished entirely before the fall of the spire in 1445. Referring to this unfortunate event, Mr. Barrett quotes, as he informs his readers, two "very ancient" manuscripts, which relate the fact in the following manner. The first says that in "1445, at St. Paul's tide, was very tempestuous weather, by which Redcliffe steeple was overthrown in a thunder-clap, doing great harme to the churche by the fall thereof, but by the good devotion of Mr. William Canynges it was re-edified, to his everlasting prayse." The second document speaks thus:—"William Canynges re-edified and enlarged the church of Redcliffe, almost destroyed by lightning in 1445, in so exquisite a manner that he has ever since passed for the founder thereof, and he afterwards gave 500*l.* to keep it in repair." Mr. Britton also cites a manuscript (page 8 of his work) preserved in the Bodleian Library, by which we are informed that "the said church, having suffered much in a tempest, the above-mentioned William Canynges, a celebrated merchant

and public benefactor, in the year 1474, gave five hundred pounds to the parishioners of Redcliffe towards repairing the church, and for the maintenance of two chaplains and two clerks in St. Mary's chapel there, and of two chantry priests." Of the genuine character of these manuscripts I am exceedingly doubtful, and for reasons already assigned when speaking of all such documents relating to old Bristol.

It will be observed that the second manuscript quoted above records in other language the particulars contained in the first, with the addition of a gift of 500*l.* "afterwards" bestowed by William Canynges towards keeping the church in repair; and the third, or Bodleian, writing, in addition to reciting the contents of the two previous papers, announces that, besides repairing the church, the 500*l.* was given also for the maintenance of two chaplains and two clerks, and gives the date of the execution of this deed so late as the year 1474. This date evidently refers to the will of William Canynges, which was executed November the 12th in that year; but in this document not one word is mentioned of any such donation to the repair of the church as that above cited, nor indeed of any other sum being left for that purpose. But, admitting it to be correct, we are to believe that no measures for restoring the church were adopted between the falling of the spire in 1445 and the gift of this money in 1474, a period of nearly thirty years. Such a thing I regard as incredible. This manuscript is in fact nothing more than a transcript in brief of the parish register (with another date) hereafter quoted; and most likely the work of Chatterton, who probably had as much access to such documents through the medium of his uncle, who was sexton of the church, as he had to those in the chests of William Canynges.

In speaking of the restoration of the edifice after the falling of the spire, Mr. Barrett says (page 570), "the same plan was observed by him (William Canynges junior) in rebuilding and restoring it to its original beauty after being thrown down by the lightning; the south aisle, where the mischief fell heaviest, seems to have been rebuilt with a somewhat more elevated arch and in a lighter style than the north; a difference also is between the windows of the north and south aisle. The fall of such a large and very high steeple upon the church must have done great injury, and destroyed every thing wherever it fell." In another place the same writer says in substance that by this accident the body of the church was so much injured that it was almost ruinous. Now both these statements cannot be correct: for in the first, mention is distinctly made of the damage having been sustained by the south aisle; and in the second by the body of the church, that is, the nave. The former assertion is doubtless the correct one, and to the south aisle

it may be confidently said the mischief was confined; for had the spire fallen upon the body of the edifice, some indications of repair or restoration would appear in that part of the building, as well as in the south aisle; but, as nothing of the kind is observable, we may reasonably infer that it wholly escaped the effects of the accident.

In discussing the contents of the manuscripts recently noticed it will be observed that the third refers to a gift by William Canynges junior, of 500*l.* "towards repairing the church, and for the maintenance of two chaplains and two clerks in St. Mary's Chapel there, and of two chantry priests." In Mr. Barrett's first manuscript no mention whatever is made of this gift; but in the second I have quoted his remarks lead to the inference that William Canynges junior, having repaired the church injured by the falling of the spire, "afterwards gave 500*l.* to keep it in repair." The introduction of the adverb "afterwards" seems to imply that the donation was not made then, but at a subsequent period; and it is, I have no doubt, the same sum of 500*l.* as that mentioned by the same author at page 612 of his work, where he records, under date of

"1466. William Canynges gave by deed for divine offices	£	s.	d.
in Redcliffe Church	340	0	0
And in plate to the said church	160	0	0

Vested in the Vicar and proctors of Redcliff £ 500 0 0"

According to this latter document, 340*l.* of the total sum was given "for divine offices in Redcliffe Church," the meaning of which is explained by an extract from a volume of the parish register for the years between 1678 and 1694 inclusive, made by Mr. Britton, and quoted in his work, page 31, in which it is expressed that William Canynges, by deed dated October 20th, 1467, one year later than that stated by Barrett, "gave unto the vicar and wardens, and also to the senior and major part of all the parishioners of the church of the blessed Mary of Redcliff in Bristol, the sum of 340*l.* of current money, upon condition that the said vicar and churchwardens, and their successors for ever, should for that gift and with the said money sufficiently repair or cause to be repaired and re-edified the ruinous buildings, tenements, and houses whatsoever of the said church, and with the rents and issues of the land and tenements of the same church should provide, find, and give unto two chaplains, called St. Mary's priests, nine marks a-piece per ann.; to two clerks sufficiently instructed in reading and singing, at 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a-piece; and

for executing the sexton's office 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* With divers other gifts, as per the record of the same deed, &c. &c."

It will not fail to strike the reader as somewhat remarkable, that in the above quotation, while the repair and re-edification of "ruinous buildings, tenements, and houses," belonging to the church is specially cared for by the donor, not one word is said about any repairs to, or rebuilding of, any part of the sacred edifice itself, nor is the slightest intimation given of there being any works whatever, exterior or interior, in progress. The sum of 340*l.* was therefore bestowed "to provide, find," and pay "two chaplains," and "two clerks," and "a sexton," who should properly discharge the various duties appertaining to their respective situations in the church in a becoming manner; and it evidently had no connection whatever with repairing the fabric itself, in which these different parties officiated. Of the total sum of 500*l.* there still remains 160*l.* unappropriated; and, as no mention is made in any document as to the way in which this balance was disposed of, we are left to conjecture that this amount only was in reality all that the second William Canynges gave as his own personal donation towards the reconstruction of the church: I use the word conjecture because of the silence observed with regard to its disposal. How 340*l.* came to be the particular sum left "for divine offices" in the church, is accounted for by the fact that William Canynges (says the deed recorded in the parish register before quoted) had advanced 160*l.* to Sir Theobald Gorges, knight, upon some jewels (Barrett says plate, but this is an error,) which the latter had placed in his hands as security for the loan of that amount, but which it would seem had never been redeemed. These valuables therefore, with 340*l.* were presumed to make together 500*l.*, the total sum given by William Canynges in relation to the matter before us. It is worthy of remark here, that in a deed formerly possessed by the late Mr. Cumberland of this city, and dated 1467, the sum of 340*l.* only is mentioned; and this was given to repair the dilapidated tenements belonging to two chantries in Redcliffe Church founded by Everard Le Fraunceys; and to found another to be called "W. Canynges priest." If this deed could be depended on as the most truth-telling of the whole of the documents brought forward in this essay, it clearly shuts out William Canynges junior from all participation in the re-edification of the church, and leaves us to the alternative that he did not even contribute at all towards the undertaking. This however we cannot believe, for that he gave of his substance to the work there can be no doubt, although no positive record of the fact upon which we can rely is known to exist. The manuscripts I have noticed are of so contradictory a character as to be unworthy our credence; and they bear so strong a general resem-

blance to each other, and yet admit of such varied interpretations, as to have the appearance, at least, of having been concocted for purposes of fraud and deception.

In the preceding remarks it will be seen that my opinions differ widely from all previous writers upon this subject; yet, although they should affect the long-established fame of those to whom, by common consent, the erection of the matchless church of St. Mary has been ascribed, it were better, far better, to endeavour to divest the subject of a mysticism in the dark folds of which it has for so great a length of time been enwrapped, than to echo, as most writers have done, an undisturbed tradition which has no more foundation in fact than to assert that the mist upon the mountain's top is as permanent in its duration as the "everlasting hills." "If," says Mr. Dallaway, "to investigate truth be in some instances to lessen traditional fame which has descended to our times without examination, the present age is become more interested in discovering realities, and in detaching such errors from seeming authorities, which have never been submitted to the test of historic proof."

The sum of the foregoing remarks is, as I think, clearly to establish three important facts: First, that tradition alone, unsupported by any documentary evidence of undoubted authority, has ascribed the founding of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe to Simon de Burton; and that the oldest parts of the structure were erected at least forty years before that event is said to have taken place, another style of architecture being at the time in practice. Secondly, that in constructing those parts of the building usually assigned, through the same suspicious and unconfirmed medium only, to William Canynges, he was aided by the contributions of other wealthy individuals, and as a contributor alone he stands connected with the erection of any part of the structure. Thirdly, that in the examination of such documents as refer to William Canynges junior, nothing has been discovered to justify the long-received opinion that he executed the work of reconstruction at his own sole cost, all the evidence adduced tending to prove that, like his great predecessors, Simon de Burton and William Canynges senior, he was but a contributor; and as such only, "wyth the helpe of others of the worshipfulle towne of Bristow," he finished the labours ascribed to those worthy men by employing "masons and workmenne to edifie, repayre, cover, and glaze the church of Redcliffe," which had been commenced upwards of a century before the time when his grandfather flourished.

In thus endeavouring to "unravel the entangled thread spun by other authors," and bring to light if possible the secret, hidden history of a church about which so much has been written to little purpose, I have had no desire to disparage the

labours of others, or to speak of what they have recorded in any way than every other lover of truth would feel himself at liberty to do. Much less would I detract from the fair fame of those to whom it has long been usual to award the praise of the erection of so noble a structure as the church of St. Mary, but that a desire to ascertain truth for myself and then to inform others, prompts me to give expression to opinions which, however adverse to popular notions, are nevertheless those of sincere conviction, resulting from a long and deep-seated persuasion that the building of this magnificent church has hitherto been ascribed to parties who were mere helpers in the work, like many others contemporary with them.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

GEORGE PRYCE.

P.S.—In the month of August, 1852, a discovery was made in the south aisle of the nave, beneath the windows, of two tombs, which, at the time, I regarded as belonging to the first and second William Canynges, not having had an opportunity of making a close inspection of them. This opinion I stated in a volume on “The Middle Ages in Bristol,” which I have recently published. Since then however opportunity has been afforded me, through the courtesy of Sholto Vere Hare, Esq. to make a sufficient examination of these tombs; and, as both were undoubtedly erected at the same time and in the Perpendicular style of architecture, and one of them contained the remains of a female, I am now satisfied they may with much more propriety be ascribed to the second William Canynges and his wife Joanna, who were interred “in loco quem construi feci in parte australi ejusdem ecclesie juxta altare Sanctæ Catherinæ,” meaning, as I conceive, the southern part of the church, in which these tombs were found, and not in the south transept, which has invariably been assigned as their place of sepulture, because an altar-tomb to their memory still stands there, but the effigies upon which it is easy to perceive were not originally placed beneath its canopy. Both these figures were, in all probability, removed from the monuments recently brought to light when the church was repewed upwards of a century ago, the slabs upon which they rest apparently fitting them to the greatest possible nicety.

XXII.—*Observations on certain Sepulchral Usages of Early Times.* By
WILLIAM MICHAEL WYLIE, Esq., F.S.A.

Read January 12, 1854.

United University Club, Dec. 15, 1853.

So little is known respecting the sepulchral usages of the early, or rather the middle Christian period, when Paganism still sought to maintain its deeply-rooted superstitions beneath even the very garb of Christianity, that any authentic notice, however imperfect, will, it may be hoped, prove acceptable and possibly useful. In such a hope I venture to beg the attention of the Society to certain mystic practices of Christian interments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but chiefly to that of depositing written, or rather engraved, formulæ of absolution in the tomb with the remains of the deceased.

In the public library of Dieppe my attention was attracted by several old crosses, rudely cut out of sheet lead, and evidently bearing inscriptions, though from age, dirt, and original faintness of execution, it is difficult to decypher them.

Their history is as follows:—

In the valley of Arques, about two miles from Dieppe, still remain a few vestiges of the ancient and once greatly-venerated church of Butteilles. This building only escaped the perils of the French revolution of the last century to perish soon after by the neglectful indifference of the people, to which cause alone the ruin of other village churches in this neighbourhood is to be attributed. The church, with its precincts, had stood exactly in the course of the road from Dieppe to Arques, causing an awkward detour. About fourteen years since the road was carried straight over the ruins, and, in levelling the ground for the purpose, four tombs containing skeletons were found. On the breasts of the skeletons, one of which was that of a child, lay these crosses, just referred to, rudely cut out of sheet lead; no further relics were found. The inscriptions on them in no way elucidate the purpose or date of their employment. They are merely formulæ of absolution cut, or rather scratched, on the lead with some sharp implement. The politeness of the Abbé Cochet enables me to give the exact words of the absolution on one of the crosses; it is in a modified form, and we at least gather from it that

the deceased, on whose remains it was found, was named "Emmelina," and consequently probably of Merovingian extraction. He also has favoured me with a sketch of the cross in its present state, and the fac-simile of the two first lines of the inscription, pointing out how little the formula now used has varied from that of many centuries ago. It runs thus:—"Oremus. Jhesus Christus qui dixit discipulis suis quodcunque ligaveritis super terram erit ligatum et in cœlis et quodcunque solveritis super terram erit solutum et in cœlis, de quorum numero licet indignos nos esse voluit, ipse te absolvat, Hemmelina, per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus criminibus tuis quæcunque cogitatione, locutione, operatione negligenter egisti, atque noxibus (*sic*) absolutam perducere dignetur ad regna cœlorum qui vivit et regnat in sæc. secul."

Noxibus seems a clerical error for the usual "nexibus peccatorum." The Abbé says, "le dessin est exacte. J'ai mis au dos le texte précis, tel qu'il se trouve sur la croix. Il n'y manque que les caractères du temps dont il y a deux lignes seulement."

From the character of the writing, probably monastic, it has been thought these singular relics appertain to the eleventh or twelfth century. The accompanying outlines give the form of three of these crosses, from which it will be seen they all vary in detail, though more or less partaking of the character of the early Greek cross. (See Plate XIII.) Similar leaden crosses have been found at other places in the neighbourhood, and one of these, belonging to the Abbé Cochet, which I am now enabled to exhibit, will be viewed with interest. It was found in the old cemetery of Quiberville sur Mer, in 1846.

When these crosses of absolution were first used, whether they were in general use, and when their use was abolished, we appear to be hitherto without information.* The earliest mention of them seems to have been in the case of one found in the tomb of a bishop, at Metz, of the date of 1046, and others also have been found in that city. In England such leaden crosses have very rarely been met with. One, which is preserved in the Chichester Museum, was found, in 1830, in the cathedral cemetery, in the tomb of Godefridus, the second Bishop of Chichester, in the days of William the Conqueror. The formula on this is more positive, commencing—"Absolumus te, Godefride,"^b &c. Mention of another found in the Minster Close, Lincoln, and a sketch of it, will be met with in the

* "It is a custom at this day in Catholic countries to deposit crosses with the dead, as well with the clergy as laity. It would be useless to enlarge on this subject, as many discoveries and books concur to prove the custom of interring crosses with Christians." (Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 68.) Unfortunately he does not cite his authorities.

Journal of the Archæological Institute.* On the one side is the name and title of the deceased, a priest named Siford, and on the reverse is an inscription in minuscules, covering the limbs of the cross. It is altogether illegible, but probably was also a formula of absolution.

Reference to such a practice in old writers seems of rare occurrence and indistinct. In the *Miracula S. Benedicti*, lib. 3, is a passage referred to by Ducange, where the earth declined receiving the corpse of an excommunicate person, till the ban was removed by the Church; "*eâdem relaxatione in schedulâ admotâ pectori mortui superpositâ, non eum tellus perpulit ultra.*" This, however, merely goes to show that absolution was bestowed on the dead,^b and that the formula of absolution was placed on the body. But in none of the above-cited examples, where crosses have been found, can the interments be supposed to have been those of excommunicate persons. A passage in Mabillon's *Annals*^c better shows that the custom was in use in the eleventh century. On the death of the celebrated Abelard, in 1142, Heloisa applied to Peter, the Venerable Abbot of Cluny, for a formula of absolution to place on the tomb of Abelard. The words are remarkable:—"She asks," says Mabillon, quoting them, "*ut aliud sibi sigillum, id est, alteram epistolam sigillo obsignatam, mittat, quo in sigillo Magistri absolutio litteris apertis contineatur, ut sepulcro ejus suspendatur.*" The absolution was graciously granted, apparently as a matter of course, and the form is still extant.^d In some other old Benedictine writer I have read it was placed on the body of Abelard; now Abelard had died a monk, in his convent, and certainly not excommunicate.

Till a more precise and satisfactory explanation is rendered we may perhaps refer the practice, if general practice it were, to the superstition of the times, in common with many others that can however scarcely plead the same Christian origin. One of the common points of belief was that in demoniac possession, and it was deemed a religious duty to preserve the bodies of the dead from Satanic

* Lincoln volume. Cat. Antiquities Exhibited, p. 44.

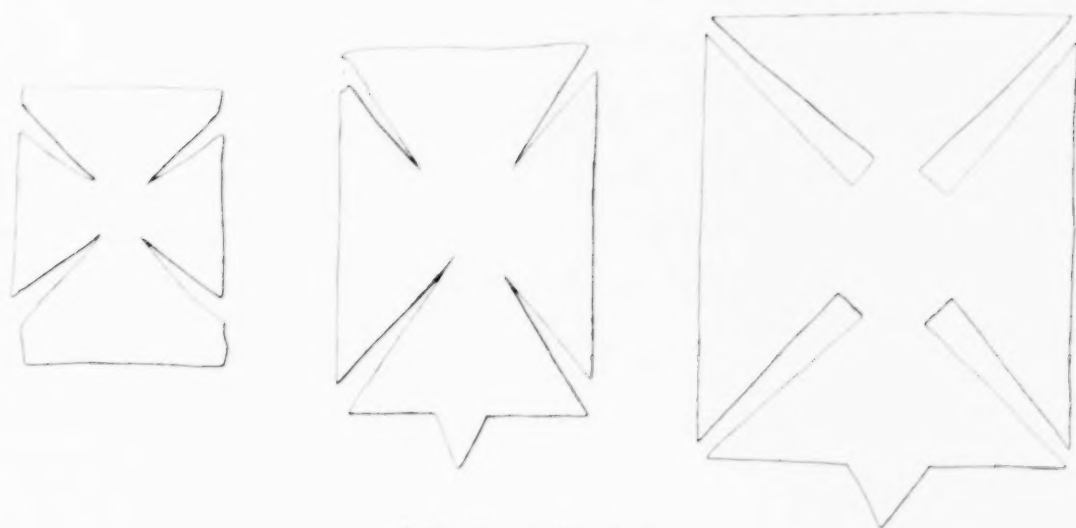
^b Of this we have historic evidence in England in the reign of Henry III., viz. the case of the interment of the Earl of Pembroke, in Matthew Paris.

^c *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, vol. vi. p. 356, ed. Paris, 1739.

^d *Absolutio Petri Abaelardi his verbis concepta est.*

"Ego, Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas, qui Petrum Abaelardum in monachum Cluniacensem recepi, et corpus ejus furtim delatum Heloissæ Abbatisse et monialibus Paracliti concessi, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei et omnium sanctorum absolvo eum pro officio ab omnibus peccatis suis." Mabillon, *Ann. S. Benedict.*

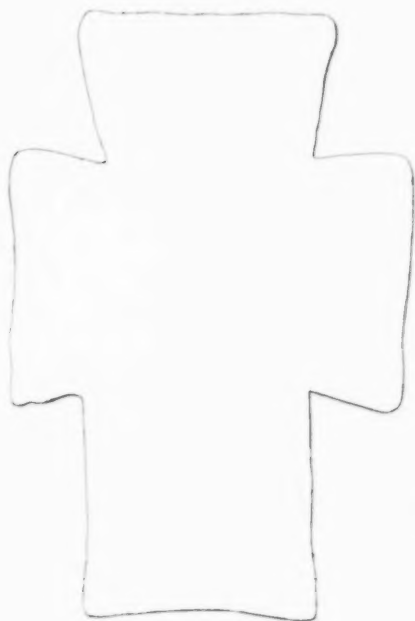
From Butteilles near Dieppe



Quiberville-sur-Mer, Dieppe



Chichester Cathedral



Lincoln



Scale & size of original

*Outlines of Leaden Crosses,
bearing inscriptions, from old cemeteries in France and England*

agency. So, too, the Romans dreaded lest magic arts should disturb the repose of the dead,

" Ut nullos cantata magos exaudiat umbra.
 nec verba, nec herbæ,
 Audebunt longæ somnum tibi solvere Lethes." ^a

Hence possibly the employment of these leaden crosses of absolution was amuletic. "Quia," says Durandus, ^b "hoc signum diabolus valde veretur, et timet accedere ad locum crucis signaculo insignitum." In another place he adds, "Solent namque desævire in corpora mortuorum, ut quod nequiverunt in vitâ saltem post mortem agant."

Another superstition of the sepulchral ritual of those times, in France at least, was the interment of vessels containing holy water, and charcoal, on which incense was sprinkled, in the tomb with the dead. This we learn from Johannes Belethus, ^c an ancient liturgist of the twelfth century, and his statement is confirmed by his commentator, the celebrated Durandus. In the old cemeteries of France the earthen vessels thus used for the holy water and fumigation have continually been found. In England I believe no such instance has hitherto been noticed; nor do we meet with mention of such a custom, nor of the use of the absolutionary crosses in Italy. Had such curious practices ever prevailed there, they would scarcely have escaped the searching observation of Muratori.

It was doubtless a remnant of old pagan funeral rites too strong to be entirely shaken off, and therefore acquiesced in, or rather, with divers others, craftily engrafted by the clergy on the Christian ceremonial. Roman paganism outlived in the provinces Roman civilization and refinement.

The beautiful lines of the Christian Prudentius, "In exequias defunctorum"—

" Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
 Violis, et fronde frequenti,
 Titulumque et frigida saxa
 Liquido spargemus odore."

are they not but the echoes of the pagan elegies of Albinovanus Pedo and Propertius?

" Semper sarta tibi dabimus, tibi semper odores;
 Non unquam sitiens, florida semper eris." ^d

^a Lucan. *Pharsalia*, l. vi. l. 767.

^b In *Rationale Div. Off.* l. vii. c. 35, De Off. Mortuorum.

^c "Aquam benedictam ac prunas cum ture apponerent." C. 161, De *Divinis Officiis*.

^d Alb. Pedo, *Eleg.* 2. l. 141.

Or,

"Afferet huc unguenta mihi, sertisque sepulcrum
Ornabit, custos ad mea busta sedens." ^a

The funeral libation of wine, and the lustral waters of the heathen rites, were but commuted for the "aqua benedicta" of the Christian priest; and so might the pagan and true believer exclaim together with Ausonius—

"Sparge mero cineres, bene olentis et unguine nardi,
Hospes, et adde rosis balsama puniceis." ^b

To render undue honours to the unconscious remains of the dead seems indeed inherent in human nature under most phases of heathenism, and to proceed from various causes. Under the influence of this practice the polytheistic idolator would have little difficulty in deifying, after death, any person who had been the object in life of his exaggerated veneration. Thus we see the recent Christian convert, Clovis, anxious to propitiate St. Martin, and sending to his tomb, as it were to the shrine of an oracle, to inquire the results of his approaching contest with the Wisigoths.^c

Durandus, indeed, in his *Rationale*, endeavours to throw his usual mystic veil over this employment of charcoal and incense, and also the leaves of evergreens which were strewed in the grave. For the use of the holy water he assigns the pious reason, "that it was very unpopular with the demons, and kept them away from the corpse," a feeling that has probably been stereotyped in the vulgar saying of "the devil hates holy water." The whole of this apology, or commentary, of Durandus is very curious.^d

The learned Oberlin, who, towards the close of the last century, appears to have been a fellow of this Society, mentions this usage in his "*Museum Schæpflini*," and refers to Johannes Belethus. Oberlin considers it extinct in the thirteenth

^a Propertius, *Eleg. lib. iii. 16, l. 23.*

^b Ausonius, *Epitaph, 36.*

^c Greg. Turon. *l. ii. 37.*

^d "Deinde ponitur in spelunca, in qua in quibusdam locis ponitur aqua benedicta et prunæ cum ture. Aqua benedicta ne demones qui multum eam timent, ad corpus accedant; solent namque deservire in corpora mortuorum, ut quod nequiverunt in vita, saltem post mortem agant. Thus propter fetorem corporis removendum, seu ut defunctus creatori suo acceptabilem bonorum operum odorem intelligatur obtulisse, seu ad ostendendum quod defunctis prosit auxilium orationis. Carbones in testimonium quod terra illa in communes usus amplius redigi non potest; plus enim durat carbo sub terra quam aliud. Hedera quoque, vel laurus, et hujusmodi quæ semper servant virorem, in sarcophago corpori substernuntur,
. Fiunt enim hæc, non quia cadaveribus insit sensus, sed in figuram."—*De Off. Mortuorum.*

century,^a but we have evidence of its continuance down to the sixteenth. In the graves at the Abbey of Graville earthen vessels containing charcoal have continually been found, and the most convincing proof of the custom was afforded in the tomb of Renaud de Calletot, interred in the sixteenth century. This tomb is in the church of St. Martin en Campagne, near Dieppe, and when opened by M. Feret, in 1827, some small earthen vessels containing charcoal were found at the head and at the feet of the deceased.^b

Whether the practice was continued to this late date merely as an old, accustomed rite, or whether the idea of Durandus as to its religious necessity was still maintained, we have no certain information. It was no doubt a general custom in the time of Johannes Belethus, and may have gradually fallen into disuse, lingering in some places longer than in others, according to their respective circumstances.

The same superstitious idea seems to have been attached to the fact of burying the corpse in a monk's cowl, for which we may, among many other authorities, refer to Holinshed. Speaking of the death of King John, he says, "For the manner was at that time in such sort to bury their nobles and great men, who were induced, by the imagination of monks and fond fancies of friers, to believe that the said cowl was an amulet, or defensive to their soules, from hell and hellish hags, how or in whatsoever sort they died."^c

The same amuletic superstition then which could hope for protection, and desire consolation, from perishable matter in the form of water, charcoal, incense, a monk's cowl, &c., would naturally impute a greater efficacy to the more spiritual charm of a formula of absolution, engraved on an imperishable substance, in the figure of the emblem of the true faith. As in the case above quoted of the Abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, the absolution of such ecclesiastics as led holy lives may have been in great request, and thus they may have enjoyed a species of saintship while yet alive.

Sundry other and less defensible sepulchral customs appear to have existed prior to the eleventh century. Could we succeed in ascertaining these we should no doubt find them very curious, and savouring greatly of Roman or Teutonic

^a "Hunc morem, qui sæcul. xiii. in desuetudinem abiit, prioribus sæculis viguisse vascula multa figlina in sepulchris Gallicis subinde inventa testantur, etc." Mus. Schapfl. p. 147; Argentorati, 1773.

^b Sous les ossements nous recueillîmes les fragments de deux petites urnes, dont l'une avait été posée sous les pieds, l'autre sous la tête du défunt. Ces urnes d'une terre blanchâtre, et d'une couverte d'un beau vert, contenaient du charbon." Soc. Archeologique de l'Arrond. de Dieppe.

^c Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 337.

paganism. Such called forth the *Capitulare* of Charlemagne, and which was renewed by his son the Emperor Louis, as late as 819.^a Among the funeral superstitions here alluded to are, probably, the heathen practices at graves, prohibited at the Council of Lestines in 743, and which, with many other relics of Paganism, are catalogued in the well-known "*Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganarum*." It will not then seem extraordinary that at the far earlier period of 578, the Church, at the Council of Auxerre,^b was forced to prohibit the abomination of administering the eucharist to the dead, together with the kiss, and decking the corpse in the sacred vestments of the altar. This last irregularity, indeed, is noticed in the canons of several of the early councils. If then the parochial clergy of those times could thus sanction, instead of repressing, superstitions so gross in their reality, and suspicious in their origin, we cannot greatly err in supposing the minds of the laity to have been by no means cleared from the obscurity of paganism. That this was so appears from an injunction of the Council of Nantes^c in the ninth century, "*De quodam cultu superstitiosi abolendo*," under which title remains of pagan idolatry appear.

W. M. WYLIE.

^a Cap. 28, Aquisgr.

"Episcopos monemus, etc.

. . . . et ut superstitiones quas quibusdam in locis in exequiis mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradicant."

Conc. Ant. Gallie, vol. iii. ed. Sirmond.

^b Can. xii. "Non licet mortuis nec eucharistiam nec osculum tradi; nec velo vel pallis corpora eorum involvi." Concilia Ant. Gallie, vol. i. p. 368.

^c Ibid. vol. iii. p. 607.

XXIII.—*On the Relationship between Richard Fitz-James, Bishop of London, and Lord Chief Justice Sir John Fitz-James.* By EDWARD FOSS, Esq., F.S.A.

Read January 19, 1854.

It too often happens, among biographers and genealogists, that erroneous dates and lineages, given by the first writer, are adopted without inquiry by those who follow him. Generations are thus not unfrequently omitted in pedigrees, and members of a family, bearing the same christian name, become confounded with each other. Puzzling as every one engaged in such investigations must have found this practice in private descents, errors of this description are magnified in importance, when they have reference to persons of note and position; involving as they must do the difficulty of connecting the real parties with the facts that relate to them.

As one of the great objects of this Society is to eradicate any misconception that may have crept into our national history, and to establish the truth where it can be found, I have thought that the Members might feel some interest in the rectification of an error which almost universally prevails, with regard to the relationship that existed between two eminent individuals, dignitaries, one of the ecclesiastical, and the other of the judicial, bench in the reign of Henry VIII.

The first of these was Dr. Richard Fitz-James, successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London, whose name holds a prominent place in the archives of the University of Oxford, as a munificent benefactor to Merton College, over which he presided for nearly a quarter of a century. The other was Sir John Fitz-James, who, after holding for four years the office of Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer jointly with that of a Puisne Judge of one of the other Courts (a practice of which there are frequent instances in those times), was raised to the post of Lord Chief Justice of England, and filled it for thirteen years, during a period which comprehended the disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey, and the trials of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. How far he was implicated in those proceedings would be an inquiry foreign to my present object; but that object is invested with a deeper interest, by the high and responsible position which he held, and the trying scenes in which it was his fortune to act.

The family of Fitz-James was a very ancient one. One of its members is named as early as the reign of Edward III.^a as possessing property in Somersetshire, the county in which we find the Bishop's grandfather, James Fitz-James, was settled. That gentleman acquired the family estate of Redlynch by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter and heir of Simon Draycott; and his son, John Fitz-James, the Bishop's father, married Alice, daughter of John Newburgh of East Lullworth, in Dorsetshire, esquire.^b As the Draycotts and Newburghs were second to none of the gentry of England in possessions and high blood, and as the Chief Justice's valuable estate of Redlynch had been in the family for at least two generations before him, I must acknowledge that I cannot agree with Lord Campbell in calling him "of obscure birth;"^c but should rather describe him as coming of honourable and opulent parentage and ancestry.

The received opinion with regard to the relationship between these clerical and legal personages is, that the Chief Justice was the elder brother of the Bishop; and that both, together with a third, named Alured, or Aldred, were the children of John Fitz-James by his wife, Alice Newburgh. They are so described in all the authorities. Fuller calls this Alured, "Brother to this judge, and to Richard, Bishop of London."^d Anthony Wood says, that the Bishop, "with his brother, Sir John Fitz-James, Lord Chief Justice of England, were the chief founders of the school-house in Brewton, in Somersetshire, near which town (at Redlynch, as 'tis said) they were both born."^e Hutchins, in his History of Dorsetshire, describes the Chief Justice's father as Sir John Fitz-James, who by his wife Alice, the daughter of John Newburgh of East Lullworth, Esq. "had Sir John (the Judge), Richard, Bishop of London, who died in 1521, and Aldred, the ancestor of the Lewston line."^f And Chalmers repeats the description of Anthony Wood.^g

In collecting the details for a memoir of the Chief Justice, it soon became apparent to me that all the preceding accounts were erroneous, and that Chief Justice Sir John Fitz-James, instead of being the Bishop's elder brother, was his nephew.

In the first place, there was no doubt about the date of the Bishop's death. That event happened in January, 1521-2; when, according to Anthony Wood, he was "in a good old age." The same authority states that he became a student at

^a Cal. Inquis. Post Mortem, vol. ii. p. 163.

^b Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (1815), vol. ii. p. 720; Hutchins's Dorsetshire, vol. ii. p. 337.

^c Lord Campbell's Chief Justices of England, vol. i. p. 160.

^d Fuller's Worthies (1811), vol. ii. p. 283.

^f Hutchins's Dorsetshire, vol. ii. p. 337.

^e Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 722.

^g Chalmers's Biograph. Dictionary.

Oxford in 1459. Presuming therefore that he could not then have been much younger than fourteen, his birth would be placed about the year 1445. On his becoming Bishop of Rochester in 1496, he would thus be 51; on his being advanced to the Bishopric of Chichester in 1503, he would be 58; and on his translation to the See of London, two years afterwards, he would be 60. The age of 77 at his death in 1522 would thus well accord with the author's description.

If then the Bishop was 77 in 1522, it is apparent that his elder brother must at that date have been 78 or 79 at the least, a period of life at which it can scarcely be supposed that any one would be selected for the first time to fill a judicial position. Yet in that very year Sir John Fitz-James was raised from the rank of a Serjeant to that of a Judge of the King's Bench; and, if he were the elder brother of the Bishop, he must have been 82 or 83 when he was advanced to the Chief Justiceship in 1526, and 95 or 96 when he resigned his office in 1539.

The extreme improbability of this led to further investigation. There is no doubt that John Fitz-James, the husband of Alice Newburgh and the father of the Bishop, had an elder son named John. John the father died in 1476, in possession of Redlynch and other property in Somersetshire:^a and John Newburgh, the brother of Alice, by his will dated in 1485, leaves a legacy "to John Fitz-James, my nephew, son and heir of John Fitz-James and Alice my sister."^b

This second John, clearly the Bishop's elder brother, would, according to the previous calculation, be then about 42 years old. The Bishop evidently survived him, for in his will, dated in 1518, he bequeathed to a third John, "John Fitz-James, senior, my nephew," a share in the residue of his goods.^c

This "John Fitz-James, senior, my nephew," was undoubtedly the future Judge. That he was called "senior," not only shows that John, the Bishop's elder brother, was then dead, but also, as will be presently shewn, that there was a fourth John then living.

The Chief Justice had a son named John—this fourth John—who died in the lifetime of his father, namely in 1533; and by the Chief Justice's will, dated in 1538, it is apparent that he was then without male issue. He speaks only of daughters, and shews his anxiety to preserve his name in connexion with the family estate, by leaving Redlynch, under certain conditions, to his "cosyn," Nicholas Fitz-James, and his heirs male, and, in default of them, to the heirs male of his "cosyn" Alored. These were probably the sons of the Bishop's younger brother Alured, and thus would be properly described by the Chief-Justice as his

^a Cal. Inquis. Post Mortem, vol. iv. p. 375.

^b Testamenta Vetusta, p. 377.

^c Testamenta Vetusta, p. 597.

cousins, if he were, as now suggested, the Bishop's nephew ; while, if he had been the Bishop's brother, they must have been, and would have been described in his will as, his nephews.

The will of the Chief Justice exhibits further internal evidence to the same effect. In it he speaks of the Bishop in a much more deferential manner than would be natural for him to do of a younger brother ; but exactly as he might be expected to mention a dignified uncle. He bequeaths to various persons cups that he had "of my Lord Bishop ;" and one of these cups, which he gives "to my cosyn Richard Blewett," he says, "my saide Lord of London bequeathed to my awnte, his [Blewett's] grandmother ;" this aunt being no doubt the Bishop's sister.

Some documents in the British Museum afford additional corroboration of the point I am advocating. Among the Harleian MSS. (99, p. 32) is a receipt dated 28 November, 8 Henry VIII. 1516, (more than a year, therefore, before the date of the Bishop's will), by "John Fitz-James the elder, one of the executors of Thomas, late Erle Ormond, for 30*l.* rent of Sir William Walgrave, knt. ;" and in the same collection (6989, p. 31) there is an autograph letter from the Chief Justice, in answer to an application from Thomas Cromwell to give to his nomination the place of Clerk of Assize. Both of these have the signature "John Fitz-James," obviously in the same hand-writing. It is not mere resemblance, but actual identity ; for the signature is peculiar and every stroke is the same. Thus the "John Fitz-James, senior, my nephew," in the Bishop's will, the John Fitz-James the elder, Lord Ormond's executor, and the Lord Chief Justice, are unquestionably brought into one.

Lastly, an examination of the Records in the Prerogative office affords such confirmation as to remove all remaining doubt. There is a will of John Fitz-James of Redlynch, proved in 1510, in which the Bishop is mentioned as his brother, and a John Fitz-James as his son ; and he makes them both his executors, together with his wife Isabell. These are the second and the third John. Next we have the will of Isabell the widow, which was proved in October, 1527. This is witnessed by "John Fitz-James the elder, Chief Justice of the King's Bench," who in his attestation calls the testatrix his mother-in-law, and by "Master John Fitz-James the younger," being the fourth John. Lastly comes the will of this "Master John," in which he is described of Templecombe. It constitutes his father the Chief Justice one of the overseers, and was proved in 1533, five years before the date of the Chief Justice's will, by his widow Elizabeth. This Elizabeth is, no doubt, the person mentioned in the Chief Justice's will as his "daughter Elizabeth Fitz-James ;" and her will was proved in 1551.

It seems to me, therefore, that the strictest critic cannot require stronger

evidence to prove the case ; and that henceforth the old lineage will be discarded, and the Chief Justice be recognised as the nephew, instead of the brother, of Bishop Fitz-James ; removing thus all difficulty with regard to his age in the different steps of his legal career.

Lord Campbell, in his *Life of the Chief Justice*, has not fallen into the mistake I have been noticing. Indeed, his lordship does not seem to have been aware that any relationship existed between the Judge and the Bishop, whether as brother or nephew. A knowledge of either connexion would no doubt have prevented him from ascribing obscurity of birth to the Chief Justice, as he would then have seen that Godwin distinctly speaks of the Bishop as "*nobili ortus prosapia.*" This, however, is of minor importance ; but there are some other statements in his lordship's memoir, from which I am unfortunate enough entirely to dissent. I of course refrain from discussing them here, feeling that the Society of Antiquaries is the last place into which such controversies should be introduced ; and I only allude thus slightly to them now, lest my silence should be construed as precluding me from a future inquiry into their foundation.

I cannot conclude this short, and I fear somewhat uninteresting, paper without acknowledging my great obligation to two Fellows of this body, both of whom afford excellent illustrations of the peculiar utility of a society like this ; for, while they are industriously employed in their own pursuits, they are ever ready to give their aid in the investigations of their brethren : I mean Mr. Robert Cole—who has kindly supplied me with the later wills of the family—and Mr. David Jardine, to whom I am indebted for the discovery and the collation of the documents preserved among the Harleian MSS.

XXIV.—*Letters from a Subaltern Officer of the Earl of Essex's Army, written in the Summer and Autumn of 1642; detailing the early movements of that portion of the Parliament Forces which was formed by the Volunteers of the Metropolis; and their further movements when amalgamated with the rest of the Earl of Essex's Troops. Communicated by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Director, in a Letter to the Viscount MAHON, President.*

Read Dec. 15 and 22, 1853.

MY LORD,

FOUR or five years ago, whilst making some researches in the State Paper Office relating to the time of Charles I., I met with a short succession of Letters from a person of the name of Nehemiah Wharton, addressed to his then late master and honoured friend Mr. George Willingham, merchant, at the Golden Anchor in St. Swithin's Lane. A few of these Letters, which I then, and some which I have since transcribed, I now lay before your Lordship and our Society. They form a graphic illustration of the historical incidents of Butler's celebrated poem, and detail the more than wretched condition under which our country suffered throughout the confused period of the Great Rebellion, wherever the rival forces came, whether to plunder or to protect the unfortunate inhabitants. Another feature in these Letters is the strange and ceaseless union of outrage with religion. Atrocities of the worst kind were constantly followed by "a famous," "a worthy," "a godly," or "a heavenly sermon," preached by one or other of the spiritual trumpeters of the time, who inflamed the population. After pillaging Sir Robert Fisher's house, near Coventry, on the next day, the soldiers "kept the Fast and heard two Sermons." Before the third was ended they had an alarm to march.

Dugdale, in his "Short View of the late Troubles in England," folio, Lond. 1681, p. 99, gives the following account of the origin of the force in which Nehemiah Wharton began his soldier's career:—

"How forward and active the Londoners were to promote this rebellion can hardly be imagined; people of all sorts pouring out their treasure as if it had been for the most advantageous purchase in the world; thronging in with their plate and rings, and not sparing their very thimbles and bodkins. Neither were they

backward in the adventure of their lives; five thousand of them listing themselves under the Earl of Essex the next day (26 Julii) in Moorfields, which, with the other volunteers then in readiness, amounted to near ten thousand men, being forthwith committed (1 Aug.) to officers, and distributed into regiments, were ordered to be daily exercised and have constant pay."^a

In refinement of language Nehemiah Wharton does not always excel. To some extent this was the fault of the time, and palliation may be found in the position of the man, and not less the turbulence of the period. No reader, however, will, on this account, throw doubt on his veracity, which is shewn to be tested by himself, when, in one of his letters, he corrects the misinformation which he had communicated in a former one.

In several of the more important places where he was quartered he gives short topographical surveys which describe their condition no long time before some of them were knocked to pieces by the cavaliers or by the roundheads.

I.

[Stat. Pap. Domestic, Chas. I. Bund. 215.]

Alisbury, August the 16th, 1642.

WORTHY SIR,

On Monday, August the 8th, we marched to Acton; but beinge the Sixth Company, we were belated, and many of our soldiers were constrained to lodge in beds whose feathers were above a yarde longe. Tuesday, early in the morninge, several of our soldiers inhabitinge the out parts of the towne sallied out unto the house of one Penruddock,^b a papist, and being basely affronted by him

^a See also the Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament from the 1st of August to the 8th, 1642, 4to.

^b This part of Wharton's narrative is singularly corroborated in the following Tract, published by authority in the very month in which this letter is dated, entitled, "A Relation of the Rare Exploits of the London Souldiers, and Gentlemen Prentizes, lately gone out of the Citie for the Designes of the King and Parliament." Hen. Elsyng Cler. Parl. D. Com. Printed for William Smith, 1642. 4to.

"The miseries and calamities which of late have happened in this confused place of England are so many that they furnish the discourse both of this and of other nations, who, notwithstanding, are not able to expresse them all. I shall now relate you only two, befalling within these few dayes, and to this end, that, by the true report of these (which, by men of sundry passions, may be prevented), others of the like nature, if it please God, may be prevented. Of the one, I have certaine information; of the other, I myselfe was an eye-witnesse. The first happened at Acton, some six miles distant from London, where lived a gentleman, reported and believed to be different in religion (as too many now-a-dayes are, which we know to be the cause of all our evils,) from the Church of England; but, in the voice of most of his neighbours, a sober,

and his dogge, entred his house, and pillaged him to the purpose. This day, also, the souldiers got into the church, defaced the auntient and sacred glased picturs, and burned the holy railles. Wensday: Mr. Love gave us a famous sermon this day; also, the souldiers brought the holy railles from Chissick, and burned them

moderate, and charitable-minded man. This gentleman, having in his house no more but one ancient gentlewoman, his kinswoman, whom he intrusted as his housekeeper, with one serving man and maide, had his house besett with divers companies of soldiers, who had listed themselves for the service of the King and Parliament, and were in pay and command under officers; where, after they had forced him to open the gates by threatening words, they entered the house, and so strangely despoiled him that they left him not a bed, bedstead, table, doore, or glasse window, chest, trunk, or the smallest utensil, but sold all for very small prices before his servants' faces, some of them having forced him before on foote to London; and for his bills, bonds, letters, and other writings the most part they tore in pieces, and strewed them about the house; others some they sent up to London. He hath, with much industry and long time, rarely furnished a plot of ground with the choicest flowers and outlandish trees which he could procure, which they plucked up by the roots, as many as they could, and the rest left so desolate that, whereas it was thought the finest and most curious gardens in all those parts, there is now left nothing but the ruines of Art and Nature.

"The other outrage, which with griefe I saw, was committed in Radcliffe Highway, Tuesday last, being the 23 of this instant August, where lived an ancient gentleman in good fashion, love, and credit amongst his neighbours for many years space. I was informed, and might likewise guesse by his aspect, that he was above fourscore, and his wife not much distant from his time. This poor man was, like manner, assaulted by another company of souldiers, who are billeted thereabouts until the drum commands them to do service, where, having approached his doore, they drew out a paper, which they read,—whether a pretense of authority or what else I cannot easily conjecture. And thereupon they rushed into the house, rifled him of all that was in the house, breaking and battering many of the goods, and, having brought them out, sold them to such persons as would buy them at any rates, and this at noone day, and in the sight of one thousand people: one feather-bed I saw sold for four shillings, and one flock-bed for one shilling; and many other things at I know not what prises, leaving him nothing but naked walls and one stoole, which the old man sate upon, he being lame and decrepit with old age. The headborough of the place endeavoured to rescue some of the goods, which were afterwards violently taken againe out of his house. After the riot was thus ended, they marched away with a drum; and then I made bold to goe into this distressed man's house, where I found him sitting upon his only stoole, and with the teares falling downe his hoary beard, from whence, having administred the best comfort that I could, I departed.

"I will now leave the reader to judge of these strange inhumanities, they being, in this respect, the more monstrous, in that they are practised amongst Christians against Christians, and amongst men that pretend, and indeede should maintaine and defend religion, the lawes of the land, and priviledges of the subject, to the scandal of the true sincere Protestant religion, destruction of the lawes of the kingdome, and the utter violation of all priviledge.

"If it be here objected to me that they were Papists, I demand if there be not many wholesome lawes made against them, and desired both by the King's Majesty and by the Parliament to be put in execution; nay, were they Jewes or Atheists, it is a staine to the Governement of the Kingdom, amongst many other distempers, and may teach forraigne princes to use the same rigour towards Protestants beyond the seas, whose religion in puretie, truth, and decency let us pray God for ever to maintain and defend. The Lords and Commons in Parliament declares that all such persons as shall, upon any pretence whatsoever, assist

in our towne. At Chissick they also intended to pillage the Lord of Portland's house, and also Dr. Duck's,^a but by our commanders they were prevented. This day our soldiers generally manifested their dislike of our Lieftenant Colonell, who is a Godamme blade, and doubtlesse hatche in hell, and we all desire that ether the Parliament would depose him, or God convert him, or the Devill fetch him away quick. This day, towards even, our regiment marched to Uxbridge, but I was left behinde, to bring up thirty men with ammunition the next morning. Thursday I marched toward Uxbridge; and at Hillingdon, one mile from Uxbridge, the railes beinge gone, we got the surplesse, to make us handecherchers, and one of our soildiers ware it to Uxbridge. This day the railes of Uxbridge, formerly removed, was, with the service boock, burned. This even Mr. Hardinge gave us a worthy sermon. Friday, I, with three other commanders, were sent with one hundred musquetteres to bringe the amunition to Amersam in Buckinghamshire, which is the sweetest country that ever I saw, and as is countrey so also is the people, but wantinge roome for the regiment comminge after us we were constrained to marche four miles further unto Greate Missenden, where we had noble entertainment from the whole towne, but especially from Sr Brian Ireson and the minister of the towne. Saturday morninge, our companies overtoke us and we marched together unto Alsbury, and after we had marched a longe mile, for so they are all in this countrey, wee came to Wendevery, where wee refreshed ourselves, burnt the railes, and, accidentally, one of Captaine Francis his men, forgettinge he was charged with a bullet, shot a

his Majestie in this warre with horse, armes, plate, or money are traytors to His Majestie, the Parliament, and Kingdome, and shall be brought to condigne punishment for so high an offence.

" Ordered to be forthwith printed and published.

" *H. Elsyng Cler. Parl. D. Com.*"

The closing paragraph of this Tract shows, at once, the encouragement which was tacitly given to these outrages by the dominant power in an appearance of loyalty. There can be little doubt that the parties assailed in these instances had sent either money or its value to support the King's cause.

Penruddock's residence was not really at Acton, though very near. It was the Manor-house of Ealing, the manor of which had belonged from time immemorial to the See of London.

Lysons, in his "Environs," says, "At the time of the Parliamentary Survey, in 1650, the Manor-house (of Ealing) was in the possession of John Penruddock; the same, it is probable, who was executed at Exeter in 1655 for an insurrection against Cromwell. It is described in the Survey as 'ruinated, and lying open since the first plundering thereof in the beginning of the last troubles.'"

^a Lysons, in his account of Chiswick, makes no mention of any residence here of the Earl of Portland. Arthur Duck, LL.D., was at this time sub-lessee of the prebendal manor of Chiswick. He sat in the Parliament of 1640, and was a well-known adherent to the royal cause.

maide through the head, and she immediately died. From hence wee marched very sadlye two miles, where Colonel Hamden, accompanied with many gentlemen well horsed, met us, and with great joy saluted and welcomed us, and conducted us unto Alsbury, where we have a regiment of foote, and severall troopes of horse to ioyne with us. In this towne our welcome is such that wee want nothinge but a good Leiftenant Colonell. Sabath day, August the 15, in this towne a pulpit was built in the market-place, where wee heard two worthy sermons. This eveninge our ungodly Lieftenant Colonel, upon an ungrounded whimsey, commaunded two of our captaines, namely, Captaine Francis and Captaine Beacon, with their companies, to march out of the towne, but they went not. Every day our soildiers by stealth doe visit papists' houses, and constraine from them both meate and money. They give them whole greate loves and chesses, which they triumphantly carry away upon the points of their swords. I humbly intreate you, as you desire the successe of our just and honorable cause, that you would indeavor to roote out our Leiftenant Colonell; for, if we march further under his commaund, we feare, upon suffitient grounds, wee are all but dead men. Monday, August the 16th, Colonel Hamden marched out of Alisbury, with four hundred musqueters and about an hundred horse, towards Wattleton, in Oxfordshire, where the Commission of Aray was this day to be settled; but they, hearinge of the aproch of our troopes, fled, and our horse persued them so close that S^r John Cursam was taken, and the Lord of Bartie was constrained to take hynte hom, sometime the Lord of Carnarvan's, where our companies have at this present beset him. And thus much for the present. Touchinge Leiftenant Colonell Biddeman formentioned, I once more humbly beseech you—and not I alone, but many others, both commaunders, officers, and common souldiers—that you would endeavor to rout him. There are severall other circumstances which I want time to expresse, for the office assigned mee is very troublesome, and continually takes up my whole time; and, therefore, for the present let these satisfie. To conclude, I presentt you and mistris with my humble service, and doe give you humble and hartie thanks for all your former and late favors; and do intreate you to remember my humble service to Mr. Molloyne and wife; my service also to Elizabeth, Anne, John, and Sammuell, which I often think upon; and also my love to all my fellow servants. In extreme hast, I rest,

Your poore, auntient, humble, and affectionate
servant to commaund,

NEHEMIAH WHARTON.

II.

Coventry, Aug. 26, 1642.

WORTHY SIR,

August the 17, our companies, after they had taken sixe delinquents and sent them to London, returned to Alesbury this day; we retained two feild pieces and two troopes of horse, with other necessaries for warre. Wensday morning a Warwickshire minister, which the Calualleres had pillaged to the skin, gave us a sermon. After noone our regiment marched into the feild and skirmished. Thursday morning another sermon was given us. After noone our regiment marched into the feild, but by reason of foule weather were immediately definished. This night our regiment was commaunded to march the next morninge by four of the clock under our Leiftenant Colonell, but our sargeants refused to surrender their halberts, and the souldiers their armes, and not to march. Friday, very early in the morninge, our Leiftenant Colonell was cashiered, for which I give you hearty thanks, and Sergeant-Major Quarles imployed in his roome, wherat both commaunders, officers, and souldiers exceedingly rejoyced. This morninge wee cherfully marched towards Buckingham in the rear of Colonell Chomley's regiment, by reason whereof we could get no quarter there, but were constrained to quarter ourselves about the countrey, wherupon I and three gentlemen of my company visited that thrice noble gentleman Sr Richard Inglisby, where his owne table was our quarter, and Serjeant-Major Burrif, and his sonne Captaine Inglisby, and several other noble gentlemen were our comrades. Saturday, early in the morning, I departed hence and gathered a complete file of my owne men about the countrey, and marched to Sir Alexander Denton's parke, who is a malignant fellow, and killed a fat buck, fastened his head upon my halbert, and commaunded two of my pickes to bring the body after me to Buckingham, with a guard of musquetteers comminge theither. With part of it I feasted my captaine, Captaine Parker, Captaine Beacon, and Colonell Hamden's sonne, and with the rest severall leiftenants, enseignes, and serjeants, and had much thanks for my paines. This day Sergeant Major our Generall came unto us, and declared the commaund given him over our regiments. Sunday morninge wee marched from Buckingham into Northamptonshire, a longe and tedious jorney, wantinge both bread and water, and about ten at night came unto Byfeild in dispiht of our enemies, at which towne we could get no quarter, neither meate, drinke, nor lodginge, and had we not bin suplyed with ten cart loade of provision and beare from Banbury, many of us had perished. This night our company was commanded to guard the towne all night, whiche after a longe and

tedious marche, unto me was very greivous. Monday morninge wee marched into Warwick-shere with aboute three thousand foote and four hundred horse, until we came to Southam. In the way we tooke two Calvalleres spies. This is a very malignant towne, both minister and people. We pillaged the minister, and tooke from him a drum and severall armes. This night our soildiers, wearied out, quartered themselves about the towne for foode and lodginge, but before we could eate or drinke an alarum cryed "arme, arme, for the enemy is commenge," and in halfe an hower all our soildiers, though dispersed, were cannybals in armes, ready to encounter the enemy, crying out for a dish of Calvellaers to supper. Our horse were quartered about the countrey, but the enemy came not, whereupon our soildiers cryed out to have a breakefast of Cauallers. We barecaded the towne, and at every passage placed our ordinance and watched it all night, our soildiers contented to lye upon hard stones. In the morninge early our enemise, consistinge of about eight hundred horse and three hundred foote, with ordinance, led by the Earle of Northampton, the Lord of Carnarvan, and the Lord Compton and Captⁿ Legge, and other, intended to set upon us before wee could gather our companies together, but beinge ready all night, early in the morninge wee went to meete them with a few troopes of horse and sixe feild peece, and beinge on fier to be at them wee marched thorow the corne and got the hill of them, wherupon they played upon us with their ordinances, but they came short. Our gunner tooke their owne bullet, sent it to them againe, and killed a horse and a man. After we gave them eight shot more, whereupon all their foote companies fled and offered ther armes in the townes adjacent for twelve pence a peece. Ther troopes, whelinge about, toke up their dead bodies and fled; but the horse they left behind, some of them having ther guts beaten out on both sides. The number of men slaine, as themselves report, was fifty besides horse. One drummer, beinge dead at the bottome of the hill, our knapsack boyes rifled to the shirt, which was very lowzy. Another drummer wee found two miles of, with his arme shot of, and lay a dieinge. Severall dead corps wee found in corne feilds, and amongst them a trumpeter, whose trumpet our horsemen sounded into Coventry. Wee tooke severall prisoners, and amongst them Capt. Legge and Captaine Clarke. From thence wee marched valiantly after them toward Coventry, and at Dunsmore Heath they threatned to give us battaile, but we got the hill of them, ordered our men, and cryed for a messe of Calualleres to supper, as wee had to breakefast; but they all fled, and we immediately marched into Coventry, where the countrey met us in armes and wellcommed us, and gave us good quarter both for horse and foote. In this battell I met with your horseman Davey, and he and I present you and my Mistris with

our most humble sarvice, desiringe you to pray for us, and doubt not but both of (us) will valiantly fight the Lord's battaile. Thus, with my service to Mrs. Elizabeth, Anne, John, and Samuell, and my love to all my fellow servants, I rest,

Yours, in all good services,

NEHEMIAH WHARTON.

I pray present the humble servises of Gregory Kent and myselfe unto Mr. Molloyne, with my best respects to Mr. Henry Hickman, and inform him that I have received his booke, and shall acknowledge my selfe engaged for the same. I would have written unto him and others, my kindred and frends, but I want time, and therefore must humbly intreate you to inform them thereof. I earnestly desire to heare from you whether you received a letter dated August 17th, or no.

III.

Coventry, August the 30th, 1642.

NOBLE SIR,

As time permits, I desire to acquaint you with the passages of my pilgrimage. My last unto you was from Coventry, August the 26th, which place is still our quarter; a City invironed with a wall co-equal, if not exceedinge, that of London for breadth and height; the compass of it is neare three miles, all of free stone. It hath four strong gates, stronge battlements stored with towers, bulwarks, courts of guard, and other necessities. This city hath magnificent churches and stately streets; within it ther are also several sweete and pleasant springes of water built of free stone, very large, sufficient to supply many thousand men. The City gates are guarded day and night with four hundred armed men, and no man entreth in or out but upon examination. It is also very sweetly situate. Thursday, August the 26th, our souldiers pillaged a malignant fellowes house in this City, and the Lord Brooke immediately proclaimed that whosoever should for the future offend in that kind should have martiall law. This day command was given that all souldiers should attend their colors every morne by sixe of the clock to march into the feilde to practise, which is done accordingly. Fryday several of our souldiers, both horse and foote, sallyed out of the City unto the Lord Dunsmore's parke, and brought from thence great store of venison, which is as good as ever I tasted, and ever since they make it their dayly practise, so that venison is almost as common with us as beefe with you. This day our horse-men sallyed out, as their dayly custom is, and brought in with them two Cavaleeres, and with them an

old base priest, the parson of Sowe, near us, and led him ridiculously about the City unto the chiefe commaunders. This day I againe met with Davy, your horseman, and both are in good case, horse and man. Saturday I met with your auntient maide servant Lydea, with her father and her brethren, who all wept for joy when they saw mee an officer in this desaigne, for the day wee marched into Coventry the rebels had command to pillage Anstey, the habitation of her father, and Bromagam, the place of her and her husband's dwellinge; both which are but three miles from Coventry. She hath been married three yeares, and presents her service unto you and my mistris, and your children. Her father invited mee and twenty of the cheife of my company to dinner at Anstey, but time would not suffer us to accept it. This day a whore, which had followed our campe from London, was taken by the soildeirs, and first led about the city, then set in the pillory, after in the cage, then duckt in a river, and at the last banisht the City. Sunday morne the Lord of Essex his chaplaine, M^r Kemme, the cooper's sonne, preached unto us, and this was the first sermon we heard since we came from Alisbury; but before he had ended his first prayer newes was brought into the church unto our commanders that Noneaton, some sixe miles from us, was fired by the enemy, and forthwith our Generall and several captaines issued forth, but I and many others stayed untill sermon was ended, after which wee were commanded to march forth with all speed, namely, my captaine with Captain Beacon and Captain Francis of our regiment, and of other regiments, in all to the number of one thousand foote and one troope of horse; but before we came at them they ran all away, not having done much harm; whereupon we returned to Coventry again with a command to be ready in arms by five in the morning next upon pain of death. Our men are very courageous, and that they may so continue we desire, according to promise, a supply of faithfull able ministers, which we exceedingly want. This morning we are marching forth to pursue the rebels, and that we may obtaine victory we againe desire your earnest and constant prayers. Thus, with my humble service to your selfe and my mistris, and also unto all your children, and also my love to all my fellow servants, whether with you or from you, for the present, in extreme hast, I rest but not to remaine till death,

Your humble, lovinge, and thankfull servant,

NEHEMIAH WHARTON.

I humbly intreate you favorably to accept these rude lines, for I want time either to write or compose them in a more comely forme. I earnestly desire to heare of the occurantes of London.

IV.

[Ibid. Bund. 216.]

Northampton, September the 3, 1642.

NOBLE SIR,

Monday, August the 29, before we had marched two miles towards the Cavaleeres, we were informed by the post that sixty of them were taken and imprisoned in Northampton, and the rest fled, whereupon we returned unto Coventry; and our company were immediately commanded to guard part of the city, and a gate called Newgate. About midnight our souldiers on the wall discovered fier in the City, neare St. Mary Hall, our magazine, which accidentally began at a baker's house, and in three or four hours was quenched, and no great harm done, but the citizens were much affrighted. Tuesday morning we officers weet our halberts with a barrell of strong beere, called ould Hum, which we gave our soldiers. This day Mr. Jephcot feasted me and several of my company in Coventry. This even our soildiers brought a cart loade of armes from Sir Robert Fisher's, some six miles from Coventry, with his owne picture standing very stately in the cart. Wensday wee kept the Fast and heard two sermons, but before the third was ended we had an alarm to march presently. By ten of the clock we gat our regiments together, and kept our randevow in the City until midnight, and about two in the morning marched out of this City towards Northampton. This City hath four steeples, three churches, two parishes, and not long since but one preist: but now the world is well amended with them. This morne I was exceeding sick, and the pallet of my mouth fell down; but Captain Beacon, my loving friend, upon our march sent a mile for a little pepper and put it up again. This day our souldiers brought with them three asses which they had taken out of the Lord Dunsmore's park, which they loaded with their knapsacks, and dignified them with the name of the Lord Dunsmore. This day being Thursday we marched over Dunsmoore Heath, near twelve miles, without any sustenance, insomuch that many of our soildiers drank stinking water; until we came to Barby, in Northamptonshire, where the country, according to their ability, relieved as many of us as they could. Our soldiers pillaged the parson of this town, and brought him away prisoner, with his surplice and other relics. From hence we marched four miles further unto Longe Bugby, where we had very hard quarter, insomuch that many of our captaines could get no lodginge, and our soildiers were glad to despossesse the very swine, and as many as could quartered in the church; but here your man Davy, ridinge before our foote companies, gat mee both foode and lodginge. This towne hath, for two

Sundayes together, bin so abused by the rebels, that both men, women, and children were glad to leave the towne and hide themselves in ditches and corn fields. Friday, early in the morning, a messenger came to our Colonell, that in the King's house, called Homby, three miles distant, there were 500 muskettiers to cut off all our stragling soldiers, whereby wee prevented them. This morninge our souldiers sallyed out about the cuntrey, and returned in state clothed with a surplisse, hood, and cap, representing the Bishop of Canterbury. From hence we marched three miles, wher Homby House stands very stately upon a hill, and the Lord of Northampton's house and parke neare unto it; but we could not restraine our souldiers from entringe his park and killinge his deer, and had not the Lord Gray and our Sargent Major Generall withstood them they had pillaged his house. This even we marched unto Northampton, where the townesmen hearinge of our coming marched out into the country to prevent the Commission of Array intended to be settled by the Lord Mountagu and others, which Mountagu they brought prisoner unto Northampton, and prevented his desaigne. This evening seven troopes of horse came unto us. This night the Lord of Northampton, by stealth, came into the towne, viewed our horse forces, and in the morning discovered, but immediately escaped. Saturday morning the Lord Munioz and his son were taken ridinge through the towne. This eveninge all the serjeants of our regiment met together, and out of twenty-three chose two for stewards for a supper, and other more weighty affaires, and chose me for one of them, which place is exceedinge troublesome unto me. This day came S^r Arthur Hasleriges, and other troopes, into our towne. This day our souldiers brought in much venison, and other pillage, from the malignants about the country. This evening we feasted all our sargeants, with some other superior officers, which is very troublesome and chargeable and I cannot avoide. This night I invited your man Davy and his comrade, and made them welcome. Thus with my humble service to you, my mistris, and your children, and my love to all my fellow-servants, in extreme hast I rest

Your servant till death,

N. W.

I pray let me heare from you by this bearer.

V.

[Ibid.]

Northampton, September the 7th, 1642.

WORTHY SIR,

I present you and my Mrs. with my humble service, wishinge you and all yours the constant fruition of all hapinesse. This is my fifth letter unto you, but I question whether ever you received one of them, because you never yet honoured mee with a peece of paper. I have, therefore, once more sent unto you by this bearer, Lieutenant Wade, who hath promised to deliver these with his owne hands. Our place of rendevoues is still at Northampton, which, for situation, circuit, and statelynesse of buildinge, exceeds Coventry; but the walls are miserably ruined, though the country abounds in mines of stone. From hence I have nothinge remarkable to present you with, neither will time permit me to acquaint you with circumstances. This morninge our regiment being drawne into the fielde to exercise, many of them discovered their base ends in undertaking this designe, and demaunded five shillings a man, which, they say, was promised them monthly by the Committee, or they would surrender their armes. Whereupon Colonell Hamden, and other commaunders, laboured to appease them, but could not: so that if they have not the forenamed supply, we feare a very great faction amongst us. There is also great desention betweene our troopers and foot companies, for the footmen are much abused and sometimes pillaged and wounded. I myselfe have lately experimentally found it, for they tooke from me about the worth of three pounds; but I am not discouraged by any of these, but by God's assistance will undauntedlye proceede, for God is able to reconcile all our diferences. Sir, I humbly entreate you to send me small feather, white and one tip of black, by one Gregory Kent, knowne unto Mr. Molloyne, and livinge neare him; he will be with mee on Saturday, at night. I shall be very joyfull at the last to heare of the welfare of you all. Thus committynge you into the custody of the most Heigh, for the present I rest

Your humble servant till death,

NEHEMIAH WHARTON.

The bearer stayed the writing thereof, which is the cause of my rustick scribblinge and inditinge.

VI.

[Ibid.]

Northampton, Sept. the 13th, 1642.

THRICE WORTHY SIR,

Accordinge to custome I present you with our particular circumstances. My last unto you of this nature was Sept. the 2nd, being Saturday. Sabbath day, Sept. the 3d, wee peaceably injoyed. Munday morning I was informed by a countryman of a base priest, six miles distant, which had set out horse for the Commission of Aray and had arms in his house, and I immediately got twenty musketeers and marched out to search the house. The countryman I clothed with a soildier's red coate, gave him arms, and made him my guide: but having marched two miles, certain gentlemen of the country informed mee that Justice Edmonds, a man of good conversation, but since I hear of the Aray, was plundered by the base blew coats of Colonell Cholmley's regiment, and bereaved of his very beeds, whereupon I immediately devided my men into three squadrons, surrounded them, and forced them to bring their pillage upon their own backs unto the house againe: for which service I was welcomed with the best varieties in the house, and had given me a scarlet coate lined with plush, and several excellent bookes in folio of my own chusinge; but returning, a troope of horse belonging unto Colonel Foynes met me, pillaged me of all, and robbed mee of my very sword, for which cause I told them I would other have my sword or dye in the field, commaunded my men to charge with bullet, and by devisions to fier upon them, which made them with shame return me my sword, and it being towards night I returned to Northampton, threatninge revenge upon the base troopers. This night and the day following our company by lot watched the south gate, where I searched every horseman of that troop to the skin, took from them a fat buck, a venison pasty ready baked, but lost my own goods. Wensday morning we had tidings that Prince Robert, that diabolical Cavaleere, had surrounded Lester and demaunded two thousand pounds, or else threatned to plunder the towne: whereupon our soldiers were even madde to be at them, but wanted commission. All the venison belonging to malignants in the country are destroyed. Thursday our soildiers marched in to the feilde to exercise, and there declared their basenes, specified in a former letter composed in part, and intended to be sent by Leiftenant Wade, but he could not stay the wrighting of it. This day most of the Ministers nominated in your letter came unto me. Friday morning worthy Mr. Obadiah Sedgewick gave us a worthy sermon, and my company in particular marched to hear him in

rank and file. Mr. John Sedgwick was appointed to preach in the afternoone; but we had newes that Prince Robert had plundered Harbrough and fired some adjacent townes, and our regiment were immediately drawn into the field, but being informed of ther flying away we returned. Saturday morning Mr. John Sedgwick gave us a famous sermon. After noone our regiments marched forth to meet his Excellency, who was in great state welcomed into the town, and the watch word this night was "Welcome." This night and the day following our company watched the north gate. Sabbath day morning Mr. Marshall, that worthy champion of Christ, preached unto us. After noone Mr. Ash, by relation, but as yet I have not seen him. These with their sermons have already subdued and satisfied more malignante spirits amongst us than a thousand armed men could have done, so that we have great hope of a blessed union. Monday morning I received your letter, dated Septr. the 8th, with my mistresses scarfe and Mr. Molloyne's hatband, both which came very seasonably, for I had gathered a little money together, and had this day made me a soildier's sute for winter, edged with gold and silver lace. These gifts I am unworthy of. I have nothing to tender you for them but humble and harty thanks. I will wear them for your sakes, and I hope I shall never staine them but in the blood of a Cavaleere. Your letter, being a pitthy, sollid, brief, and reall relation, I presented to my captain and all the captaines of our regiment together at dinner with Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, who rejoysid at the newes and gave me much thanks. My captain greets you with his best respects. Tuesday; this day his Excellency intends to view our forces. Wensday we expect the celebration of a fast. Thursday we expect to march with all our forces towards Lester, and I doubt not but we shall scowre the Cavalleers. Your man Davy remembers his service unto you, and gives humble thanks for your kind remembrance of him. I have not any other thinge for the present to acquaint you with; therefore, with my humble service to your selfe, my mistris, Mr. Molloyne, and his wife, and unto all yours and their children, and my love to the servants of both houses,

I conclude, until death remaininge,

Your humble, thankefull, and deeply ingaged servant at command,

NEHEMIAH WHARTON.

Every Wensday you may find a post that serveth our army at the Saracen's Head, in Carter Lane. His name is Thomas Weedon, who is with us once a week constantly.

VII.

[Ibid.]

NOBLE SIR,

September the 13th was my last unto you ; this even wee had tidings that Killingworth Castle, in Warwickshire, six miles from Coventry, was taken, with store of ammunition and money, and some prisoners, their number uncertain ; the rest fled, and the country pursued them, and wanted but the assistance of Coventry to destroy them all. Wednesday, Sept. 14th, our forces, both foot and horse, marched into the field, and the Lord General viewed us, both front, rear, and flank, when the drums beating and the trumpets sounding made a harmony delectable to our friends, but terrible to our enemies. This even, contrary to expectation, our regiment marched five miles north-east unto Stratton, where we, and as many as could, billeted in the town ; the rest quartered thro' the country. Thursday our regiment met again, when those famous lawes for our army were read and expounded. This day we received and accepted Serjt. Major Neale. Friday our regiment were commanded to meet here again to be mustered, where we exercised in the field the whole day, and the muster master came not, whereat we were all much displeased. This night our company by lot watched the town. Saturday our regiment met again and were mustered. This even Captain Francis, returning from London, informed me of the couragiousness and constancy of the City of London, and also of their constant supply of money and plate ; and also told me that the whole city were now either real or constrained Roundheads. Sabbath day wee peaceably injoyed with Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, who gave us two heavenly sermons. Munday morning our regiment began to march towards Warwickshire and passed through West-Haddon, Creeke, and Hill Morton, where we had a supply of drink, which upon a march is very rare and extraordinary welcome, and at the end of ten miles we came to Rugby, in Warwickshire, where we had good quarter. At this town Mr. Norton formerly preached. This town also was lately disarmed by the Cavaliers on the Sabbath day, the inhabitants being at church. Tuesday morning our regiment marched two miles unto Dunsmore Heath, where the Lord General and his regiment met us, as also the Lord of Stanford, Colonel Cholmley, and Colonel Hampden, with many troops of horse and eighteen field pieces, where we kept our rendezvouz until even, when we had tidings that all the malignants in Worcestershire, with the Cavaliers, were got into Worcester and fortified themselves, whereupon we marched six miles unto Baggington, within two miles of Coventry. This night the rest of our regiments quartered about the

country. Wednesday morning we marched towards Warwick, leaving Killingworth Castle upon the right, and after we had marched six miles our forces met again and quartered before Warwick, until forty pieces of ordnance, with other carriages, passed by, in which time I viewed the antiquities on this side Warwick, as St' Guy's Cave, his chapel, and his picture in it; his stables all hewed out of the main rock, as also his garden and two springing wells whereat he drank, as is reported. From hence our regiment marched through Warwick in such haste that I could not view the town, but had only a sight of the castle, which is very strong, built upon a mighty rock, whereof there are store in this country. This night we marched two miles further unto Burford, where our quarter was as constantly since his Excellency's coming. It is very poor, for many of our soldiers can get neither beds, bread, nor water, which makes them grow very strong, for backbiters have been seen to march upon some of them six on breast and eight deep at their open order, and I fear I shall be in the same condition e'er long, for we can get no carriage for officers, so that my trunk is more slighted than any other, which is occasioned, as I conceive, partly by the false informations of Lieut.-Col. Briddeman and our late Serjeant Major General Ballard, profane wretches; but chiefly for want of our Colonel, who should be one of the Council of War, at which Council we have none to plead for us or remove false aspersions cast upon us, in so much that I have heard some of our captains repent their coming forth, and all for want of a Colonel. Thursday morning we marched in the front four miles towards Worcester, where we met one riding post from Worcester, informing us that our troops and the cavaliers were there in fight; but it was false, only to hast the captains from Warwick. Upon this report our whole regiment ran shouting for two miles together, and crying "To Worcester, to Worcester," and desired to march all night: but after we had marched two miles further we were commanded to stand until our forces passed by, and then marched two miles further unto Assincantlo, where we could get no quarter, neither bread nor drink, by reason of the Lord Compton's late being there. Friday we marched four miles on this side Worcester, but our soldiers cried out for one hour together to go forward to set upon the enemy, but could get no commission. This day we had such foul weather that before I had marched one mile I was wet to the skin. This day our horse forces, namely, Sir William Belford, Col. Sands, Col. Vines, Col. Clarke, Major Douglas, kept all the passages over Severne, and by that means kept in the Cavaliers, who often assayed to fly, but were repelled. Those commanders sent to His Excellency for three field pieces, and offered with them to keep them in on that side untill we had surrounded them: but they were denied this day. Towards even

Prince Robert entered the city at a bye passage with eighteen troops of horse, most of the city crying "Welcome, welcome," but principally the mayor, who desired to entertain him; but he answered, "God damn him, he would not stay, but would go wash his hands in the blood of the Roundheads," and immediately set some to lye in ambush, and with the rest sallied out upon our forces; and immediately Col. Sands came on bravely, even unto the breast of their chief commander, and discharged. The rest undauntedly followed, but their forces immediately fled, and ours followed them, and by the ambushment were beset before and behind, so that the battle was very hot, and many fell on both sides. Some of our chief commanders, as Col. Sands and Duglas, was wounded, and are since both dead. The chief amongst the Cavaliers were Prince Robert, who, I hear, was wounded, the Lord Craven, and the Lord of Northampton. Our wounded men they brought into the city, and stripped, stabbed, and slashed their dead bodies in a most barbarous manner, and imbrued their hands in their blood. They also at their return met a young gentleman, a Parliament man, as I am informed—his name I cannot learn—and stabbed him on horseback with many wounds, and trampled upon him, and also most maliciously shot his horse. This even, our general's troop of gentlemen, going to quarter themselves about the country, were betrayed and beset by the enemy, and, overmuch timorous, immediately fled so confusedly that some broke their horses' necks, others their own; some were taken, others slain; and scarce half of them escaped; which is such a blot upon them as nothing but some desperate exploit will wipe off. Hearing this news, we immediately cried out to march unto them, and forthwith drew out a forlorn hope—some out of every company—and sent them before, intending to march after them; but about eleven of the clock, the enemies fled, and our hope returned. Here we abode all night, where we had small comfort, for it rained hard. Our food was fruit, for those who could get it; our drink, water; our beds, the earth; our canopy, the clouds; but we pulled up the hedges, pales, and gates, and made good fires: his Excellency promising us that, if the country relieved us not the day following, he would fire their towns. Thus we continued singing of psalms until the morning. Saturday morning we marched into Worcester—our regiment in the rear of the waggons—the rain continuing the whole day, and the way so base that we went up to the ancles in thick clay; and, about four of the clock after noon, entred the city, where we found twenty-eight dead men, which we buried—some of them Cavaliers—and these were all that we can find slain on our side. This even, by lot, our company watched one of the gates, and also the day following, until even. This even his Excellency's guard entred the mayor's house, and toke him prisoner,

who is now more guarded than regarded. Sabbath day morning our soldiers entered a vault of the Colledge, where his Excellency was to hear a sermon, and found eleven barrels of gunpowder and a pot of bullets. This day Mr. Marshall Sedgewick, &c. preached about the city, but I, being upon the court of guard, could not heare them. This even his Excellency proclaimed that no soldier should plunder either church or private house, upon pain of death. We shortly expect a pitched battle, which, if the Cavaliers will but stand, will be very hot; for we are all much enraged against them for their barbarisms, and shall shew them little mercy. But I want time to enlarge myself. To conclude, I humbly entreat you to present my humble service to my Mrs., as also Mr. Edgerton's, our quartermaster, and mine to Mr. Molloyne and his wife; my service also to my aunt, Mr. Priaux, Mr. Simpson and his wife, Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Starkey; and I humbly intreate, let me hear from you of your welfare, my mistress, and your family. Sir, it is extreme hast that makes me compose so confusedly; and, therefore, with my service to Mrs. Elizabeth, Anna, John, and little Samuel, and my love to all my fellow servants, I rest yours in all good services, until death,

NEHEMIAH WHARTON.

My captain presents you with his best respects, and drinks to you every day we sit at table together. I have received your feather, for which I give you humble thanks.

Worcester, Sept. 26, 1642.

VIII.

[Ibid.]

MY much honored Mr. I humbly greete you. My last unto you was Sept. 26th, in which there were some errors, occasioned partly by my over hastinesse in wrightinge, for the bearer promised me to deliver it on Wensday, Sept. the 28th, partly by the various relations dyspersed, but chiefly by reason I was upon the guard, and upon paine of death durst not stir from it to se or heare any occurrences; but I had as good intelligence as the city then afforded, for the trueth of thinges was not then knowne. The errors are these. First, I wrote that the Earle of Northampton and the Lord Craven were with the Prince, but they were not; but upon sufficient information they were these, Prince Robert, Duke Mawrice, the Lord Digby, Commissary Wilmot, Sir Lewes Dives, Sir William

Russell, and Mr. Hastings. A second was, that most of the curoseers, his Excellencies trope, were cut off, but they are since returned and but few lost, but doe still beare the aspersion of cowards. The third was, that Colonell Sands was dead; but both he and Captain Sands, though both wounded, yet are still livinge. But, that I may not trouble you with common relations, which commonly are fictions, I have conferred with commaunders, the best intelligencers, and have also veiwed the place where the battaile was fought, but briefly. Worcestershire is a pleasant, fruitfull, and rich countrey, aboundinge in corne, woods, pastures, hills, and valleyes, every hedge and heigh way beset with fruits, but especially with pearres, whereof they make that pleasant drinke called perry, wth they sell for a penny a quart, though better then ever you tasted at London. Touchinge the city, it is more large than any I have seene since I left London, and like London it abounds in outward thinges of all kinds, but for want of the Word the people perrish. It is pleasantly seated, exceedingly populous, and doubtles very rich. It is situate on the east bank of that famous river Severne. The wall in the forme of a triangle, the gates seaven, the bulwarkes five, but much decayed: no castle, only a mount of earth. In this citty there is a very stately cathedrall, called S^t. Maries, in which there are many stately monuments; but amongst the rest, in the middle of the quire, is the monument of Kinge John, all of white marble, with his picture thereon to the life. On the south side, Kinge Arthur's tombe,* of jette, but no picture thereon. This citty hath also a stronge stone bridge over Severne, consistinge of sixe arches, with a gate in the middle of the bridge, as stronge as that on London Bridge, with a percullis. Five miles upon the left of this is Maluern Hills, which, for height and length and breadth, doe many degrees exceede all that ever I see. I nominate them because they are famous, for on the top of them there is a very brave chase for many miles together, a large ditch, and springs also, all on the very top. Betweene these hills and the river was the late skirmish, about one mile from the city, which was in this manner:—Our troopes on that side were devided to keepe the severall passages, and Colonell Sands, Colonell Vines, and Sergeant-Major Duglas, with their troopes, were set to keep this passage, which was at the end of a narrow lane, which the treacherous inhabitants neare them discovered to the Prince, and he forthwith set some troopes to lye in ambush, who brake downe a hedge and lay in a feild on the right of them; the treacherous citizens attending them in multitudes with muskets, who lay on each side the hedge. This done, the Prince with other forces went

* Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII.

to meete them, but first sent a false alarum, informinge them that the Cavalleeres weere all fled and had left the citty, and also that his Excellency was come even to the gates, and immediately these three troopes poasted away to meet his Excellency, for Sir William Belfore, Colonell Clarke, and our other commaunders, heard not of it, but hastinge downe a narrow lane the Prince met them. Colonell Sands beinge in the front, the Prince asked him whom he was for, he answered "For Kinge and Parliament." He replyed, "Not for the Kinge alone?" He answered, "No." Then said the Prince, "For the King have at you." The Colonell answered, "For the Parliament have at you." And so they discharged each at other. The rest followed them, and presently those in ambush fired upon them, as also the musketteers behind the hedges. The horsemen charged not the second time, but immediately fell to their swords, so that for the space of almost an hour the skirmishe was excedinge hot. This relation I had from an gentleman that was in the front of the battell, and was wounded with the sword and bullets in seaven severall places, was stripped naked, and yet liveth. He affermeth that, though there were ten for one, yet there were more slaine and wounded of them then of us; and I spake with one that heard the Prince, at his returne, say, that our men fought more like lions then men. Our wounded commaunders he brought into the city, and gave commaund that they should be carefully looked unto, and with all speed gathered his forces together and fled, leavinge all their reconinge to pay; in some places twenty pounde, in others ten, in some more, some lesse, pretendinge and also promising to returne. Since their departure we heare that the Prince is wounded, but it is certaine Duke Maurice is mortally wounded. They report unto the Kinge that they have slaine eight hundred of our men, when there were but twenty-eight slaine in all, and some of them were Cavalleeres; of this I am certaine, for I told all their gunnes, and searched the register of St. Jones parrish, where they were all buried. They boast wonderfully, and sweare most hellishly, that the next time they meete us they will make but a mouthfull of us; but I am persuaded the Lord hath given them this small victory, that they may, in the day of battell, come on more presumptuously to thir owne destruction, in which battell, though I and many thousand more may be cut off, yet I am confident the Lord of Hoasts will in the end triumph gloriously over these horses and all their cursed riders. They left, at their flight, in the city, some horses, truncks, and other thinges, all which his Excellency hath seized on. Colonell Essex is made governor of this citty, and his regiment shall be garisons here.

Sir, our army did little thinke ever to have seene Worcester, but the providence of God hath brought us heither, and had it not, the city is so vile, and the country

so base, papisticall, and atheisticall and abominable, that it resembles Sodom, and is the very embleme of Gomorrah, and doubtlesse it would have ben worse than either Algiers or Malta, a very den of thieves, and refuge for all the hel-hounds in the countrey; I should have said in the land; but we have handsomely handled some of them, and doe cull out the rest as fast as we can, who verbally cry *peccavi*, but cordially *iterum faciam*, and indeed they do as they are taught by Dr. Prediux, late madd By Shop,* and other popish priests, who are all run awaye. To conclude, Monday, Sept. 26th, one of Prince Robert's trumpeters came to our gates and sounded a point of warre, who was presently taken and led blindfold through the city unto his Excellency. This night Sargeant Major Duglas was nobly buried. Tuesday our soildiers, by commission from his Excellency, marched seven miles to Sir William Russell's house, and pillaged it unto the bare walls. Wensday we fasted, and Mr. Obbadiah Sedgwick preached unto us, whom the Lord extraordinarily assisted, so that his doctrine wrought wonderfully upon many of us, and doubtless hath fitted many of us for death, which we all shortly expect. Thursday his Excellency proclaimed that whosoever had any goods of the Cavalleers in custody should forthwith surrender them this day. I met with your servant Barry, who is in good health, with his horse. He was on the west of Severne, near the battell, but untill it was ended heard not of it. Wee joyntly present you and my Mrs. with our humble service, as also Mr. Willingham, your brother, with his family. Mr. Chappel's man and I do present our service to Mr. Chappell and his wife, Mr. Felton and his wife, and desire to heare of their welfare. Fryday morninge our drummes beat for our regiment to march away, but wheither I know not. Wee should bee very glad to see our colonell. Sir, I humbly intreate to excuse my late errours, and to accept these my pore indeavors, beinge the last I suppose that ever I shall present unto you. Thus, with my dearest love to all your children and my fellow servants, wheither with you or from you, beinge to march away in hast, I must conclude your everlovinge, humble, thankfull, and antient servant,

NEHEMIAH WHARTON.

Worcester, Sept. the 30th, 1642.

* John Prideaux, D.D. was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, Dec. 19, 1641.

IX.

[Ibid.]

MOST WORTHY SIR,

Fryday, Sept. 30th, was my last unto you. This day a company of knights, gentlemen, and yeomen of the county of Hereford, came to his Excellency, petitioners for strength to be sent speedily to Hereford, and forthwith we were commaunded to draw out fifteen out of every company in our regiments, in all about nine hundred, with three troopes of horse and two peeeces of ordinance, with which we marched (a forlorne hope) towards Hereford; our leaders were the Earle of Stanforde, Lieutenant-Colonell, Sargeant-Major Barrif, and Captaine Inglesby, of Colonell Hampden's Re.^a Captaine Jones of Cholmley's Re. Captaine Ward of Stamforde, Captaine Pony of Hollis his regiment, besides leiftenants and serjeants, our ministers, Mr. John Sedgwick and Mr. Kemme. After we had marched ten miles we came to Bromyard, the wether wet, and the way very fowle: here we got a little refreshment, and from hence marched ten miles further to Hereford, but very late before we got thither, and by reason of the raine and snow, and extremity of cold, one of our soildiers died by the way; and it is wonderfull wee did not all perish, for the cowardly Cavalleers were within few miles of us. In this poore condition comminge to Hereford, the gates were shut against us, and for two houres we stood in dirt and water up to the midde legge, for the city were all malignants, save three, which were Roundheads, and the Marquesse of Harford had sent them word the day before that they should in no wise let us in, or if they did we would plunder their houses, murder their children, burne their Bibles, and utterly ruinate all, and promised he would relieve them himself with all speede; for which cause the citizens were resolved to oppose us unto the death, and having in the city three peeeces of ordinance, charged them with neyles, stones, &c., and placed them against us, and wee against them, resolvinge either to enter the city or dye before it. But the Roundheads in the city, one of them an alderman, surnamed Lane, persuaded the silly maior (for so hee is indeed) that his Excellency and all his forces weere at hand, wherupon he opened unto us, and we entered the city at Bysters Gate, but found the dores shut, many of the people with their children fled, and had enuffe to do to get a little quarter. But the poor maior (seeinge he was so handsomely cozened) was not a little angry, for Harford, with his forces which fled from Sherborn, promised to visit them the day followinge. This night, though weet and weary, wee were faine to guard the city. This day our generall proclaimed that

^a Regiment.

all delinquents that in ten dayes would return and join with the Parliament should favourably, but conditionally, be excepted, excepting such as are members of the house, which must submit to the sensure thereof; but these by name are particularly excepted, the Earle of Bristol, the Earle of Cumberland, the Earle of Newcastle, the Earle Rivers, Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Endymion Porter, Mr. Edward Hide, the Duke of Richmond, the Earle of Carnarvon, the Lord Viscount Newwarke, the Lord Viscount Faukland, his Majesty's secretary in spetiall. Saturday our squadron watched at S' Owen's Gate, which day I tooke an opportunity to view the city, which is well scituate, and seated upon the river Y, environed with a strong wall, better then any I have scene before; with five gates, and a stronge stone bridge of sixe arches over the river, surpassing Worcesster. In the city there is the stateliest market place in the kingdome, built with cullumnes, after the maner of the Exchange. The Minster every way exceeding that of Worcester, but the city in circuit not so large. The inhabitants are totally ignorant in the waies of God, and much addicted to drunkkenness and other vices, but principally unto swearing, so that the children that have scarce learned to speake doe universally sweare stoutlye. Many here speake Welsh.

This day, our companies exercisinge in the feildes at Worcesster, one of the Lord General's soildiers shot at randum, and, with a brace of bullets, shot one of his fellow soildiers through the head, who immediately died. Sabbath day, about the time of morninge prayer, we went to the Minster, when the pipes played and the puppets sange so sweetely, that some of our soildiers could not forbear dauncinge in the holie quire; whereat the Baallists were sore displeased. The anthem ended, they fell to prayer, and prayed devoutly for the Kinge, the bisshops, &c.; and one of our soildiers, with a loud voice, saide, "What! neiver a bit for the Parliament?" which offended them much more. Not satisfied with this humane service, we went to deuine; and, passing by, found shops open, and men at wirke, to whom we gave some plaine exhortations; and went to heare Mr. Sedgwick, who gave us two famous sermons, which much affected the poore inhabitants, who, wonderinge, said they neiver heard the like before; and I beleeeve them. The Lord moove your harts to commiserate the distressers, and to send them some faithfull and painfull ministers; for the renewe of the Collidge will maintaine many of them. This even, the Earle of Stanford (who is made governor of Hereford) entred the city with a regiment of foote and some troopes of horse, and tooke up the bishop's pallace for his quarter, and is resolved there to abide; whereupon, on Munday morning, we marched towards Worcester, and, at the end of ten miles, came to Bromyard, where we quartered all night. This day his Excelency pro-

claimed that all soildiers that would set to diginge should have twelve pence the day, and enter into pay presentlye. Tuesday we marched to Worcester, and were received with much joy, for the deseigne was so desperate that our juditious frends neiver looked to see us againe. I am in good health, and, by the goodnesse of God, supplied with strength beyond expectation. Wensday morninge I went to view the soildiers workes, who have poutrayed out the severall formes of their scaunces, half moones, redouts, &c., beginninge at Severne on one side of the city, and goe round the city unto Seuerne againe. It will be finished with all convenient speede; for as we intrench here, so also doth Prince Robert, at Bridgenorton, twelve miles off, and we heare at Beaudle also, from whence commeth the coales that supply our city; but we have sent out some forces to expell them thence. This day, after noone, at the request of my captaine and the commanders, I againe rode with them unto Maluerne Hill, forementioned, leaving our horses in the towne. After much toyle, we ascended the hills, which, indeed, are a very curious prospect; for, the daye being cleare, wee could see neare thirty miles round. All the valley betweene us and Woster, though five miles broad and many miles longe (inclosed with hedges), seemed unto us but a garden with a few knots in it, though, indeede, they are very large pastures. At the bottome of these hills is Maluerne Church, the statlyest parrish church in England, adorned with varieties of rarities, which I want time to express. Thursday wee exercised our soildiers in the feilds. This day the Lord of Coventry came in to us, and this euen we expected three lords more, with a message from His Majesty. Fryday a pare of gallowes were set up in the market-place for the villan that betrayed our troopes into the hands of Prince Rober, and we this day expect his exaltation. I have nothinge of worth to present you with; but I have sent you the gods of the Caualleers inclosed. They are pillage taken from Sir William Russell's, of which I never yet got the worth of one farthinge, for it is constantly the prey of the ruder sort of soildiers, whose society, blessed be God, I hate and avoide. I have briefly sent you every dayse passage since I left London, which I hope you have received. I earnestly desire to hear of the welfare of you, my Mrs., and your whole family, by the bearer, Thomas Weedon, who weekly visits our army, and is faithfull. He lodgeth at the Saracen's Head, in Carter Lane. Sir, I greet you and my Mrs. with my most humble service, as also Mr. Molloyne and his wife, unto whom I am much engaged, principally for his devine to read those two chapters, which I and my company have often done, they beinge very pertinent to the deseigne in hand. I pray excuse my long silence towards him, and assure him that I will particularly present him with the next remarkable passage. I

would have done it before this time, but your Athenians catch it from us, and carry it post unto you (though, for the most, more than is true), that, before we can get conveyance, it is turned into antiquity. Thus, with my love and service to Mrs. Elizabeth, Anne, John, and little Sammuell, and my love to all my fellow servants, of both sexes, for the present I rest, but not cease to remaine untill death,

Your antient, humble, and affectionate seruant,

NEHEMIAH WHARTON.

Worcester, October the 7th, 1642.

Here the succession of Nehemiah Wharton's Letters closes. What became of him I have not discovered.

I remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's ever faithful obliged Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

The Viscount MAHON, P.S.A., &c.

XXV.—*Memorials preserved at Bruges of King Charles the Second's Residence in that City: referred to in a Letter from G. STEINMAN STEINMAN, Esq., F.S.A., to the Right Honourable Lord BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A.*

Read December 8, 1853.

Priory Lodge, Peckham, November 30th, 1853.

MY LORD,

The very intimate acquaintance which your Lordship is known to possess with the characters who figured, more or less prominently, during the reign of Charles II. induces me to call your lordship's attention to a MS. list of the court and household of that monarch, as constituted shortly after he came to reside at Bruges, which I met with amongst the muniments preserved in the Hôtel de Ville of that city, and which I feel assured must be of some interest, not only to your Lordship, but to the Society in general.

Professor Bogaert, the Keeper of the Archives of Bruges, who kindly permitted me to make a copy of the list, says, that it was given to the city authorities that they might be enabled to determine what quantity of wine and beer should be supplied to the royal household by the merchants freed from the city dues, and that the marginal notes show the quantities determined.

It cannot be considered altogether irrelevant to the subject if I here mention that the day on which Charles took up his residence at Bruges was the 22nd April, 1656,^a *n.s.*, and that the house to which he first resorted was the dwelling of the Irish Viscount Tarah, situate in the street of the Old Burgh,^b but unknown at this day.^c On the 3rd June, *n.s.*, following,^d he possessed himself of that "handsome accommodation," which in the meantime had been provided for him, and where he continued to reside, and to hold his courts during the lengthened sojourn which he made in Bruges, viz. the first house on the right side of the High Street pro-

^a Jaer-Boecken der Stadt Brugge; Door Charles Custis, 1765, iii. f. 242; Chronyke van Vlaenderin, 1736, iii. f. 702. He left Brussels on the 20th.—Thurloe, iv. f. 692.

^b Ibid: see also Clarendon, Hist. of the Rebellion.

^c If the house of Lord Tarah was his own freehold, it, or its site, can be identified by reference to the MS. known as the "Huysen Gilde," and deposited in the Hôtel de Ville.

^d Thurloe, i. f. 728.

ceeding from the Burgh,^a and now the property and residence of the Chevalier van Outryve d'Ydewalle. On the 7th February, 1657-8,^b n.s., his Majesty removed to Brussels, and according to Lord Clarendon, who has not the precise date of his departure, "never after returned to Bruges to reside there."

The list referred to is here literally given:—

Ceux avec cette marque + ont des familles.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>xviij. pièces de vins par an, douz tonneaux de biere p. mois.
4 pieches. vn tonneau de biere p. lep maend.

4 p. de vin et vn tonneau de biere p. lep maend.

4 pieches. idem.</p> | <p>+ Pour la Maison du Roy, Le S^r Thomas Huthwaite, Pannetier.

+ Le Marquis d'Ormonde,^c Conseiller et Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roy.
Le Comte de Bristoll,^d Conseiller du Roy.
Le Comte de Norwich,^e Conseiller du Roy.

Le Comte de Rochester,^f }
Le my Lord Wentworth,^g } Conseillers et Gentilshommes de la
 } Chambre du Roy.
Le my Lord Culpeper,^h Conseiller du Roy.
Le my Lord Gerard,ⁱ Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roy.
+ Le Chevalier Nicholas,^j Premier Secretaire d'Estat de Sa M^{te} et
Conseiller.</p> |
|---|---|

^a Jaer-Boecken, iii. f. 242: see also Chronyke van Vlaenderin, iii. f. 702. The house pointed out to the English visitor at Bruges as the residence of Charles is "la maison de Bouchoute," situate in the great square, and forming one of the corners of St. Amand Street.

^b Thurloe, vi. f. 769.

^c James Butler, twelfth Earl of Ormonde in Ireland; Marquess of Ormonde in the same kingdom, by creation, 30th August, 1642; K.G. He was, 20th July, 1660, created Baron Butler and Earl of Brecknock in the English peerage; on 23rd March, 1661-2, Duke of Ormonde in Ireland; and on 9th November, 1682, Duke of the same place in England. Being a peer of the realm, it is not necessary to pursue his history further, and the same remark equally applies to the seven following noblemen.

^d George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, K.G.

^e George Goring, created Baron Goring 14th April, 1632, and Earl of Norwich 8th November, 1644.

^f Henry Wilmot, second Viscount Wilmot in Ireland, created Baron Wilmot 29th June, 1643, and Earl of Rochester 13th December, 1652, in the English peerage.

^g Thomas Wentworth, eldest son of Thomas Earl of Cleveland, called to the House of Peers in his father's barony 25th November, 1640.

^h John Colepepper, created Baron Colepepper 21st October, 1644: at this time, Master of the Rolls.

ⁱ Charles Gerard, Baron Gerard by creation 8th November, 1645. On 23rd July, 1679, he was created Earl of Macclesfield and Viscount Brandon.

^j Sir Edward Nicholas, knighted 26th November, 1641, was the son and heir of John Nicholas, Esq., of Winterbourn-Earl's, co. Wilts. He had been Secretary of the Admiralty, Clerk of the Privy Council, and

4 pieches. idem.

+ Le Chevalier Hyde,^a Chancelier de l'Epargne et Conseiller de Sa Ma^{te}.

Le Sieur Oneile,^b

Le Sieur Harding,^c

3 pieches. dry tonne te maend.

+ Le Sieur Eliot,^d

Le Sieur Blagge,^e

de la Chambre du Liet du Roy.

Secretary of State to Charles I. He was appointed to the latter office in 1641, and resigned it in 1662. He became M.P. for Salisbury, on a vacancy, in the Parliament which met 28th May, 1661; married Jane, daughter and co-heir of Henry Jay of Holveston, co. Norfolk, Alderman of London; and, dying 1st September, 1669, *æt*. 77, was buried at West Horsley, co. Surrey. (M.I.) His widow died 13th September, 1688, *æt*. 89, and lies buried with him. (M.I.)

^a Sir Edward Hyde, knighted at Oxford 22nd February, 1642-3; Baron Hyde, 3rd November, 1660; and Earl of Clarendon and Viscount Cornbury, 20th April, 1661. The Great Seal was delivered to him in the Council Chamber at Bruges on 13th January, 1657-8.

^b Daniel O'Niele, of the family of Tyrone, and, according to Lord Clarendon, nephew of the celebrated Irish confederate, General Owen Roe O'Niele, was Lieut.-Colonel to Prince Rupert, and afterwards of the Marquess of Ormonde's regiment of foot raised in Flanders. He had been Groom of the Bed Chamber to Charles I., sworn in 21st January, 1639. After the Restoration, he held, with his office in the royal bed-chamber, that of Postmaster-General of the three Kingdoms, Master of the Powder, and the command of the King's troop of horse-guards. He married Catharine, eldest daughter and co-heir of Thomas second Lord Wotton, created Countess of Chesterfield for life 29th May, 1660; widow of the Hon. Sir Henry Stanhope, K.B., eldest son of Philip first Earl of Chesterfield, and of John Poliander vander Kirkhoven, Seigneur de Hemflete in Holland; and, dying at Belsize House, Hampstead, 24th October, 1664, *æt*. 60, was buried at Bocton Malherbe, co. Kent. (M.I.) His widow, who had been governess to the Princess of Orange, died 9th April, 1667, and was buried in the same church. (M.I.)

^c This gentleman, called always by the Queen of Bohemia "Reverent Dick Harding," most probably died before the Restoration, as his place had been previously filled by Colonel Silas Titus. Sir Richard Harding, Knight, M.P. for Bedwin 1640, was, it may be assumed, his father, as he was disabled 5th February, 1643-4, for deserting the service of the House, being in the King's quarters and adhering to that party.

^d Thomas Elyott, Esq., of Cobler's Hall, St. James' Street, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, had been a Groom of the Privy Chamber to Charles I., who appointed him in 1644 a Groom of the Bed Chamber to the Prince of Wales. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Sir Edmund Wyndham, Knight, of Kentsford, in St. Decuman's, co. Somerset, Groom of the Privy Chamber to Charles I., Knight Marshal to Charles II., and M.P. for Bridgwater in 1640, and, on a vacancy, in the Parliament which met 8th May, 1661; and died in 1667, leaving his wife surviving. His will, dated 6th January, 1674-5, codicil 26th July, 1677, was proved in C. P. C. 14th August, 1677. He was not buried in his parish church.

^e Colonel Thomas Blagge was the son and heir of Ambrose Blagge, Esq., of Little Horningsherth, co. Suffolk. He had been a Groom of the Bed Chamber to Charles I., and, in the Civil Wars, Governor of Wallingford Castle, which he surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax 24th July, 1646. On the Restoration he was made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard and Governor of Yarmouth and Languard Fort, but died 14th November that year, aged 47. (M.I. in Westminster Abbey, where he lies buried.) His wife was Mary,

	Le Chevalier Flemminge, ^a	} Gentilshommes de la Chambre Privée du Roy.
	Le Sieur Darcy, ^b	
3 picches, dry tonne hiere to maend.	Le Chevalier Talbot, ^c	
2 picches, twee tonne to maend.	Le Sieur Whitley, ^d	

daughter of Sir Roger North, Knight, of Mildenhall, co. Suffolk: she made her will 6th July, 1669, and it was proved in C. P. C. 29th June, 1671.

^a The Hon. Sir William Fleming, knighted by Charles I., was second son of John second Earl of Wigton. He had been Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber to Charles I. He died unmarried, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields 9th February, 1669-70.

^b Colonel the Hon. Marmaduke Darcy, fifth son of Conyers first Lord Darcy by patent. He was M.P. for Richmond during part of the Parliament which met 8th May, 1661, and "had the King's chase in Yorkshire and 1,000*l.* per annum for twelve colts every year." He died unmarried at Windsor Castle 3rd July, 1687, in his 73rd year, and was buried in the chapel of St. George. (M.I.)

^c Colonel Sir Gilbert Talbot, knighted at Oxford 5th January, 1644-5, was a younger son of Sherington Talbot, Esq., of Salwarpe, co. Worcester, and Lacock, co. Wilts. He had been Resident, and then Envoy Extraordinary, at Venice, 1637 to 1645, a Gentleman in Ordinary of the Privy Chamber to Charles I., and, in the Civil Wars, Governor of Tiverton Castle, which he gave up to Sir Thomas Fairfax 18th October, 1645. On the Restoration he vacated his office of Gentleman Usher for that of Master of the Jewel House, and was elected M.P. for Plymouth, on a vacancy, in the Parliament of 1661. In 1664 he was sent Envoy Extraordinary to Denmark, and, having resigned his place in the Tower, died in July, 1695. According to the directions of his will, dated 5th April, 1695, and proved in C. P. C. 29th July following, in which he describes himself of Lacock, he was buried at Salwarpe on 23rd July.

Sir Gilbert, who was a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and a F.R.S., drew up—1. "A Narrative of Blud's attempt upon the Crown in the Tower;" 2. "The Jewel House, with the ancient Rights belonging to the Master and Treasurer thereof;" 3. "A Narrative of the Venetians' tender of Assistance to King Charles the First in his Civil Wars, and the Disappointment of it, as likewise of the Design of Confiscating the English Merchants' Effects in Turkey to His Majesty's use;" 4. "A true Narrative of the Earl of Sandwich's attempt upon Berghen with the English Fleet on 3rd August, 1665, and the cause of his miscarriage thereupon:" all which are to be found in MS. Harl. 6859. The third of these papers has been printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his second series of Original Letters, iii. f. 318. He also prepared a Statement of his Claims upon the Government, dated 20th May, 1680, MS. Harl. 1843, f. 25.

^d Colonel Roger Whitley, second son of Thomas Whitley, Esq., of Aston Hall, Hawarden, co. Flint, and himself of Peel House, Tarvin, co. Chester, was, on the Restoration, made Knight Harbinger, also "Farmer of the Post Office, by which he has got a vast estate." In 1660 he was elected M.P. for Flint Town, so likewise in 1661, 1678-9, and 1680. In 1680-1, 1688, and 1695 he was M.P. for Chester, and in 1692 and three following years Mayor of the same city. He married Charlotte, daughter of Sir Charles Gerard, Knight, of Halsall, co. Lancaster, and sister of Charles first Earl of Macclesfield; she was buried in Westminster Abbey 18th October, 1662; he died 17th July, 1697. In his will, dated 8th May, 1696, and proved in C. P. C. 4th August, 1697, he desires to be buried in the church of Tarvin, or in the cathedral of Chester, or in Westminster Abbey, near his wife, or in Hawarden Church, where his ancestors are buried. He lies buried in the latter church. (M.I.)

	Le Chevalier Walker, ^a	} Greffiers du Conseil.
3 pieches. idem.	+ Le Sieur Jane, ^b	
3 pieches. idem.	Le Sieur Lane, ^c	
	Le Sieur Erskine. ^d	

^a Sir Edward Walker, knighted at Oxford 2nd February, 1644-5, was the son of Edward Walker, gent., of Roobers, in Netherstowey, co. Somerset. He had been Secretary-at-War and a Clerk of the Privy Council to Charles I., and was at this time, and until his death, a Clerk of the Privy Council and Garter King of Arms. He married Agnes, daughter of the Rev. John Reve, S.T.P., Vicar of Great Bookham, co. Surrey, and, dying at Whitehall 29th February, 1676-7, aged 65, lies buried in the church of Stratford-on-Avon, co. Warwick. (M.L.)

The following is a list of Sir Edward's works:—

"Iter Carolinum; being a succinct Relation of the necessitated Marches, Retreats, and Sufferings of His Majesty Charles the First from January 10, 1641, till the time of his Death, 1648: Collected by a daily Attendant upon His Sacred Majesty during all the said time." Lond. 1660.

"The Order of the Ceremonies used at the Feast of St. George when the Sovereign of the Most Noble Order of the Garter is present." Lond. 1674.

"Historical Discourses upon several occasions." Lond. 1705.

"A circumstantial Account of the Preparations for the Coronation of His Majesty King Charles the Second, and a minute Detail of that splendid Ceremony, with all the particulars connected with it, including the Installation of Knights, Creation of Peers, &c.: to which is prefixed an Account of the Landing, Reception, and Journey of His Majesty from Dover to London." Lond. 1820.

"The noble and worthy Acts of Knights of the Order of the Garter who were living when the Civil War began in 1641, and of those who were elected afterwards, both before and after the Restoration of Charles II.: observed and recorded by Sir Edward Walker, Knight, Garter King of Arms." MS. Ashmole 1110, ff. 155-175.

^b Joseph Jane, Esq., M.P. for Liskeard, 1640. Disabled January 22, 1643-4, for deserting the service of the House, &c.

^c George, son and heir of Richard Lane, Esq., of Tulske, co. Roscommon, who was created a Baronet 11th February, 1660-1, was knighted at Bruges 27th March, 1657, *x.s.* He had been a Clerk of the Privy Council to Charles I., and held at this time, with the same office, that of Secretary to the Marquess of Ormonde. On 5th October, 1668, he succeeded his father in the baronetcy; and, having served the offices of Secretary-at-War and of Principal Secretary of State for Ireland, he was, on 31st July, 1676, created Viscount Lanesborough in that kingdom. He married, first, 21st March, 1644-5, Dorcas, daughter of the Hon. Sir Anthony Brabazon, Knight, of Tallaghstown, co. Louth, third son of Edward first Lord Brabazon, of Ireland; she died 18th July, 1671, and was buried in St. Catharine's church, Dublin; secondly, Lady Frances Sackville, daughter of Richard fifth Earl of Dorset. He died 11th December, 1683, and was buried in the church of Rathcline, co. Longford. His widow, who remarried Denny Muschamp, Esq., of Rowbarns, in E. Hants, co. Surrey, Muster-Master-General in Ireland, died 29th January, 1721-2, and was buried at Withyam, co. Sussex.

^d William Erskine, Esq., Cup-bearer, an office which he held till the King's death.

3 pieces, idem.	+ Le Docteur Earles, ^a	} Chapelains de Sa Ma ^{te} .
	Le Docteur Creighton, ^b	
3 pieces, idem.	+ Le Docteur Wittaker, ^c	Medecin à la Maison du Roy.
3 pieces, idem.	+ Le Collonel Stevens, ^d	
3 pieces, idem.	+ Le S ^r Guillaume Armorer, ^e	

^a John Earle, S. T. P., son of Thomas Earle, gent., Registrar of the Archbishop's Court at York, and a native of that city, was First Chaplain and Sub-Tutor to Charles II., and then Chaplain and Clerk of the Closet. Before this time he had been Rector of Bishopston, co. Wilts, 1639, and Chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral 10th February, 1643-4; and, on the Restoration, he obtained the Deanery of Westminster, 1660. On 30th November, 1662, he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester; and, on 19th September, 1663, translated to Salisbury. He died at Oxford 17th November, 1665, and was buried in the chapel of Merton College. (M. L.)

His works are: "Microcosmographie, or a Peece of the World discovered; in Essayes and Characters," Lond. 1628; the thirteenth edition of which was published by Doctor Bliss in 1811, with an Appendix, containing lines on the death of Sir John Burroughs, killed at Rhé, 1627; on the death of William Earl of Pembroke, died 1630. These two poems Doctor Bliss informs me he now believes were not written by the Bishop. "Elegy on Mr. Beaumont," &c. The Doctor also wrote lines intitled "Carolus, Walliæ Princeps ex Hispania Redux, anno 1623" (Musarum Anglicanarum, 1721, ii. f. 251, &c.); a poem called "Hortus Mertonensis" (Aubrey's Surrey, iv. f. 167, &c.); another, "Ad Joannem Cirenbergivm Dantiscanum Virum Clarissimum, Ode" (Carmen Honorarivm, 1631, f. 14, &c.); "Contemplations upon the Proverbs, with a Discourse in Memory of Lord Falkland" (mentioned in Clarendon's State Papers, ii. f. 350); and translated from English into Latin the "ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ," Hague, 1649; and Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" (not printed).

^b Robert Creighton, S. T. P., "natus Ducaledoniæ in Boreali Scotia," son of Thomas Creighton, of the ancient family of Crichton of Ruthven, had been Treasurer of Wells Cathedral, 17th December, 1632, and Dean of St. Burian's, 1637. In 1660 he obtained the Deanery of Wells, and, on 19th July, 1670, he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. He died 21st November, 1672, æt. 79, at Wells, and was buried in his cathedral (M. L.): as also was his widow, Frances, daughter of William Walrond, Esq., of Islebrewers, co. Somerset, who died 30th October, 1683, æt. 68. (M. L.) Bishop Creighton translated from the Greek of Sylvest. Sygaropulos into Latin, "Concilii Florentini Narratio, &c.," Hague, 1660; and published an answer to Leo. Allatius, a Jesuit, who animadverted upon it; besides several Sermons.

^c Tobias Whitaker, First Physician to His Majesty's Household, was buried at Wandsworth, co. Surrey, 19th May, 1666. He was author of "ΗΕΠΙ ΥΔΡΟΗΟΣΙΑΣ: or a Discovrse of Waters; their Qualities, &c.," Lond. 1634; "The Tree of Hvmane Life, or the Blovd of the Grape, proving the possibilitie of maintaining humane life from Infancy to extreme Old Age without any Sicknesse by the use of Wine," Lond. 1638; "An Elenchus of Opinions concerning the cure of the Small Pox; together with Problematicall Questions concerning the French Pest," Lond. 1661; with "Vera Effigies Tobia Whitakeri Medicinæ Doctoris Medici Ordinarij Caroli Secundi Regis Magnæ Britaniæ et Famulorū. Anno ætatis suæ 60." In 1634 he was of Norwich.

^d Colonel John Stephens, who had been Governor of Dublin Castle when the Marquess of Ormonde ruled in Ireland, and was now one of the King's Equerries, received the honour of knighthood at Bruges in January, 1657-8. He was sent to England in the following September with some advice to the royal party, when he was apprehended and lodged in Lambeth Palace. Before the Restoration his place had been filled by Nicholas, afterwards Sir Nicholas, Armorer, some time cup-bearer to the Queen of Bohemia.

^e William Armorer, Lieut.-Colonel of Horse and Equerry in succession to James I., Charles I., and Charles II., was knighted between 29th May, 1660, and 8th July, 1662. In December, 1655, he and

Le Henry Progers.

Le S^r George Hamilton, Page d'Honneur.^b

Le Sieur Edouard Carteret.

3 pieces. idem.

+ Le S^r Estienne Fox.^d

Le S^r Ric. Bellings.^e

Colonel the Hon. Sir James Hamilton (son of Thomas, first Earl of Haddington) pistolled Manning, the spy, in the neighbourhood of Cologne; and he is said to have offered to do the same office for Cromwell. He held the place of First Equerry of the Crown Stables on the Restoration, and retired to Reading, co. Berks, in 1677, where, four years after, he died. He was buried in the church of St. Laurence, Reading, 22nd August, 1681: Lady Anne, his wife, on 12th February, 1680-1. His will is dated 7th June, 1677, and was proved in C.P.C. 28th June, 1686.

^a Henry Proger, Esq., of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and of Gwernvale, Crickhowel, Brecknockshire, fourth son of Philip Proger, Esq., Equerry to James I., was at this time, and until the death of Charles, one of the royal equeries. He was Equerry of the Hunting Stables, and his name appears among the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak. On 5th June, 1650, while attending Charles's Ambassadors at the Court of Madrid, he became implicated in the murder of Anthony Ascham, the Envoy from the Parliament to the same power. He was knighted by James II., and became Serjeant Porter to the Palace. His will is dated 8th January, 1686-7, and was proved in C.P.C. 5th September, 1688. In it he directs his body to be buried in the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, but this request does not seem to have been attended to.

^b George Hamilton, Esq., second son of the Hon. Sir George Hamilton, Baronet, of Ireland (son of James first Earl of Abercorn), was knighted in 1667. On the Restoration he was appointed one of the Lieutenants of the King's Body Guard of Horse, and in 1667 he became Captain-Lieutenant of Louis XIV.'s company of Gens d'armes Anglois, and subsequently a Count and Maréchal de Camp in France. He married "la belle Jennings," who re-married Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel, and was slain at the head of his regiment when the Prince of Condé compelled the Count de Montecuculi to raise the siege of Saverne in 1675.

^c Edward, eldest son of Joshua de Carteret, Esq., Seigneur of Handois and La Trinité in Jersey, was knighted in 1660. He held, at the Restoration, the office of a Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter in Ordinary, and, in 1762, by seniority, that of Usher of the Black Rod also. He was at the same time Bailiff of the island of Jersey. Sir Edward married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Johnson, Esq., Alderman of London, and by will dated 30th March, 1682, and proved in C.P.C. 23rd April, 1683, assigned Westminster Abbey as his place of burial. He died 22nd February, 1682-3, æt. 63, and lies buried in the Church of La Trinité. (M. I.) The will of his widow was proved in C.P.C., February 1699-1700.

^d Stephen Fox, at this time Clerk of the Kitchen, was a younger son of William Fox, Gent., of Farley, co. Wilts. On the Restoration he was appointed a Clerk of the Green Cloth and Paymaster of the Forces. He was knighted 1st July, 1665, and in 1679 became one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and a Commissioner in the office of Master of the Horse, when he resigned his Paymastership. He was elected M.P. for Salisbury, on a vacancy, in the Parliament of 1661; for Westminster in 1678-9; for Salisbury in 1685, and again in 1712. Sir Stephen Fox married, first, Elizabeth daughter of William Whittle, of London, a lady whose character suffers with his own in "Flagellum Parliamentarium," and who died 11th August, 1696, æt. 69 (M. I.); secondly, Christian, daughter and co-heir of the Rev. Charles Hope, Rector of Haceby (?), co. Lincoln, who died 17th February, 1718-19, æt. 39. (M. I.) He himself died at Chiswick, 23rd September, 1716, æt. 90 (M. I.), and was buried at Farley, where both his wives also lie interred.

^e Richard, son and heir of Colonel Richard Bellings, of Bellingstown, in the Barony of Balrothery, co.

	Le Sieur George Barker, ^a Officier de l'Escuyrie.	
	Le S ^r Toby Rustat, ^b	de la Garderobe.
2 stueken. 2 tonne te maend.	+ Le S ^r Thomas Chiffinch, ^c	} Pages de la Chambre du Liet du Roy.
2 stuck. idem.	+ Le S ^r Hugh Griffith, ^d	
	Le Sieur Knight, ^e Cherugean à Sa Ma ^{te} .	
	Le S ^r Swan. ^f	
	Le S ^r Phillip Curtice, Concierge de la Chambre du Conseil.	
Een stuck. een tonne te maend.	+ Le S ^r Ralp Folliart, Barbier du Roy.	
	Le S ^r Samuel Hynde, Sous Esquier.	

Dublin, author of "Philopater Irenæus," and other learned works. He was at this time the King's Secretary, and in 1662 he obtained the appointments of Principal Secretary and Master of the Requests to the Queen. He was knighted 6th of March, 1665-6, and married, in 1671, Frances, eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir John Arundell, Knight, of Lanherne, in St. Mawgan, co. Cornwall, Master of the Horse to Queen Catharine; and died, residing in the parish of St. James, Westminster, 30th October, 1716. Lady Bellings, who was a dresser to Queen Catharine and Keeper of H.M. Sweet Coffe, died 6th December, 1713. They both lie buried in the church of St. Columb-Major, co. Cornwall. (M.L's.) Sir Richard's will, dated 5th December, 1711, was proved in C.P.C. 2nd November, 1716. "Young Mr. Belling," writes Sir Edward Nicholas, from Bruges, to the Marquess of Ormonde at Brussels, on Tuesday, 2nd October, 1657, *n. s.* "is come to this towne and under Mr. Knight's care, who says that the bullet is still in his jaw, and that he will endeavour to take it out as soone as he shal be in case for it, being at present very fevrishe."

^a George Barker, Esq., was, on the Restoration, made a Clerk Comptroller of the Green Cloth, and knighted. He died at Tunbridge, co. Kent, 8th August, 1663, unmarried, and his nuncupative will was proved in C.P.C. 14th August following.

^b Tobias Rustat was the second son of the Rev. Robert Rustat, A.M., Vicar of Barrow-on-Soar, co. Leicester, and Rector of Skeffington, same co. He held the place of Yeoman of the Wardrobe till the king's death, and the office of Under-Housekeeper at Hampton Court from 1660 till his own death, which occurred 15th March, 1693, at the age of 87. The statues which he erected to Charles at Windsor Castle and Chelsea Hospital, and to James at Whitehall, are well known. He lies buried in the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge. (M.L.)

^c Thomas Chiffinch, Esq., born at Salisbury in 1600, was, after the Restoration, Page of the Back Stairs, Keeper of the King's Private Closet, and Comptroller of the Excise. He married Dorothy, daughter of Thanet of Merionethshire, and, dying 8th April, 1666, lies buried in Westminster Abbey. (M.L.) His widow was also buried there 3rd April, 1680.

^d Hugh Griffith, Esq., still held this office in 1679.

^e John Knight, Esq., Sergeant-Surgeon to the King, was living 1680. In 1682 Richard Piles, Esq. held the office.

^f William Swan, Esq., son and heir of Sir William Swan, Knight, of Hook Place, Southfleet, Kent, who, when a captain in Holland, was knighted at Breda 1649-50, and who died resident at Hamburg in 1678. He was knighted at Rochester 28th May, 1660; made a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary, and created a Baronet 1st March, 1665. He died in 1680, and was buried in Southfleet Church, 9th October. His widow, Lady Hester, died 26th February, 1712-13, and lies buried in the same church. (M.L.)

Mathew Clerke, Cocher.

7 Valets de Pied du Roy.

Palfreniers.

George Avery, Multier.

Le S^r Jean Allen, Tayleur.

+ Jacob Byens, Cordonnier.

Postillion.

Jacques Jack, Portier ou Huisser.

Le Chevalier Charles Cottrell,^a Secrétaire du Duc de Gloucester.

+ Le Collonel Phelips,^b Gentilhomme de la Chambre du Liet du Duc de Gloucester.

Le S^r Richard Lovell,^c Precepteur de Son Alt^{re} Royale.

Een tonne biere te maent.

4 stuken, een tonne bier te maent.

^a Sir Charles Cottrell, knighted at Oxford 21st March, 1644-5, was son and heir of Sir Clement Cottrell, Knight, of Wilsford, co. Lincoln, Groom-Porter to James I. He was born in 1615, and in 1641 became Master of the Ceremonies to Charles I. In the interregnum he held, besides this office and the office mentioned in the text (1655), that of Steward to the Queen of Bohemia (1651). On a vacancy in the Parliament of 1661, he was elected M.P. for Cardigan; in 1663 he went Ambassador to Brussels; in 1669 he was made one of the Masters of the Requests (resigned 1675); and 20th December, 1670, LL.D. at Oxford. He married Frances, daughter of Edmund West, Esq., of Marsworth, co. Bucks; she died in 1695. He resigned his place of Master of the Ceremonies in 1686, and died in June, 1701. By will dated 16th April, codicil 9th May, 1701, and proved in C.P.C. 21st June following, he directed his body to be buried in the north aisle of the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, near the bodies of his father and mother, and there he was interred 9th June. A bequest which he makes is worthy of note. He leaves to Sir Stephen Fox a ring with a figure cut in an onyx, which Charles I. gave from his finger to Sir Philip Warwick to seal the letters which he wrote for him at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, and which had been left to him by Sir Philip. Administration of the effects of Lady Frances Cottrell, of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, was granted to her husband 9th January, 1695-6. Sir Charles translated from the Italian, in conjunction with William Aylesbury, Esq., Davila's "*Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia*," London, 1647; from the Spanish "*A Relation of the defeating of Cardinal Mazarin and Oliver Cromwell's design to have taken Ostend by treachery in the year 1658*," Lond. 1660-66; from the French of de la Calprenede the romance called "*Cassandre*," Lond. 1661, (several editions); and again from the Spanish "*The Spiritual Year, or a devout contemplation, digested into distinct arguments for every month in the year, and for every week in the month*," Lond. 1693.

^b Colonel Robert Phelips was second son of Sir Robert Phelips, Knight, of Montacute, co. Somerset. On the death of the duke he was made a Groom of the King's Bedchamber, and in 1661 he was elected M.P. for Stockbridge. He was subsequently a Commissioner of the Privy Seal (1685), and on 25th May, 1687, was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1685 he was returned for Andover, and on 21st March, 1689-90, his successor in the duchy was appointed. Colonel Phelips is memorable for the part he played in Charles's escape from England after the battle of Worcester. He saw the King and Lord Wilmot into Tattershall's vessel at New Shoreham, 16th October, 1651.

^c Mr. Richard Lovell was tutor to the Duke in 1652-3, and then by Cromwell's advice asked permission

Le S^r Louis Trethewy.^aLe S^r Halsey.^bEen stuk, een tonne
bier te maent.Elck e. tonne bier te
maent.Elcke een tonne bier te
maent.+ Le S^r Rendu,^c Page de la Chambre de S. A. R.

3 Valets de pied.

Palfreniers 6.

Aldus ghetaxeert bi de vergaderinghe den xviii. 7^{bir} 1656, [N.S.]

P. CORTEHENE.

To the foregoing list I have appended a few extracts, in further illustration of Charles's stay at Bruges, which I have been allowed to make from the register books of the societies of St. George and St. Sebastian—societies respectively of great cross-bowmen and archers, which have existed in Bruges now upwards of four hundred years; and in doing this, I avail myself of the opportunity that presents itself of acknowledging the obligation I am under to the politeness of the late M. Charles Doudan, and to M. Alexandre Veys, secretaries of the two societies at the time when the transcripts were made; viz., in the autumn of 1847. From the books here mentioned, I find that Charles and the Duke of Gloucester were present at a gathering of the cross-bowmen on the 11th June, 1656, N.S.,

of the House to convey him from Carisbrook Castle to his sister the Princess of Orange at Breda, a request which was granted, with 500*l.* to defray the expense of the journey. On the duke's way to his sister he passed through Bruges, and the following item appears in the city accounts between 16th August, 1652, and 15th August, 1653, N.S.—“Paye pour une pièce de vin offerte au Duc de Glocestre fil du Roi d'Angleterre, 200 liv.” Mr. Lovell had been tutor to the children of Henry Earl of Sunderland, to whose mother-in-law, Dorothy Countess of Leicester, the Parliament had confided the duke in 1648.

^a Very probably a member of the family of this name in Cornwall. He accompanied the Duke of Gloucester to England.

^b Major Edward Halsall, of the family of that name at Halsall in Lancashire, was frequently called Halsey. He was wounded in Lathom House when it was besieged by the Parliament 27th February, 1643-4, 2nd December, 1645, and wrote a journal of the siege (à Wood MS. D. 16, Ashmolean Museum, and Harl. MS. 2042, n. 4), which has been twice printed, separately in 1823, and in the Appendix to Bohn's edition of the “Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson,” 1846, ff. 487-518. He accompanied the Duke of Gloucester to England, and on his death became Equerry to Queen Catharine. His widow, Susanna, daughter of Sir John Acland, the first Baronet, of Columb-John, co. Devon, remarried John Carleton, Gent., and dying 5th February, 1696-7, æt. 62, was buried in St. Pancras Church, co. Middlesex. (M. I.) In 1678, Mrs. Halsall's name is to be found in the list of Queen Catharine's “Pensioners.” Major Halsall had, as well as Sir Henry Proger, been concerned in the murder of Ascham, and in 1654 he is said to have undertaken the assassination of Cromwell.

^c Theodore Randue, Esq., on the Restoration, Page of the King's Bedchamber, and eventually, in 1673, Housekeeper at Windsor, where he died 30th April, 1724, æt. 82 (M. I.), and where, in the chapel of St. George, he lies buried. His extensive charities are recorded upon his monument.

on which occasion the king aimed first at "the bird of honour," and struck it; that the bird was then fired at continually by the duke and many members of the society, until finally brought down by Mr. Peter Pruyssenaere, a wine merchant, dwelling in the street of the Old Burgh, and that thereupon the king suspended "the golden bird" from the neck of the victor, and thus, with much honour, invested him with the sovereignty of the fraternity. I also find that the fête given by the archers to Charles and his brother was held on the 25th June following, *n.s.*, when one Michael Noè, a gardener, carried off the kingly badge.

The two following engagements are entered in a small quarto volume, bound in red morocco, which the society of St. George provided expressly for the purpose.

"Charles Second, par la grace de Dieu Roy de France et de la Grande Bretagne, Auons, par grace spéciale et pour honnorer les confreres et la confrerie du Saint George à Bruges, enregistré notre personne et nom en icelle, leur octroyant de notre munificence, la somme de mil escus d'or payables apres ñre deceds, par les princes nos successeurs, a quoy nous les obligeons par cette nostre signature et cachet royal. Fait à Bruges, le 6 d'Aoust, 1656. [*n.s.*]

"CHARLES R."

Small oval seal of the royal arms within a garter, supporters, crest, and motto.

"Henri, par la grace de Dieu, Duc de Glocestre, frere de Charles Second, Roy de France et de la Grande Bretagne, ayans enregistré ñre nom et persone en la confrairie de St. George à Bruges, pour honorer les confreres d'icelle leur auons accordé trois cens escus d'or, qui se payeront à la dicte confrerie apres notre déces, par nos heritiers, à quoy les obligeons par cette nostre signature et cachet de nos armes ici apposé le 6^e d'Aoust, 1656, [*n.s.*] à Bruges.

"HENRY."

Small oval seal with arms, differenced by a label, within a garter, and surmounted by a crown.

The following obligation is extracted from a small quarto volume, bound in calf, which the society of St. Sebastian provided for its entry. The book has recently obtained an additional interest, for in it, on the 15th September, 1843, Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, King Leopold, and his late most amiable and lamented consort inscribed their names on becoming honorary members of this ancient fraternity.

"Aujourd'huy le 3^e d'Aoust, 1656, [*n.s.*] Chaerles Seconde, Roy de la Grande Britaignie, France, et Yrlande, pour faire honneur éternel à la confraternité de

"G. Talbot,"^a

described "Gilbert Talbot, rudder, commender"—"twenty goude crons."

"W. Keith,"^b

described "Willim Keith, rudder"—"twenty crones."

"Edw. Halsall,"^c

described "Eduewart Halsall, Edelmn vñ Enghelant"—"twenty goude crons."

On the 1st July, 1657, *s.s.*, the year following,

"John Rootes,"^d

described "Inghell Edelman." joined the society, with an engagement to pay on his death "thien pattaerons;" and on the 1st August, *s.s.*,

"Rob. Holmes,"^e

"Engels Edelman," with a like obligation.

If our merry monarch had returned to England without a thought for his good friends, the cross-bowmen and archers of Bruges, their fate would have been a very common one. He did not, however, do so; for in 1662, *s.s.*, his youthful brother having died on the 3rd September, 1660, *o.s.*, he transmitted to the Society of St. George, through the hands of Messire Marc Albert de Ognate, Chevalier,^f in consideration of his own and of the duke's mortuary debts, the sum

shire of Fife, and Luffness, in Aber-Lady, shire of Haddington; second, Lady Martha Carey, daughter of Henry, Earl of Monmouth. On the Restoration, he became Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle, an Extraordinary Lord of Session, and, lastly, Governor of Tangier, in Africa, where he died in 1673.

^a See *ante*. The receipt of his mortuary debt is acknowledged 7th March, 1668-9, *s.s.*

^b Sir William Keith, of Ludquhairn, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia 28th July, 1629, was son and heir of Sir William Keith, Knight, of the same place. He was Colonel of Horse under the Duke of Hamilton at the battle of Worcester 3rd September, 1651, and was slain in a duel at Brussels in August, 1658, by Theobald second Viscount Taaffe, afterwards created Earl of Carlingford. It is not known whom he married.

^c See *ante*.

^d John Rootes, Esq., was, on the Restoration, a Gentleman Pensioner. His name occurs in the list down to 1678.

^e Robert, third son of Henry Holmes, Esq., of Mallow, co. Cork, afterwards so well known as Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Holmes. He was knighted at Deptford 27th March, 1666-7, being then Captain of the "Defiance" man-of-war, and the same year made Governor of the Isle of Wight. He became M.P. for Winchester, on a vacancy, in the Parliament of 1661; and in 1678-9, and 1688, he obtained a seat for Newport, Isle of Wight. His death occurred 18th November, 1692, at Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, where he lies buried. (M.I.) I have compared his signature in the Register with his known autograph.

^f Lord Clarendon says that this gentleman, "being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty

of 650 livres de gros, Flemish silver, and at the same time, and through the same hands, to the Society of St. Sebastian the sum of 3,600 florins. With these handsome donations the two societies were enabled to enlarge their very picturesque "hôtels," and to provide their "salles de réunion" with a marble bust of Charles, and a three-quarters portrait of the duke. On these objects of art, as they can readily be seen by every traveller through Bruges, I need not remark further. The subject of the curious paintings by Jan van Meuninxhouve, the property of the cross-bowmen, I have already ascertained and minutely described,* and the extremely beautiful present made in 1845 by Her Majesty to the Society of St.

for the King, and, being a man of excellent parts and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to His Majesty, which he ever afterwards acknowledged." He was the son of Jean Azazola de Onate, of Azazola, in Biscay, Secretary of the Chamber to the Infanta Isabella-Clara-Eugenia, and Chamberlain to her husband the Archduke Albert, by his wife Beatrix, daughter of Jeromy Heath and his wife Elvira Ramirez. In 1666 (?) he went Envoy Extraordinary to the Court at London, when he obtained two charters under the Great Seal, dated, the one, Westminster, 10th July, 1666, and addressed to the Duke of York, Admiral of England, the other, Whitehall, 29th August following, and addressed to the Duke of Lenox and Richmond, Admiral of Scotland, authorising the owners of fifty fishing vessels, being citizens of Bruges and residing with their families in the town, to fish in the British seas and to enter the British ports. These charters I have seen among the archives in the Hôtel de Ville, and with them a printed copy of the Proclamation issued on 2nd October, 1666, announcing to the fishermen the privileges obtained for them. The chevalier died in 1674, and was buried in the now destroyed church of the English nuns of St. Frances at Bruges. (M. L.) His wife was Josine, daughter of Jean Stochove, Councillor of Bruges in 1602 and 1604, and Eschevin in 1605 and 1613, who had previously been the wife of Jean de Sprangen, Captain of 300 foot soldiers in the service of Spain. Lord Clarendon is in error when he says he was Burgomaster of Bruges during Charles's residence there: he was several times Eschevin, and in 1649, 50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, Burgomaster of the Franc. He was also President of the Council of the Admiralty and of the Royal Chamber of Commerce, Captain of a free Company of Infantry, and, afterwards, "Capitaine Entretenu" in the Guidon of Philip IV., Lieut.-General of the Falconry of the Province of Flanders, Gentleman of the House to his said Majesty, and his Commissioner for the renewing of the Magistracy of Bruges.

* Letter to J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Secretary, dated 5th March, 1850, read 14th. These pictures were doubtless painted for the Society of St. Barbara—a fraternity of arquebusiers dispersed by the French revolutionists in 1798—record a circumstance which must have occurred in 1656. The first, which has the date 1667, represents Charles in the garden of the fraternity, on the termination of a trial of skill, suspending the golden bird from the neck of the Duke of York, who arrived in Bruges 23rd September, x.s., this year, the Duke of Gloucester standing by. In the second, which has no date, the three brothers are seated at a table supplied with viands. The artist has committed the singular anachronism of hanging against the wall of the interior a picture of the garden scene, and the further one of adorning the room with the bust and portrait above mentioned. From the introduction of the bust and portrait it is certain that Charles and the Duke of Gloucester became also members of this society, and I am disposed to believe that the Salle de Réunion, shown externally and internally, is another anachronism, and that this part of the building was erected in or after 1662, with the royal mortuary debts. The hôtel of St. Barbara is in the street of St. George, and adjoins the suppressed convent of the Carmelite Nuns of Sion.

Sebastian does not properly come within the title of my letter. The modest gift of the boy-duke to the same society—a silver arrow ornamented with his arms—bears the inscription which brings this communication to a close:—

“HENRICVS GLOCESTRÆ DUX CAROLI II. ANGLIÆ REGIS FRATER,
HAC XVIII JULIJ, M.DC.LVI. NATVS ANNOS XVI.
ME S. SEBASTIANI SODALITIO PRÆMIVM FIXIT.”

I have the honour to remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful humble Servant,

G. STEINMAN STEINMAN.

The Right Honourable Lord Braybrooke, F.S.A.

&c. &c. &c.

XXVI.—*On the Early History of Lord Lieutenants of Counties. In a Letter to the Viscount MAHON, President, from Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Director.*

Read Feb. 2 and 9, 1854.

MY LORD,

British Museum, Feb. 2, 1854.

I BEG to lay before your Lordship and our Society a few short Remarks upon the early history of Lord Lieutenants of Counties, introductory to two sets of Instructions granted to the same nobleman, first in the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary, and, secondly, by Queen Elizabeth, showing a gradual and sensible improvement in the details of the lieutenancies, as carried out by the latter queen.

Lord Lieutenants of Counties appear to have been first appointed in the 16th century; they succeeded the Commissions of Array, which the Crown in earlier times had been accustomed to issue. The earliest of these appointments are to be recognized in the Commissions "*de arraiaione et capitaneo generali, contra Francos*," issued, for a large range of the counties of the kingdom, to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to the then Lord Russell, in 1545.

Blackstone, however, says, "About the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and his children, Lord Lieutenants began to be introduced as standing representatives of the Crown to keep the counties in military order; for we find them mentioned as known officers in the statute 4 and 5 Phil. and Mary, chap. 3, though they had not been long in use, for Camden speaks of them (in the Britannia), in the time of Queen Elizabeth, as extraordinary magistrates constituted only in times of difficulty and danger."^a

The first of the Instructions which I now lay before the Society, is of the exact date mentioned by Blackstone, in his Commentaries, namely, the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, on which very account it was probably preserved in one of the volumes of Sir Julius Cæsar's manuscripts,^b from which I have transcribed it, as a sort of pattern copy of the Instructions.

The second code is dated in 1574. Both, as I have already mentioned, were given to the same nobleman, Francis Earl of Bedford.

I remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

^a Charles the First, in 1642, endeavoured to revive the Commission of Array.

^b MS. Laned. 155, fol. 297 b, 299, 303.

I.

“MARIE THE QUEENE,

“Instructions geven by the King and Queen’s Majesties to their right trustie and right welbeloved cosen, the Erle of Bedford, appointed their Hignes Lieutenant of the Counties of Dorset, Devon, Cornewall, and their Citie of Exeter, the 17th daie of March, the fourth and fifth yeares of their Majesties’ raignes.

“Inprimis, the said Lieutenant to have with him his Commission, his Instructions, and his Letters.

“To departe forthwith to his chardge with all diligencie.

“To geve order straight for the raysing of beacons and watchyng of the same according to such orders as be appointed, and to geve the chardge of the beacons to men of understanding.

“To cause musters to be taken of all persons within the lieutenancie, of their weapons and of their armor, and to picke out and describe all the able horsemen and footmen, their names and dwelling places.

“To call all the gentlemen of the shere together, and to take view of all their serving-men; and of all such horses and geldings as they have, meete to sett the serving-men upon them; and to consider what number there is of them able to carrie a dimi-lance, and howe many light horsemen.

“To appointe meete Captens for the horsemen and for the footmen, such as he shall thinke most convenient, dividing the shere by hundreds, or such numbers as he shall thinke meete.

“To appoint to everie Capten the nombre he shall leade; to deliver him the names and dwelling places of his nombre; and to deliver him a precepte or commandement for his nombres within that hundred to obaie him, and to all officers for his assistance yf anie disobaie.

“To order every Capten to take often musters and viewes of his bande, seeing them harnessed with weapons and armor convenient, so as he may well knowe them, and have them alwaies in a readiness.

“To appoint to what places and upon what warning everie captaine shall resorte to with their men for defence.

“To consider what dangerous places there be for the landing of the enemies upon the sea-coasts; and to cause the inhabitants next unto that place, and if they be not able their neighbours next unto them, to helpe them to make newe or to repaire, as the cause shall require for defence of that place, trenches and bulwarks of earth.

"To cause the in land dwellers of the shire to furnish the nombers that goe from their quarters for their defence at the sea costs, not onlie of sufficient money to paie for their victualls when they come there, but also to have consideration of their chardges in coming back again ; and of the tyme, which may be peradventure ten or twelve days, of their aboade upon the sea coste, whereunto the said inland men may be induced, seeing the others goo forth to adventure their lives for their defence, and to the intente that they may remayne the more quiet at home.

"The Lieutenant, if he see the force of his enemies on lande so greate as he shall not be able with the force of his chardge to withstand them ; then to withdrawe himself with his force to the places of advantage within his chardge, breaking the bridges behinde them, cutting of trenches, throwing downe of trees, and giving such other impeachment to the enemy as may be devised untill a greater force may come unto him for his aide ; geving immediatelie upon such landing advertisement unto the Queen's Highnes or her Privie Counsell, and to other Lieutenants next adjoyning unto him for his further aide.

"To cause diligent watch to be kept in all townes and boroughes within his lieutenancie, according to the orders prescribed for the same.

"To have speciale regarde for the punishment of vagabonds, spreaders of ill tales, and devisers or reporters of seditious rumors, by such paines as are ordained by the lawes of the realme in that behalfe.

"To see the K. and Q.'s Highnes, of all able men indifferentlie, that noe man meete to serve be withdrawen from service by parcialitie, favor, or other like pretence, and unmeete men placed in lieu of them.

"To have a speciall care to keepe the shire in good order and quiet, especiallie at the tyme of levying the subsidie.

"To see the Statutes made for the musters and furniture of armor in this last session of Parliament trulie and uprightlie executed and kepte of all such as they shall put in truste, to muster or levie any number of men, and therefor to have as speciall care as they tender their Highness's service and the mayntaining of the subjects' good will and dueties towards them.

MARIE THE QUEEN."

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S INSTRUCTIONS to the EARL of BEDFORD, in 1574.

It is worthy of notice that in the second paragraph of these Instructions, the cause which induced the Queen to issue them is said to have been occasioned by reason of "the doubtful proceedings of the French many manner of waies, to the annoyance and danger of the Realm." But there was no fear of

invasion from France in 1574: France and England were in amity. The real reason is given in the Commission itself, in which the Instructions were enclosed, and which will be found at the end of the present communication. The reasons really were "the great preparations which the King of Spain was making by sea to send into the Low Countries," in going to which his fleet had to pass through the British sea.

II.

"ELIZABETH R.

"Instructions geven by the Queen's Majestie unto her right trustie and right well-beloved Cosen and Councillor, the Erle of Bedford, Lieutenant of her Counties of Devon, Cornewall, and her Cittie of Exeter.

"Imprimis, where the said Erle is made and constituted her Majestie's Lieutenant of the said Counties of Devon, Cornewall, and the Cittie of Exeter, by Her Majestie's Letters Patents under her Great Seale of England, Her Ma^{tie}'s pleasure is he shall in like manner, as he hath afore tyme accustomed in like causes, geve notice thereof to the Justices of Peace and other her Ma^{tie} ministers within everie of the said countries and cittie, and directe to them such orders for the better government of the said shires and cittie as to his wisdom shall seem meete.

"Item, because at this presente, as the said Erle knoweth, her Ma^{tie} is speciallie occasioned, by reason of the doubtfull proceedings of the French, many manner of waies, to the annoyance and danger of this realme, to put the same with all speede in good order for defence thereof, and speciallie all parties thereof lying upon the sea-coasts, against such attempts or invasions as may be made. Therefore, Her Ma^{tie} requireth most earnestlie her said cosen immediatelie with all speede, upon the receipt hereof, to renew such good orders as by him were the last yere taken upon musters for the putting of the whole force of both the said counties in such a readiness of all men for horsemen and footemen, and for armor, horse, weapons, and other necessarie furniture as the same may, by the direction of her Ma^{tie}, or of her said Cosen, best and most readily serve for the defence of any sodaine attempte, wherein her Ma^{tie} doth lesse prescribe by any particularitie to her said Cosen in what sorte the same were best to be done, because yt is well knowne in what good order and readines the same two counties and cittie were the last yere by the wisdom and carefulnes of the said Erle, and yet for that at this presente here appeareth more cause to have the same, yf yt may be, in a larger force and in more readiness, her Ma^{tie} would have good celeritie used therein.

"Item, whereas, the laste yere, order was geven to all Lieutenants that everie person within their rules should be furnished of horse, armor, and weapons accord-

ing to the late lawes provided, Her Ma^{tie}, upon experience had, perceaveth that for juste and necessarie defence of the Realme, the said lawes either (wanting) sufficient provision, or ells the interpretacion therof is so by sondrie persons construed to their privat ease and relief of chardge, which in manie is more regarded than the care of the Commonwealth, so as therby the realme shall lacke that ordinary defence that both by the abilitie of good naturall subjects may be well borne, and for necessitie must not be neglected. Therefore Her Ma^{tie}, being by Almighty God ordained the Sovereaign Queene next under Him of the whole state of the realme, and being desirous to preserve the same againste the malice of all enemies, to the honor and suretie of the same kingdome and defence of all her people, thinketh yt necessarie to remedie their defaultes, and speciallie to redresse the abuses and evill interpretacon of the lawe. And therefore Her Ma^{tie} willeth and requireth her saide Cosen to consider, by the aide of such discreete persons as he shall thinke meete to use, in what sorte everie person hath bene certified by the muster bookes this last yeare, to be furnished with horse, geldings, armor, and weapons, and in the particular consideracon thereof not to respecte only the valor and substance whereof the same person is supposed to be of by the assessors for the subsidie, but rather, for the augmentacion of the strength of the Shire, the true and most probable value either in landes or goodes of everie person (as either by their open doings in the worlde or by other probable meanes shall appeare likelie), and according to the same estimacion and probable likelihood, in Her Ma^{ties} name, and by her speciall authority, prescribe every such person so un-revalued to be better and more ampie furnished, either with horse, gelding, corslet, bowe, bill, hand-gonne, or such like, or with a more number of anie of them; and therein Her Majestie most earnestlie requireth her said Cosen to use this Her Highnes authority according to his wisdom either by his owne knowledge or by such wise and carefull men as he shall thinke meete, with the increase of furniture for the warre over and above such lymitacon as was made in the former musters; in which pointe, although Her Ma^{tie} is well assured that the credit of her said Cosen shall serve to make a good augmentacon of power and strength within his rule, yet hath Her Ma^{tie} thought meete for a declaracon of her pleasure to appointe certain speciall persons within the said shires, being not assessed in the subsidie to so great a value as is lymitted by the acte of parliament to be chargeable, with the findings of horses or geldings, to be nevertheless chargeable therewith, as men supposed by divers waies able thereto, and so at this tyme as the case requireth, the names of whom shall appeare in a scedule hereunto annexed and signed with Her Ma^{ties} hande, to every of which the said Lieutenant, except he shall knowe anie reasonable cause or lett to the contrarie,

shall geve expresse charges and commandement in Her Majesties name to prepare and have in a readiness by a reasonable daie such furniture of horse and geldings as in the said scedule is particularly assigned and lymitted to serve at all tymes for defence of the realme. And if it shall appeare that any other within those shires and cittie, being omytted in the said schedule, shall be able also to sustaine the like chardge, it shall be lefte to the discretion of the saide Lieutenante to command such also to make such furniture as to him shall seeme meete; and if any shall be founde so obstinate that shall not follow such assessments or appointments as the said Lieutenant shall appointe and thinke meete, then Her Ma^{tie} would and thinketh most necessarie that some example might be made by a further due triall, inquisiçon, and examinaçon of his valor and substance; and so in the ende constrained to obaie Her Ma^{tie} cõmaundement geven by her Lieuten^t, or ells to receave such punishment as to such a contempt shall appertaine; for that in their cases yt behoveth to have some earnestnes used, the meaning thereof being onlie to the defence of the realme, to the which all mens substances, yea, and their lives, be subject. And like as the said Lieutenant shall augment the number of horsemen by meanes of putting in execution the intente of the saide schedule, so shall he use the like meanes upon consideraçon of other mens valewes that be liable by order of the statute to finde a furniture of armor or corsletts, and weapons and artillery, and asseste as many as he shall thinke convenient either by himself or by advice of others; not only to augment their furniture above the former rates, but also order that such others as have not at all been contributorie to the like, and may well enough sustaine some chardge herein, be also chardged with some convenient furniture as to their abilitie shall seeme meete for the service of the countrie. And as soone as the saide Erle shall have made a newe and larger assessment, as well of horsemen as footmen, then was upon the last musters, and shall see any good likelihood of performance thereof, Her Ma^{tie} requireth that she might be therof advertised, wherby she may the better be satisfied in her expectations. And in this pointe whatsoever the said Erle shall further doe by any further advice to the furtherance of this purpose, either by augmenting the force of their shires, either in horsemen or in footmen, or in furniture of more armor or weapons amongst the meaner sorte of farmers or such like, that be of secreat wealth and never chardged with service as the gentlemen be, Her Ma^{tie} shall most thankfullie accepte and allowe.

“Item, besides the lacke of furniture of armor, Her Ma^{tie} also perceaveth that in the whole realme there is lacke of men exercised and trained in feates of warre; either to wear their armor, to use their weapons, to march in order, to doe such

other things as be requisite; and therefore Her Ma^{tie}, by advice of her Councell, is resolved that her people, being able for the warre, shall be hereafter instructed in some parte in these pointes. And whereas yt shall be thought that there be not to be had by the provision of the said Lieutenant sufficient gentlemen of knowledge, either of their owne retinewe or within those shires and cittie to instructe the people, at convenient tymes, in the points aforesaid, Her Ma^{tie} will addresse certaine honest chosen Captens, having knowledge, into divers shires, to be at the musters and at such assemblies as for that purpose the Lieutenant shall appointe; and there to teach and traine the people to understand how to weare their armor, use their weapons, and doe such like thynges, which as yt seemeth needfull to be done, so seemeth it most convenient to be upon every holyday, in the afternoone, in sundrie places to be chosen, meete for two or three monethes space; in the doing whereof Her Majestie doth not doubt but, by the order of the said Lieutenant, the grave and discrete gentlemen in everie quarter will be present and attendant for conservation of peace and good will.

“Item, because the counties of Devon and Cornwall lie upon the sea-coast, and on the parte of the sea hath adjoining the counties of Dorsett and Sommerset, like as Her Ma^{tie} geveth order to the counties of Wiltshire, Sommersett, and Gloucester, to have good regard to give succors as neede shall require to the aide of the said counties of Devon and Cornewall, and that also the south parte of Wales shall doe the semblable towards Cornewall upon any dangerous attempts upon the coastes, so Her Ma^{tie} requireth the said Lieutenant of Devon to have good regarde that convenient succors be geven by his order to the defence of Cornewall out of Devon; for the better execucon whereof, Her Ma^{tie} thinketh best that there should be a conference had, either by the said Lieutenant or by the Justices that be borderers upon each countrie, and a certaine assignation accorded and put in writing, under their handes, what aide shall be geven from any of the shires as aforesaid, and what Captaines shall leade the same, upon what manner of warning, and upon what occasions, and with what conductors, nombers, and furniture the same aide shall come, with such other necessarie things as in such causes be requisite; which matter being well and circumspectly ordered, may hereafter serve to good purpose, and, upon experience had, may be, as need shall be, reformed and brought to some perfection.

“Item, wher Her Ma^{tie} shall not address anie speciall person to the musters to traine the people in warlike manner, in that case Her Ma^{tie} would that such gentlemen as the said Lieutenant shall appointe in severall partes of the shire may have instructions containing their pointes or such like as followeth. First, to see

that noe manner of able person be permitted to be absent from the muster ; next, that the armor be seene and worne upon the backes of the person that shall weare them, and made fitt for them ; that where any shall lacke armor that either ought to have yt or shall be ordered to have yt, they be commaunded to provide yt by a reasonable daie, and to be informed that they shall have the same of the Q^e Ma^{ties} Store, upon such reasonable prices as in the ende of these instructions shall appeare.

“ Finallie, Her Ma^{ties} requireth to her said Lieutenant the care and government of her said counties and citty, to be preserved both in quiet from danger of mutinies and rebellions, and from offence of the enemies ; which two things be the principall causes of this Her Ma^{ties} Commission, remitting the order of all other controversies concerning plea of lande to the order of the lawes of the realme, except, upon consent of both parts, mediacon may be made by the order of the Lieutenant, and so the same may be compounded, wherein surelie much good may be procured, and occasion given to concorde and quiet.

“ THE PRICE OF ARMOR AND ARTILLERIE.

“ The armor for a dimi-lance	.	.	.	liij s. iiij d.
A corslett	.	.	.	xxx s.
A currier, complet	.	.	.	xvj s. viij d.
Harquebush, complete	.	.	.	vij s.
Dagge, complete	.	.	.	xvj s. viij d.
A bowe of ewe	.	.	.	ij s. vj d.
Liverie arrowes and shafte	.	.	.	xxij d.
Morris pike	.	.	.	ij s.
A dimi-lance staffe	.	.	.	ij s. iiij d.
A northerne staffe	.	.	.	ij s. vj d.
A black bill	.	.	.	xvj d.
A halberd	.	.	.	vj s. viij d.
A murrion	.	.	.	vj s. viij d.
Almaine rivette	.	.	.	x s.
Sculler, the peece	.	.	.	vij d.

“ INSTRUCTIONS geven to our right trustie and right welbeloved Cosen and councellor, the Erle, &c., ut supra the first of June, 1574.

“ In primis, where we have made and constituted you our Lieutenant of our said counties and cittie by our letters patents under our great scale of this our

realme of England, our pleasure is that forthwith you shall give notice thereof to the Justices of Peace, and other our ministers within every of our said Counties and Cittie, and directe to them such order for the better government of the said shires and cittie as to you shall seeme meete.

“ Item, where we are geven to understande of great preparation that the King of Spaine maketh by sea to sende into the Lowe Countries, we think it good providence, in respect as some unkindness that hath passed betwene us, to be carefull for the conservation of our realme from all sodaine invasion; and therefore we will that with all speede you take order for the defence of our said counties and cittie, especially those parts thereof lying upon the sea-coasts which be most subject to the dangerous attemptes of forraine enemies. For your better direction herein, you shall, by our order, receive from one of our secretaries a copie of such letters as are written by our Privie Counsell to the Justices of those shires that coast upon the sea, those onlie excepted that are presently commytted to your government, by the which you shall both perceave in what order of defence they are directed to put themselves in to withstand all forraine invasion, as also howe and in what manner they shall behave themselves towardses the King of Spaines navie as shall resorte unto our partes.

“ Item, whereas of late we have geven order to our Privie Counsell to write their severall letters into all the shires within this our realme to certain noblemen and gentlemen chosen for that purpose, to see whether such persons as by lawe are bounde to kepe horses, as well dimi-lances as light horse, are furnished according to the said lawes in that behalf provided. We have also appointed that there shall be delivered unto you a copie of the said Lettres, wherein we shall require you to doe the uttermost of your judgement, that there may followe within your government that good execution of the said lawes as may serve to strengthen the same in theis tymes of suspicion and danger.

“ Finallie, we remitte to you the care and concernment of our said counties and cittie, to be preserved both in quiet from danger of mutinies and rebellions, and also from offence of the enemies, w^{ch} two things be the principall causes of this our Commission; referring the order of all other controversies concerning plea of landes to the order of this our realme, except, upon consente of both parties, mediation may be made by order of you our Lieutenant, and so the same may be procured, and occasion geven to concorde and quiet.”

XXVII.—*Third Letter to the* VISCOUNT MAHON, *President, from* JOHN HENRY PARKER, *Esq. F.S.A. upon the Ancient Churches in the West of France.*

Read May 26th, 1853.

MY LORD,

Oxford, May 25th, 1853.

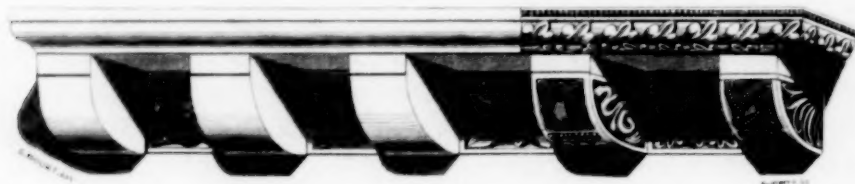
I terminated my last letter with a notice of the buildings of the town of Saintes. I believe that between that town and Bordeaux there are some interesting village churches, but I was too much pressed for time to be able to visit them, being obliged to take advantage of the steam-boat up the Gironde. I propose this evening to give some account of the buildings of Bordeaux, and some others in the neighbourhood, to which I made an excursion.

BORDEAUX.

Notwithstanding the flourishing state of this large and important commercial city, it still contains several ancient buildings of considerable interest to the antiquary. The first of these, in point of time, and not the least in interest, is the Roman amphitheatre, called the Palais Gallien, and supposed to have been built in the time of the emperor Gallienus, about the middle of the third century. It was nearly perfect in 1790, when it was ordered to be pulled down, and the greater part of it has since been destroyed to build houses upon the site, but the entrance gateway remains perfect, and is a fine specimen of Roman work, in stone and brick, of plain but bold character. The only ornaments employed, consisting of projecting strings and capitals to the pilasters, are formed entirely of moulded brick, the edges of the tiles being made to project, and moulded to the form required. The whole structure has the usual layers of tiles in regular courses; the facing is of small ashlar. The arches are formed of tiles with small stones between them, cut nearly to the shape of tiles, with an outer circle of tiles only.

The next to this in importance is the Cathedral, the nave of which is in the Early French style, similar to Angers. Its enormous width (56 feet), and the want of proportionate height, or length, give rather the idea that it has originally been divided into nave and aisles, and that the pillars and arches have been removed in some of the various alterations the church has undergone. This is however in appearance only, as the enormous buttresses show that this vaulting was originally of this wide span. The west end is concealed by houses, except the upper part, which is very plain, with a triple lancet window. Under this, concealed by the houses, is a very fine and rich doorway of the 13th century.

The choir has been re-built in the 14th and 15th centuries, so that a portion of the nave is all that remains of the original structure: this has, however, a very rich cornice, or corbel table, on the south side, next the cloister, with the interlaced

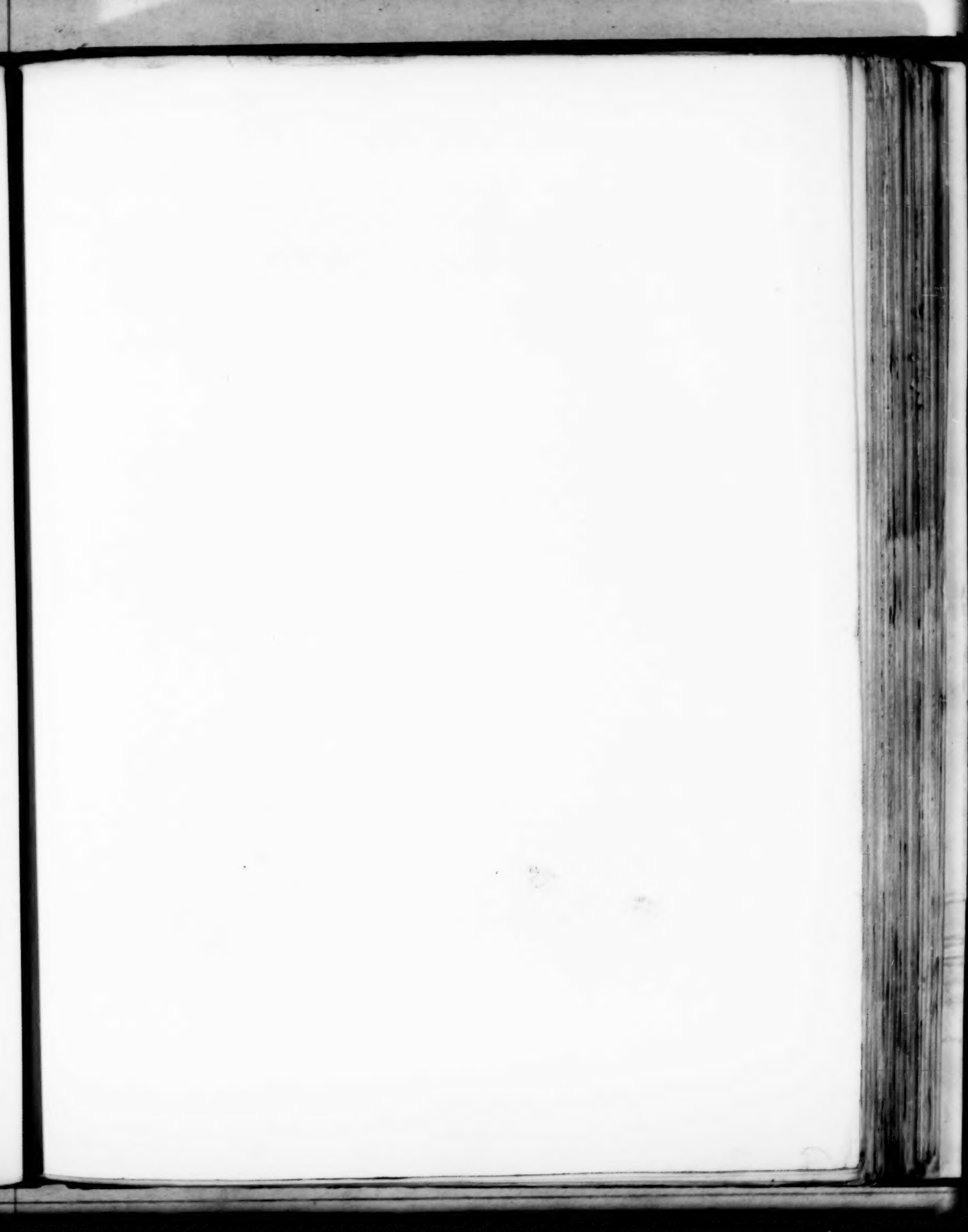


CORBEL TABLE, NAVE OF BORDEAUX CATHEDRAL.

fret-like ornaments often called Runic, but which, in this instance (as in many others), do not appear to be earlier than the end of the 12th century, or the beginning of the 13th. At the end of the north transept are two elegant spires 150 feet high, which form one of the chief ornaments of the city. These surmount the two turrets which flank the north front, having a rich doorway between them, and over it a fine rose window in a gable end: within there is a good triforium gallery. The character of this part of the church is of the fourteenth century, and not very early in it. The rose window is, however, later work, in the Flamboyant style, and evidently inserted at a later period.

The chapels on the north side of the nave are in the Decorated style of the 14th century; one of the buttresses has been re-built in the Renaissance style, and serves for both a buttress and a tomb.

On the south side of the nave is a very perfect cloister, and on this side large buttresses, with pinnacles, have been added to support the vault and wall of the nave, with flying arches over the cloister. These were probably added after the church was damaged by an earthquake in the 15th century. The details of this cloister are worthy of examination as good specimens of Early French work.



RELIQUAIRE



Del. J. B. de La Motte

J. Le Roux sculp.

LE CHOEUR DE LA CATHÉDRALE D'AMIENS

Le Reliquaire de Louis IX, par le sculpteur J. Le Roux.

In the cloister is a good tomb in the form of a doorway, which is not unusual in France: this has some good sculpture in the Early French style. There is also another tomb in the cloister under a round arch of Flamboyant work.

The front of the south transept is similar to the north, but of earlier character; the upper part is unfinished, and the spires not built. It is entirely in the Decorated style. The triforium has particularly good tracery in the blank windows. The rose window is a good specimen of French Decorated work, filled up, as usual there, with trefoils and quatrefoils, and without the variety of forms usual in English work of the same period. The same remark applies equally to the tracery of the triforium windows. In this transept is also a fine tomb, or rather the canopy of one, for the tomb itself has been destroyed: this is in the form of a doorway.

The choir, which is about 100 feet high, and the apse, with the aisles and chapels belonging to them, are the finest parts of the cathedral, and the most generally known. They are very good and rich Decorated, with groups of pinnacles and flying buttresses. The work has evidently been long in progress, and the upper part is Flamboyant, of the 15th century, but made to harmonize extremely well with the lower part. The later parts correspond exactly with the detached belfry-tower built by Bishop Peter Beyland, about 1440, who is buried at the east end, as shown by an inscription which has been carefully restored. There is also an inscription on the tower, giving the date.

The choir of this cathedral is commonly said to be in the English style; that it was indeed built during the time that Bordeaux was the capital of the English province of Aquitaine is very clear; but to my eyes it is not English: though very different from the generality of buildings in that part of France, it appears to me rather in the style of the north of France, such as Normandy or Picardy, and I should not consider it as erected by English workmen, nor by an English architect. Indeed, throughout the whole province of Aquitaine, which I have traversed from the north to the south, from Angers to Bordeaux, and from west to east, from Bordeaux to Lyons, I have sought in vain for any English character in the architecture beyond mere occasional and trifling instances. But, on the other hand, I have found many things which we have copied from them and improved upon.

The Church of Holy Cross (St. Croix) is an interesting building, the original parts of which are late Norman or Romanesque, of the 12th century, with pointed arches. The plan is cruciform, with aisles to the nave only. The vaults and vaulting shafts are in the Early French style of the 13th century, and are



CAPITAL, SAINTE CROIX, BORDEAUX.



CAPITAL, SAINTE CROIX, BORDEAUX.

interesting additions, in some places very clumsily joined on to the old work. The square pier being left, the vaulting shaft rests upon it, standing about two feet behind the face of it. The capitals have good sculpture of late Romanesque work; some of them bear a resemblance to the leaves of ferns; others have interlaced ornaments. The aisles, with their lancet windows and responds, are part of the Early French work.

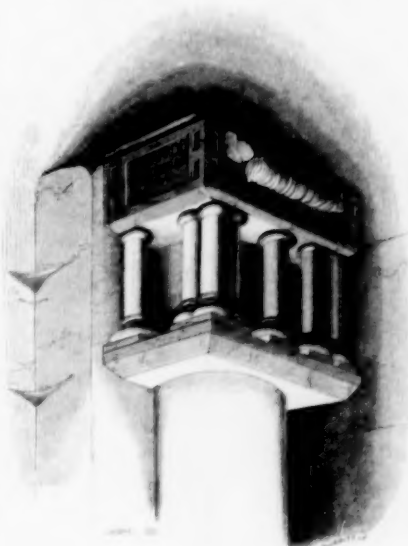
The west front has a rich Norman doorway, with arches on each side and an arcade over. The lower part of the south-west tower remains and is Transition work. At the angles there are triple shafts in

place of buttresses or turrets. One of the exterior capitals is carved to represent four wine-barrels, probably to indicate that it was built by a wine-merchant.

St. Michael's Church is good Flamboyant, a very perfect specimen, all of one style, with rich doorways and windows. The east window has a trace of the Perpendicular style. The plan is cruciform, with a square east end, and aisles to both nave and choir. There is some good Flamboyant glass remaining. The Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre has a fine piece of sculpture—an altar-piece or window of the 16th century, representing the taking down of Christ from the cross, with a group of figures under a rich crocketed canopy, with small figures of angels worshipping, introduced like cusps on the arch. The tower is detached at the west end, and is of the same age as the rest of the church; the spire has been destroyed. Under this tower is a crypt which has the property of preserving bodies in a sort of mummy state, from the peculiar dryness of the soil and atmosphere.

St. Severin's Church is chiefly a plain specimen of the Early French style, with parts earlier and other parts later: the interior much mutilated. It consists of a nave with aisles and choir, with a square east end with a triplet and side chapels. Under the choir is a very curious early crypt, probably of the 7th or 8th century, built of Roman materials. The pillars are of marble and some of the capitals are Roman; others are merely square blocks sloped off a little downwards. In this crypt are several sarcophagi of late Roman character, with coped lids, ornamented with sculptured foliage, and on one is the labrum of Constantine. These tombs appear to be of the 5th century. The church is said to owe its origin to an oratory built by St. Severinus in the Roman burial ground. The windows of this crypt show that the original church was only of the same extent with it, and very much smaller than the present building.

The west front has been restored in the Romanesque style; under the tower is a remarkable porch of the 11th century; with a plain barrel-vault, having square arch-ribs carried on pilasters, with rich sculptured capitals, some of foliage, others small groups of figures; one is a very singular



CAPITAL FROM THE CHURCH OF ST. SEVERIN.

representation of the tomb or death-bed of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, with an inscription on the edge of the abacus to "St. Severinus," contracted into "St. Severin." A small figure of the saint lies upon a bed supported by eight small shafts; the inscription appears to be as follows:—"Quando migravit a sæculo Sanctus Severinus sigillatum? hæc petra sepulchrum Sa. Severini." From this it would appear that the capital affords us an exact model of the original tomb of the saint, of whose life a valuable early manuscript is preserved in the public library of the town.

The south doorway is very rich Early French work, with a trefoil arch, and groups of sculpture in the tympan, and on each side are figures of the apostles, with those of the synagogue on one side and the Christian church on the other. Round the arch is an inscription, giving the date of 1267, and shewing that this doorway served also as a tomb to the memory of one of the canons, Raymond de Forte.



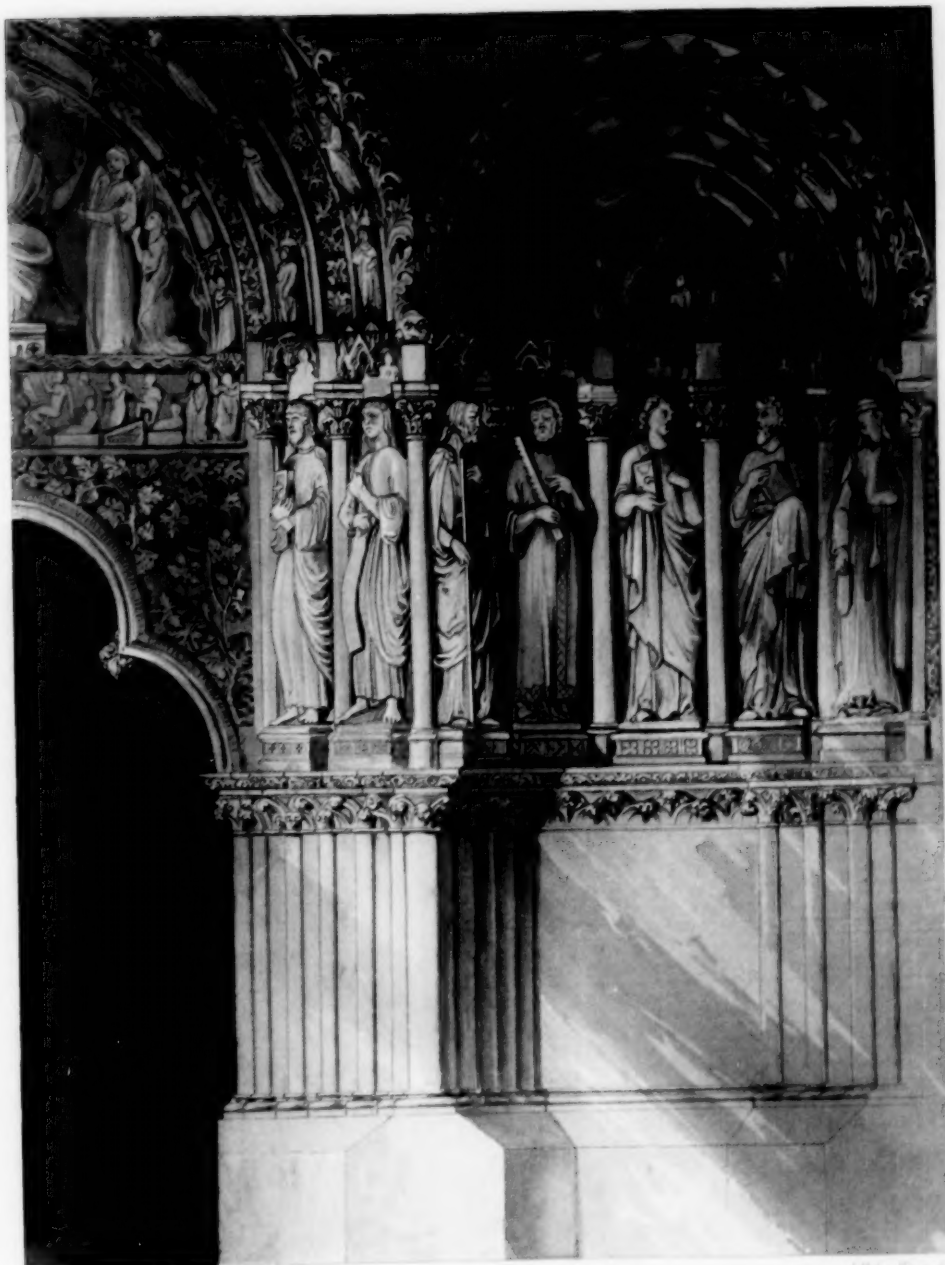
CORBEL, BLANQUEFORT.

In a street near the cathedral is an elegant Cross, which has been carefully restored; the original seems to have been of the early part of the 15th century, probably erected by Peter Beyland.

About three miles from Bordeaux are the ruins of the castle of Blanquefort, long the residence of Edward the Black Prince, which appears to have been built for him. Some of the chambers are vaulted in the Decorated style, and under one of the corbels is a British lion. The embrasures in the outer walls have small round openings, with eyelets over them, apparently for cross-bows (?).

About twenty miles to the north-east of Bordeaux is Libourne, one of the principal towns founded by Edward the First, which still retains its regular plan, but has lost nearly all other traces of antiquity. The Church is plain and late Flamboyant, and the Town Hall is of the same style. This flourishing commercial town was the ruin of its neighbour, St. Emilion, which affords a fine field for the

REMARKS



St. Peter's, Rome.

St. Peter's, Rome.

REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE

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antiquary, nearly the whole town consisting of buildings of the middle ages. A considerable part of the town wall of the 12th century remains, with the ditch, now turned into vineyards, and at one corner is a fine house of the same period, which is called the Palace of the Cardinal de la Mothe, who may perhaps have resided in it; but it is at least a century older than his time, and can hardly be later than 1200, as will at once be seen by the details. The French antiquaries say that it was built by the cardinal in 1302, and speak of it as a remarkable synchronism in art; but the fact appears to me simply incredible.

The most remarkable feature of St. Emilion is the monolithic Church, which is probably one of the most curious of its class. It is cut entirely out of the solid rock, and is of early Romanesque character. The precise date is uncertain, but it appears most probable that the work was commenced in the 11th century, and carried on through the whole of the 12th. St. Emilion is said to have lived in the 8th century. A fragment of an inscription remains, the characters of which agree



MONOLITHIC CHURCH, ST. EMILION.

with the 11th century; but some of the French antiquaries attribute it to the 9th. Others consider it as merely the crypt of the church above on the top of the rock; but that church is of much later character, and it is much more probable



PLAN OF THE MONOLITHIC CHURCH.

that the subterranean church was first made, and the other built long afterwards, when the country was in a more settled state. This church is 115 feet long by 80 wide. It consists of three parallel aisles, or rather a nave and two aisles, with plain barrel-shaped vaults, if they can be so called, with transverse vaults or openings, and round arches on massive square piers; the imposts are of the plain early Norman character, merely a square projection chamfered off on the under side, but one of them is enriched with the billet ornament. There are recesses for tombs down the sides, and a fourth aisle or passage has been cut out on the south side, apparently for

tombs only, as it has recesses on both sides to receive the stone coffins. Still further to the south, but connected by a passage, is a circular chamber in an unfinished state, with a domical vault, and an opening in the centre to a shaft which is carried up to the surface. Whether this was intended for a chapter-house, or for a sepulchral chapel in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre, is an undecided point. I incline to the latter opinion. This subterranean church or crypt is necessarily lighted from one end only, where it is flush with the face of the rock; and these openings are filled with Flamboyant windows, which are very evident insertions. On the surface of the hill over this church, but with a large space of solid rock intervening, is the tower, and spire belonging to it. The tower is of late Norman and transitional character, surmounted by a Flamboyant crocketed spire. There is a kind of well or flue cut through the rock under the tower into the church below, apparently for the bell-ropes. In the church are remains of early painting, and some shallow sculpture, the character of which appears to be of the 12th century.

Adjoining to the church, on the south side, is a detached chapel of Transition Norman work, with an apse vaulted with good ribs and vaulting shafts. A considerable part of the old painting is preserved; some of the ribs are painted with zig-zags. Under this chapel is a crypt or cave cut out of the rock called the

Grotto of St. Emilion, with a spring of water in it. This work is of the same early character as the other vaults.

The parish church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity: the nave is of Transition Norman character, of three bays, with domical vaults; the arches pointed, the windows round-headed, and the west doorway good late Norman with sculpture. The aisles are early French. The choir and apse are good Flamboyant work, with the original painted glass. The vaults have also preserved the old painting.

There are remains of two other churches, both in the style of the 14th century; that of the Cordeliers has the walls and windows nearly perfect.

The castle is a square Norman keep, with corner turrets. It is said to have been built after 1224, but the small narrow windows are all round-headed, and the whole character is that of the 12th century. It seems much more probable that there is some error in the histories of this town, than that its buildings should be so much behind all others of similar character. This is, however, matter of opinion; some persons consider that the Romanesque style continued in use in the South of France to a much later period than in the northern provinces, or in England. There is certainly great resemblance between the South of France and Italy in many respects, and this may be another instance of that similarity.

A few miles beyond St. Emilion is St. Foy, another of the towns founded by Edward the First, on the same regular plan, with a square market-place in the centre, surrounded by arcades wide enough for two carriages to pass, and high enough for a loaded waggon or diligence to pass under. All the streets are in straight lines crossing at right angles, with narrow lanes between the streets at regular intervals. The houses are chiefly modern, but a few are of the 16th century, and there are turrets at the corners of several of the streets. The church is modern, but the west end is of the 14th century, with a good doorway, and arches on each side of it. The suite of mouldings of the doorway is unusually rich for France, as French architecture in general has a remarkable paucity of mouldings compared with English, but this is more the case with their windows than their doorways.

This terminates my first year's tour in the province of Aquitaine. In the following year I made Bordeaux my starting point, and proceeded across the south of France to Lyons, thus traversing the whole length of the ancient province of Guienne. If convenient to the Society, I propose, on some future opportunity, to give some account of my second year's tour.

I remain, my Lord, your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

XXVIII.—*Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Vere, by J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., V.P.: in a Letter to W. DURRANT COOPER, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read March 2, 1854.

Maidenhead, 28th Feb., 1854.

IN a letter I addressed to you some time ago, which obtained a place in Vol. XXXIV. of the *Archæologia*, I introduced a note from Sir Walter Raleigh to one of the law advisers of the Crown (most probably the Attorney-General) on the subject of the revocation and re-grant by Queen Elizabeth of the letters patent conceded to her then favourite, authorizing him to issue licences for the retail sale of wines. The note bears date 8th March, 1587-8, and it is the more important, because it corrects a mistake committed by Mr. Fraser Tytler, when he stated in his "*Life of Raleigh*" that this privilege was conferred as a reward for Raleigh's services in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. The fact appears to be, as I stated, that this renewal of the older and original patent took place before the Spanish Armada ventured to approach our shores.

All I could do in my former communication was to produce Raleigh's autograph note, without attempting to explain any of the circumstances out of which it had arisen. A document has since fallen in my way, which renders the whole transaction clear, and puts it in its proper light. I met with it among the MSS. of the Earl of Ellesmere, transmitted to him from the time of his ancestor, who was successively Attorney-General, Master of the Rolls, and Keeper of the Great Seal to Elizabeth, and Lord Chancellor to James I.; and as the present wearer of the title is a member of our Society, and is always desirous of assisting literary, archaeological, and scientific inquiries, I have no hesitation in making use of it, as a further illustration of the justice of the opinion, that the memoirs we already possess, purporting to be full accounts of the incidents of the career of Raleigh, are incomplete and unsatisfactory.

When Elizabeth first invested him with sole authority, and on terms to be fixed by himself, to grant licences for the sale of wines by retail, has not, I believe, been ascertained; but it seems that in the spring of 1587-8, either the patent was near its expiration, or that Raleigh was anxious that it should be revoked and instantly renewed, for reasons which may possibly be gathered from the correspondence

between him and the Attorney-General. This high legal appointment was then filled by Sir Thomas Egerton, and we may presume, though it is without address, that the note from Raleigh of 8th March, in that year, was sent to him. As it is short, and as the precise wording of it is of some importance to my present purpose, I may, perhaps, be excused for here repeating it:—

“S^r,—Whereas the Quenes Ma^{tie} hath heretofore given unto me, by her Letters patentes, authoritie to graunte Licenses for the sellinge of Wynes by retayle; her Highnes pleasure is to revoke and make voyde the same, and by new Letters patentes to regraunte unto me the auctoritie and benefytt thereof for a farther terme of yeres. Wherefore, I pray you hartely to peruse the drafte which this bearer, my servante, shall bring unto you, and sett your hande thereunto, redie for her Highnes to signe, and I wilbe redie to requyte your courtesie. So, hopinge your carefull dealinge for me, accordinge to my requeste, I bid you hartely farewell. This 8th of March, 1587.

“Your lovinge Frende,

“W. RALEGH.”

“S^r,—Majesty her sealf cummaunded mee to acquaynt yow with the booke, and therefore yow shall not need to doubt; for you may take knowledg of her plesure by thes my letters, beseechinge yow to frinde me so much to make expedition herein, and yow shall cummaunde mee in what I may stand yow in steede.”

I remember that when I formerly read the preceding note I expressed some doubt on the point to whom it had been transmitted, and one of the most acute of the Fellows of our Society, who heard it, expressed his opinion, that it had been sent to the Attorney-General of the day. Such turns out to be the fact, for the answer to it, to which I am now to direct your attention, is in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Egerton; and, although it is not the identical piece of paper which he forwarded to Sir Walter Raleigh, it is a rough draft of it, with considerable erasures and corrections, as if the writer were impressed with the fitness, on such a matter, of being very precise and accurate. It has no date nor address, but, as Raleigh required great dispatch in the affair, it was sent, when written out fair, back to him by the same servant who conveyed Raleigh's note to Sir Thomas Egerton. It is in the following terms:—

“SIR,—According to your letter I have perused the draught which this bearer, your servant, delivered unto me for Her Ma^{ties} revocation of the Letters pattentes

now in force touching the lycence for the selling of wyne, and a newe graunt to be made therof unto you for some further terme of yeares ; and, understanding by his reporte that the opynion of your counsell ys, that ymmediatlye upon Her Ma^{ties} revocation your graunte to Richard Browne will ceasse and be voyde, and the whoale interest be in you againe, I thought good to devyde this booke into two partes ; that ys, to have the revocation to passe by ytselfe, so that theruppon you might be fullie restored to your former interest, and therby inhabled to make a perfecte surrender of the same to Her Ma^{tie} for the grounding of a new graunt to be made unto you by Her Highnes. And accordingle I penned the same, and caused two severall bookes to be ingrossed, which I have subscribed and made ready for Her Ma^{ties} signature, both which may be signed by Her Ma^{tie} at one tyme ; and herein I have followed the opynion and direction of your counsell.

“ But understanding further by this bearer, that, in the absence of your Counsell, your will was that I shoulde consyder of the booke which passed betweene you and Mr. Browne, and that yt pleased you to use my opynion therin, I have perused the same accordingle, and fynde yt to be intrycatelie penned, and with so great disadvantage for your parte, that I doubte the course which you are directed will hardlie satisfie your expectation ; for, as I conceive yt, ymmediatlie [after] Her Ma^{ties} revocation, Mr. Browne ys to be discharged of the payment of his rent of 800 li. ; but yet your graunt to hym will contynue still in force untill, upon a perfecte accompte made by hym, you satisfie unto hym within vj. monethes so muche of the somme of 1,300 li. as before that tyme he shall not have levyed by vertue of your graunte ; and yf he refuse to yeld any such accompte at all, and so neglecte to receave any suche satisfaction at your handes, but resolve rather, beinge discharged of his rent, to contynue still the benyfitte of your graunt, I doubt greatlie that by lawe you shall hardlie avoyde yt. Wherefore I wyshe your counsell should advysedlie consyder of the pointe, before you procede with the revocation. And if by the wordes of the booke he (Browne) have this libertie and advantage in lawe (as I doubte muche he hath), then ys there nothing in the booke to restrayne hym, saving onlye his bare covenant, to redeliver unto you the Letters Pattentes within six monethes after her Ma^{ties} revocation, which was not so sufficientlie foreseene and provyded for by your counsell in the drawinge of the booke as was meet. Thes thinges I thought good to make knowne unto you, and so to leave them to your good consyderation, resting allwayes moost readye to be used by you in any servyce I can performe. And so, with my humble duetie, I commyt you to God.

“ Your W. moost ready at commandement.”

It may be asked how it is ascertained that the preceding letter applies to the interest of Sir Walter Raleigh in the Letters Patent in question, since the name of Richard Browne is the only one mentioned by Sir Thomas Egerton? The doubt is removed by a sort of postscript which the latter added, containing the very words that ought to be stated to the Queen, when the two new grants should be placed before her for signature. This of itself establishes that Elizabeth was not content to affix her signature blindly and indiscriminately to a series of documents put under her pen by the Master of Requests, or by any other public functionary; but that she required to be distinctly informed as to the purport and design of every paper in succession as it was presented to her. Sir Thomas Egerton dictated the following words as those by which Her Majesty was to be instructed regarding the two separate grants to Sir Walter Raleigh, whose name is here distinctly introduced.

"This conteyneth a revocation by your Ma^y of your Highnes graunt made to Sir Walter Raleigh for the gyving of licences for sale of wyne, and up-surrender of all such power and interest as he had therby.

"This byll conteyneth a new graunt to be made unto hym by your Ma^y, of the same effecte as the former, and to contynue for so many yeares as yt shall please your Highnes to appoynte."

Sir Walter Raleigh's reasons for wishing the original patent to be cancelled, and a new one granted, may have been two-fold; either that the first was for a term of years nearly expired in 1587-8, or that, having involved himself in some improvident engagement with Richard Browne, he was desirous in this way of being relieved from it. The language used by Sir Thomas Egerton certainly looks as if the latter had been the main inducement with Raleigh for urging the Queen to make him a new grant: Browne had agreed to pay Raleigh a rent of £800 a-year for the whole, or only for a part, of the advantage to be reaped from the patent; but the bargain was encumbered by the re-payment, on the part of Raleigh, of a sum of £1300: neither would Browne's claim be at an end until he chose to render "a perfect account" between himself and Raleigh. This was a circumstance to which Raleigh and his counsel had not adverted, and which the legal astuteness of Sir Thomas Egerton discovered. But we may be sure that there was nothing unfair in this treatment of Browne, or the Attorney-General, who through life showed his aversion to court jobs and ministerial trickery, would not have lent himself to it. It is well known that Raleigh at this date obtained a renewal of his grant for selling wine licences; and we here see, for the first time, the particular steps he took to secure it.

While I am upon the subject of the defective memoirs of Raleigh, I may be allowed to quote two short passages in a very well known work by one of his most distinguished contemporaries, which I think have escaped the notice of biographers, or, at all events, have not been quoted by them. I refer to Sir Francis Vere's "Commentaries," which he left behind him in MS., and which were not printed until half a century after his death. Sir Francis Vere and Raleigh had high commands under the Earl of Essex, both in the expedition against Cadiz in 1596, and in what has always been called "the Island Voyage" in 1597. One of Vere's biographers has asserted, that in his "Commentaries" he was always anxious to show that the merit of every achievement was mainly attributable to himself; but those who dispassionately read that excellent work will see no sufficient ground for the accusation; and certain it is that the writer put his memoranda upon paper merely for the employment of his leisure hours, after his retirement from public life, and never sought to give currency to his opinions by printing them. On this account we may be disposed to give the greater credit to his statements; and there is one, in reference to the enterprise against Cadiz, which seems to confirm the notion, as regards Raleigh's personal character, that he was himself somewhat overweening, and unwilling to allow of any superiority, whether of place or merit. Sir Francis Vere says:—

"During this stay of our army about Plymouth (which, by reason of the contrary wind, was near a month), it pleased my Lord of Essex to give me much countenance, and to have me always near him, which drew upon me no small envy, in so much as some open jars fell out betwixt Sir Walter Raleigh, then Rear-Admiral of the Navy, and Sir Conyers Clifford, Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, and myself; which the General qualified for the time, and ordered that in all meetings at land I should have the precedence of Sir Walter Raleigh, and he of me at sea."—*Vere's Commentaries*, 1657, p. 26.

There is no ground for supposing that an eminent soldier like Vere, to whom, as Camden tells us, James I. even took off his hat, would be actuated by envy of Sir Walter Raleigh, whose rank, whose command, and whose duties were so different. Vere was Marshal of the Forces, second only to Essex; while Raleigh was only Rear-Admiral of the Navy, and was not unlikely to have felt some heart-burnings at the "countenance" which Essex gave to Vere, who was "always with him," and was constantly resorted to by the young General of the Expedition for advice and information. In "the Island Voyage" of the next year (1597), in reference to a particular piece of misconduct on the part of Raleigh, which placed even his life at the mercy of Essex, Sir Francis Vere takes occasion to state that,

in the council held for considering the circumstances of the case, he had shown "less spleen" against Raleigh than any other officer. The terms employed by Sir Francis in his "Commentaries" give all the facts with brevity and clearness.

"The General (Essex) with his squadron was to go to Fayal; the Lord Thomas with his squadron, and I with my ship, were to go to Graciosa; and Sir Walter Raleigh with his either to Pico or St. George; but Sir Walter Raleigh (whether of set purpose or by mistake I leave others to judge), making with his squadron more haste than the rest of the fleet, came to Fayal afore us, landed his men, and received some loss by the Spaniards that kept the top of the hill which commanded both the haven and the town. The General, with the rest of the fleet, came to an anchor before the island; and, hearing of Sir Walter Raleigh's landing and loss, was highly displeased, as he had cause, it being directly and expressly forbidden, upon pain of death, to land forces without orders from the General; and there wanted not about my lord that, the more to incense him, aggravated the matter.

* * * * *

"The Captain and officers that landed with Sir Walter Raleigh were presently committed; and, before our departure thence, Sir Walter Raleigh was called to answer for himself, in a full assembly of the chief officers both by sea and land, in the General's presence; where, every one being to deliver his opinion of the crime, it was grievously aggravated by the most: for my part, no man showed less spleen against him than myself. The General's goodness would not suffer him to take any extreme course; but, with a wise and noble admonition, forgave the offence, and set also at liberty the Captains that had been committed."—*Vere's Commentaries*, 1657, pp. 51, 53.

Here we see the magnanimity and generosity of the character of the Earl of Essex signally illustrated:—he at once forgave the breach of his orders, both on the part of Raleigh and his officers, and returned to England, defeated and disappointed in the main objects of the expedition. Three years afterwards he lost his head; and such was the opinion entertained by many of Raleigh's sense of obligation to the Earl, that it was publicly—but we are persuaded untruly—asserted that he not only witnessed the execution, but openly rejoiced in the fall of his rival in the favour of the Queen.

Having mentioned Sir Francis Vere, in connexion with the career and services of Raleigh, I am tempted to take this opportunity of adverting to a remarkable passage in the life of the former, regarding which I can find no public record, and which is unquestionably not noticed by himself in his "Commentaries." It

relates to a serious difference between Sir Francis Vere and the young Earl of Northumberland; but the particular cause of quarrel, which led to a challenge, is not stated. I derive my information respecting the affair from a MS. of the time (in Lord Ellesmere's possession); and, although it is without date, internal evidence establishes that the transaction to which it refers occurred subsequent to the siege of Ostend: that is to say, very near the close of the reign of Elizabeth. It seems singular that an incident of such importance, relating, on the one side, to so great a soldier, and, on the other, to so high-spirited a young nobleman, and necessarily known to so many persons, including the Queen and her Council, should have been omitted by those who have written upon the events and anecdotes of the period. The paper, which is drawn up in the form of a narrative, will speak for itself; and I am not in a condition to afford any farther explanation.

(No date nor indorsement.)

"The right honorable the Earle of Northumberland havinge juste cause to call Sir Francis Veare in question for diverse wronges done unto him (as by the reporte of sundrye men of good credyte he was enformed), on Saterdaye the 21 of Aprill sente him, by Captayne Whitlock, a letter with this superscription on the owt syde :

"To the vallorous and worthie Captaine Sir Frauncis Veare, Lorde Governor of the Brill, and Comaunder of the English under the States."

"Of which letter this under written is the true coppie :

"I toulde you at Oastende that then was noe fytt tyme to expostulate matters. Nowe I houlde yt proper to call you to accompte for those wronges I have hard you have done me. You love to take the ayre and ryde abroad: appointe therefore a place and tyme to your likinge, that I maye meete you. Bringe you a friend with you: I wilbe accompanied with another, that shalbe witnes of the thinges I will laye to your charge. Yf you satisfie me, we wilbe good friends; yf not, we will doe as God shall put in our myndes. I will eschue all bytter wordes, as unfyt for men of our occupation. Seeke not by frivolous shiftes to divert this course of satisfaction; for all other meanes, then this that I have prescribed, I shall take as an affirmation of that I have harde, which will cause me to procead in rightinge my selfe as the wronges require. Make noe replies by letter, but sende me your will by this bearer directly, wheather you will or you will not, for from me shall you have no more. Give no cause of noise in the worlde, to hinder this course, lest you baffle your owne reputation. What soever ells I shall doe in this

just cause of offence, fewer wordes I could not have used to have expressed my mynde.'

"After he had receyved and redd this letter he [Sir F. Vere] asked Capt. Whitlock yf he had nothinge to deliver by word of mouth? He replied that in case Sir Francis Veare should offer to write an answer by him, then the Earle of Northumberland gave him charge to saie, that he was forbidden to take anye letter, but to crave a direct aunswer by word of mouth, which the Earle did assure him selfe Sir Fran. Veare would not refuse to sende. Then, readinge over the letter once againe, he willed Capt. Whitlock to signifie to the Earle of Northumberland, that upon such a subjecte as that was, he coulde not soe suddenlye give anye aunswer eyther by word or writinge; but that he would think of yt, and send him one. Wherupon Capt. Whitlock asked him yf he should not name unto the Earle of Northumberland any prefixed tyme? He [Sir F. Vere] toulde him againe in thies expresse wordes, that he coulde not name the tyme preciselye, for in his resolutions, when he tooke them, he was suddaine, and therfore he knewe not howe soone he should be readye to aunswer him.

"The Sondaye morninge, the xxvth, Capt. Ogle came to the Earle of Northumberland's lodging and toulde his Lordship that Sir Fran. Veare, upon the receypte of his letter, had no disposition so to laye him selfe open to the bearer therof as to lett him understand his mynde; but he had synce advised with him selfe, and sent him an aunswer of his letter in another, which Capt. Ogle requested his Lordship to receyve.

"To this the Earle of Northumberland replied, that he was resolved to stand by that he had sett downe in his letter sent by Capt. Whitlock; that he would receyve no letters, but a direct aunswer appointinge the tyme and place where they shoulde meete, and bring eyther of them a friend to be witnes of that should be said by word of mouth. He (Capt. Ogle) aunswered, that Sir Fran. Veare willed him to saie, that his Lordship tied him to conditions that were over harde, by callynge him to anye such place abroad. To which the Earle aunswered, that it was noe disparagement to Sir Fran. Veare to saie a truth in anye place, or in anye man's presence, and yf he would justifie himselfe in anye thinge that should be layed to his charge, there was noe place fyttter than such as he required.

"Capt. Ogle aunswered that Sir Francis Veare would bringe no bodye with him, but was desyrous to meete his Lordship alone, so that yt might be in a place for respecte whereof there might be no justynge or drawinge of sworde. To this the Earle of Northumberland replied that he would not sticke to meete him alone; but to stand upon any respected place, yt was noe purpose, for neyther his own

howse, nor Sir Fran. Veare's, nor the Corte, nor the markett place weare fytt for decidinge of their controversies; and that he might be sure, whersoever he should meete him, he (the Earle) woulde not goe without the weapons he did ordinarilye weare: neyther would he be debarred the use of them, yf yt should be requisytt. With this Capt. Ogle, beinge upon his departe, offred to deliver his letter the second time, sayinge he knewe not how to acquite him selfe of his dutye towards Sir Francis Veare, yf he did not deliver yt accordinge as he gave him in charge.

"The Earle of Northumberland asked him, wheather Sir Fran. Veare did bid him leave yt in his chamber, in case he woulde not receyve yt? He answered, Yes, that he did expresselye bid him leave yt there. The Earle of Northumberland bid him lay yt down on the table; which he had no sooner done, but the said Earle, steppinge to his sworde that hoonge upon the wall, he drew yt halfe owt, and willed him to carrye back the letter, sayinge, with his hand upon his sworde, 'This is sufficient for your discharge towards Sir Fran. Veare,' tooke the letter upp againe: and when he (Capt. Ogle) was gone as far as into the streete, the Earle of Northumberland caused him to be called back againe, and willed him to tell Sir Francis Veare that he stayed in London, from his busines expresslye ellswhere, to have an aunswer, wheather he would appointe a tyme and place or not. Capt. Ogle takinge his leave made, yet the third tyme, an offer to deliver Sir Francis Veare's letter. The Earle of Northumberland bad him he should not offer yt any more, unlesse he had a fancye that they twoe should have a thrust together. Thus Capt. Ogle departed from the Earle of Northumberland on Sondaye morninge.

"The same Sondaye in the after noone Capt. Ogle came to the Earle of Northumberland with a newe discourse, that Sir Francis Veare was willinge to satisfye his Lordship, but he was desyrous to meete him in some place in London, each of them accompanied with a man of gravitie, and of some ranke in the state; and named for his choice Sir Edward Stafford. To this the Earle of Northumberland replied, that he thought yt noe fytt course to trouble such men, for that knight, and another his equall, were men like inoughe to acquainte the Queene and Councell, yf they perceyved anye difference betwixt them that might breede further contention, and soe bringe them both under the power of her Ma^{ties} comaundment by their information. Again, yf they should not doe this, at the least they woulde hinder them from goinge togeather into the field, yf eyther partie should have juste cause soe to doe, a proceedinge flatt againste his meaninge, because he desyred noe noise, but privatlie to be satisfied, as in his letter did appere; and because Sir Fran. Veare [was] a gallant gent. and a worthie commaunder, he

was resolved to deale with him in the style of a soldier: and, to be shorte, least Sir Fran. Veare should in his scoffinge wayne saie, that he knewe howe to handle a Lorde, he would not accept of Statesmen; but willed Capt. Ogle to tell him, that he would be stedfast to his first desyre to bringe with him a gent. and a soldier, over whose sworde he was assured he had absolute auctoritie at this tyme, and in this matter, betwixt them twoe, and could comaunde him in humble curtesye not to drawe yt, but onely to be a witnes of their conference and apointments, least Sir Fran. Veare or himselfe, after they were parted, should saye more or lesse of each other then in deed had beene said. Such another he willed Sir Francis Veare to bringe with him, and that he should remember once againe the contents of his letter, to sende him an absolute aunswer, wheather he would doe yt or noe.

"The same Sodaye, towards eveninge, for the last tyme that Capt. Ogle came to the Earle of Northumberland, he brought word that Sir Fran. Veare thought yt not resonable to satisfie [him] after the manner he did require, and that, therefore, he would not doe yt; but desyred to have, under his hand, the perticular causes for which he found himselfe agreeved. The Earle of Northumberland [said] that to write would be tedious, and against his promise in his letter, and that he would not make his wronges knowne, unlesse he might be assured of satisfaction, eyther by word or sworde, in such place as was fytt for a noble man that professed armes to receyve yt in: that he should tell Sir Frauncis Veare, how by his refusall he was thorowlye perswaded he had done him those wronges which he meant to laye to his charge, that he would laye upp his injurious dealinge in his harte, and right himselfe hereafter as he should think fytt.

"This matter resting thus for three dayes, on Thursday the xxixth followinge, Sir Noell Carew, agent for the States, and cheife dealer for the busines Sir Frauncis Vere hath nowe in hande, did acquainte the Queene and Councell with this difference; and soddenlye yt pleased her Highnes to send an honble. personage, and one of the Earle of Northumberland's deere friends, to laye her commaundment upon him to forbear anye attempte against Sir Frauncis Veare, at this instant employed in her service; which he in all humilitie did accepte of, makinge noe reconinge of anye thinge towching his perticular, in respecte of her Ma^{ties} service and comaundment. He at once made a companye there present to understand, that he referred himselfe to the judgment of all men that made profession of honour, that he hoped they would not blame him yf, attendinge his better satisfaction, he protested every wheare that Sir Francis Veare was a knave and a coward, that in flearinge and jearinge, like a comon Buffon, will wronge men of all conditions, and had neyther the honestie nor courage to satisfye anye."

It is evident, from the whole course of this relation, that it was drawn up by, or under the direction of, the Earl of Northumberland; so that we have nothing on Sir Francis Vere's side of the question beyond what that nobleman thought it necessary to record. It is certainly a new feature in the character of Sir Francis Vere, if he were in the habit of "fleering and jeering like a common buffoon;" but it is not unlikely that the veteran had, in some way, spoken disparagingly of the young nobleman, and hence the animosity of the latter.

What I have offered has occupied so much more paper and time than I expected, that I refrain from comment. We may be sure that the illustrious captain of so many successful fights did not take any farther notice of his would-be antagonist; and we know that Vere very soon afterwards returned to his governorship of the Brill. We may possibly infer from the fact, that the above-quoted document was left among the papers of the first Lord Ellesmere, that his advice and intervention were resorted to, in order to compose the difference.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

W. DURRANT COOPER, Esq., F.S.A.

XXIX.—*Note on Saxon and other Remains discovered at and near Mentmore, in the County of Buckingham. By FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq., F.S.A.; in a Letter to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read March 9, 1854.

49, Oxford Terrace, Hyde Park,
8th March, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR,

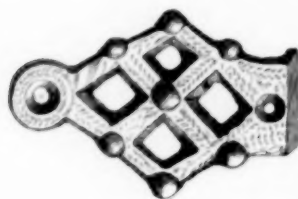
The village of Mentmore stands about eight miles north-east from Aylesbury, four miles from Leighton Buzzard, and one mile and a half from the Cheddington Station, on the London and North-Western Railway. It is situated on a hill, which rises somewhat abruptly from the Vale of Aylesbury. The hill is of irregular shape, throwing out three spurs; on one of which, stretching to the westward, stands the church, and along another, towards the north-east, is the road to Leighton Buzzard. It is a small rural parish, scarcely known by name till the Baron M. A. de Rothschild established his stag-hounds there. I cannot trace the name beyond Domesday Book. The manor is there stated to have belonged to the fair Edith (Eddeva Pulchra), the wife of King Edward the Confessor, and as then belonging to Earl Hugh. The manor subsequently passed through the families of Bussell, Zouche of Harringworth, Bray, Ligoë, Hamilton (Viscount Limerick), and Harcourt, to the present possessor, the Baron M. A. de Rothschild.

The advowson of the rectory came early in the thirteenth century to the priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and was held by that body until the Dissolution. It was then granted to Sir William Butts, who sold to Newman and Wigg. It then came by marriage to Thomas Ligoë, and has since gone with the manor.

The church, dedicated to St. Mary, is in the Decorated style, but early in the period. I send a sketch of it for inspection. The bases of the columns would appear to have formed the capitals of an earlier Norman church.

In March, 1852, I was told by my brother, the Rev. J. N. Ouvry-North, vicar of Mentmore, that some skeletons had been discovered in a gravel-pit on the green, in the centre of the village. I at once went down to make inquiries. No

traces of the discovery remained, and I could not learn that anything had been found with the skeletons. Several interments had also been discovered on the brow of the hill, immediately to the south of, and almost opposite, the church, and where the hill begins to slope down to an ancient residence (now a farm house), called Berrystead. With one of these a spear-head was found, about eighteen inches in length. In the same field, but I could not discover under what



circumstances, a bronze article was found, which I conjecture to have formed part of a clasp. It is lozenge-shaped, and pierced lozengy. Also a coin of Constans or Constantius.

On a subsequent day, and near the spot where the spear-head already mentioned was found, I myself came upon an interment. By the side of the skeleton I found a short spear-head and knife. There were also small fragments of bronze, probably part of the fastenings of the belt. The skeleton was about two feet from the surface.

On the 6th August, 1853, six skeletons were discovered near the Kennels, and as much as a hundred yards from the site of the former interments. I had not the opportunity of seeing any of these skeletons *in situ*, but I am told that nothing was found with them. On the 8th August I visited the spot, and saw another skeleton *in situ*. I carefully removed the earth, but found nothing with it.

In September three more skeletons were found on the same spot; nothing with two of them, but with the third, which was buried at least two feet deeper than the rest, fragments, apparently of a shield, were found on the breast, but no spear-head or knife.

Another skeleton was found near the church, which had a knife, but no spear.

Such of these remains as have been preserved I am enabled, by the kindness of Baron Rothschild, to exhibit.

The skeletons which I saw were lying nearly east and west, the heads to the west, and such I am told was the position of those which I had not the opportunity of inspecting. The ground is a heavy clay, and the bones were in many cases much decomposed.

In many places where the ground was opened extensive signs of cremation appeared, but no urns have been found. Bones of animals were of frequent occurrence. Several Roman coins besides the one already mentioned have been turned up.

I was told by an old inhabitant that some ten years ago two pieces of armour had been dug up, and from the description given me, I was satisfied that one of the two pieces of armour was in fact a cup-shaped fibula. After some months' inquiry I succeeded in recovering this, and it is now exhibited to the Society. In the character of its ornamentation it resembles those discovered by Mr. Wylie at Fairford, but the workmanship is much ruder. The other piece of armour has at present eluded my inquiries. It is said to have been like the ornament on a soldier's belt.



A spur of the twelfth century was also dug up with a coin of Alexander III. of Scotland. This spur has been added to the extensive and curious collection of spurs formed by James James, Esq., F.S.A., of Aylesbury, which that gentleman, it is hoped, will some day give the Society the opportunity of inspecting.



The head of a bird-bolt, and an iron instrument, which it is conjectured may have been used for jousting on foot, to prevent the wearer from slipping, were also discovered.



In the adjoining parish of Wing, in digging the foundation for the erection of schools, several skeletons were found, no doubt Saxon interments; but, the site adjoining the churchyard, it was considered that they were merely strays from the consecrated ground, and they were re-interred accordingly. Wing is unquestionably a village of high antiquity. Its church, dedicated to All Saints, is believed to exhibit traces of Saxon architecture. It has an apsidal chancel, with a very rude crypt underneath. I send a sketch of this remarkable church. In the chancel are two fine monuments of the Dormer family.

Wing was granted to the Dormer family on the dissolution of monasteries, and they subsequently acquired the titles of Baron Dormer of Wing (still subsisting), Viscount Ascot, and Earl of Carnarvon. Ascot is a hamlet of Wing, and here

stood Ascot House, the residence of the family, now entirely destroyed. The higher titles were conferred on Robert, the celebrated Earl of Carnarvon, who died on the field of Newbery in 1643, and they expired with his son. The property came by marriage to the Stanhopes, Earls of Chesterfield, who sold it to the present owner, Lord Overstone. There are two mounds in this parish, which are marked as "tumuli" on the Ordnance Map. One is very large, and stands on the Vicarage Farm. It is generally called "The Castle Hill;" the other stands by the roadside on the Leighton road. It is of much smaller dimensions, and is thickly planted with fir trees. I cannot ascertain that either of these has been opened. I hope on a convenient opportunity to make the attempt on the larger one, though I am rather disposed to think that it is not sepulchral, though clearly artificial.

There are two small tumuli in Wing Park, one of which has apparently been opened, but it is not known when, or by whom.

In the parish of Linslade, or Linchlade (formerly a seat of the Corbet family), which is mentioned in the will of Queen Ælfgifu, anno 1012, Codex Diplo., tom. iii. p. 359, and which adjoins Wing, a few weeks since, my brother, the Rev. P. T. Ouvry, Vicar of Wing, was told by some men digging gravel for the roads, that they had found a skeleton, with an earthen pot. They had effectually destroyed both; but the fragments of the urn which my brother was able to recover, and which are now upon the table, will sufficiently indicate that the interment was Celtic. I send a sketch of the church of Linslade, now disused.

I send a map of the parish of Mentmore, and I append a list of the articles exhibited.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

FREDERIC OUVRY.

J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Sec. S.A.

LIST OF ARTICLES EXHIBITED.

Two spear-heads of iron.	A cup-shaped fibula.
An iron knife.	Coin of Constans or Constantius.
An iron instrument, possibly used for jousting on foot, to prevent slipping.	Portion of a bronze clasp.
Head of a bird-bolt.	Sundry fragments of iron.
	Fragment of Roman pottery.
	Fragments of Celtic pottery.

XXX.—*Some Account of the Roman Villa, and the Discoveries made on the Borough Hill, the ancient Bennavenna, by* BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S. and F.S.A., *of Norton Hall; with Illustrations and a Map of the Vicinity by* MR. EDWARD PRETTY, *of Northampton.*

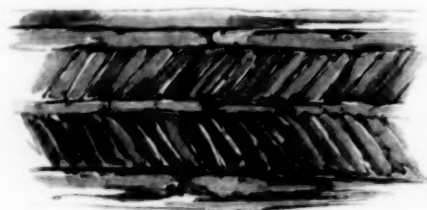
Read April 7th, 1853.

BOROUGH HILL, near Daventry, has by most antiquaries been considered the Station Bennavenna, or Benaventa, of the Itinerary of Antoninus. Bridges and Baker, the historians of Northamptonshire, have given so full an account of this place, and so satisfactorily decided the question as to the real site of the Station, that I need only record the researches recently made in continuation of the exploration of 1823, and hazard some conjectures as to points not clearly elucidated by former authors, relative to objects of antiquarian interest in connexion with this station.

In the year 1823 Mr. Baker was enabled, by the liberality of the neighbouring gentry, to explore a spot which he suspected was the pretorium or residence of the Roman General; and the search fully realised his expectation. He was at that time anxious to trace the whole ground-plan of the building; but, as the field was laid down to permanent pasture, the tenant objected to the turf being further disturbed, and he was then prevented from pursuing the interesting inquiry. No further attempt at discovery was made until the autumn of 1852, when the present tenant most liberally allowed the fullest research to be made, and the whole of the plan of the building first explored in 1823 was disclosed.

On the 20th October, 1852, operations were commenced on a more northern part of the pretorium, but, after a trial in several places, without effect. It was then suggested to make an attempt west of the former researches; and, after digging a trench for about eight yards, relics were discovered, consisting of a piece of lead, part of a mortarium, which had been coloured red on the outside, and having the inside white, with the usual studding of broken quartz. It was, probably, of the general size when complete. It was not until late in the afternoon that any signs of a building were discovered, when a corner of the wall which formed the exterior of the præfurnium room, E, was laid open. An iron

nail and a fragment of black pottery, with a border pattern, were picked up on this spot. On proceeding further east, the north wall of the *præfurnium* room, E, was uncovered. Here a skeleton was found, which, when the rubbish at a later period was removed, was ascertained to be lying with his head to the south, and feet north. A small spear-head was lying by his side. The furnace, or *præfurnium*, was 18 inches wide, and the height of the arch 2 feet. The walls on the outside were on quarry tiles, 16 inches long, set break-joint, at 6 or 8 courses running.* Proceeding still further to the east, the hypocaust, F, was discovered. The upper floor had been destroyed, and many of the quarry pillars removed. The quarry tiles were 8 inches square, set on a wider one at the base. The floor was of concrete. A great quantity of soot had collected, and pieces of coal were found. The walls to this room were 3 feet thick, with herring-bone masonry, as sketched in Drawing No. 1, fig. 1. At G the room was floored with the grey oolite stone

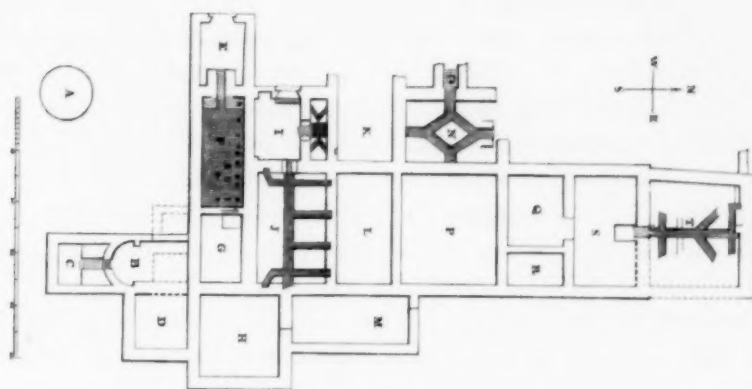


found in this county. Adjoining to the room over the hypocaust was, apparently, a bath of small dimensions, but similar to those in Whittlebury Forest, and at Hartlip, in Kent.

Upon discovering the walls and flues on the north side, it was thought advisable to get out the ground-plan externally; and, although it happened that the explorers were on the site of the former research in this locality, yet they were not aware of the fact, in consequence of the alterations made by the removal of the foundation walls for building purposes by the tenant at the former exploration. It was not until the admeasurement of the *caldarium* room at B that the proximity to the old researches was ascertained, particularly as the interior walls were not fully made out until the outline had been defined. In addition to the former researches, the flues underneath the bath were discovered. It was not until the room, N, had been reached that entirely new ground was opened, when the hypocaust was found; and, following the wall on the west side in a northerly

* In this place some pieces of pewter and lead were found.

direction, the northernmost room was arrived at. This room had been partially discovered in 1823; but so little of its character was ascertained that no clear idea of it could be given at that time, as may be seen by reference to the plan in Baker's History. We will commence our notes of reference according to his arrangement.



C, the *præfurnium* room, which is described as the "Ash Pit," communicating with "a fire-place," the *præfurnium*. The fire-place in, or rather under, the room had stocks of 8-inch quarries, in a perfect state. This was, probably, the site of the *caldarium*. As a deeper research was made in the present excavation, the division between the room D and the *caldarium* was discovered. There was, no doubt, a communication by steps from this place to the baths, situated to the left on the floor above. The dotted lines indicate the remains of a bed of masonry, which may have supported the cauldron. At D ashes were found 4 inches deep, and white concrete 2 inches; and again ashes 4 inches; in fact, filling up with rubbish. At H, as Baker describes, the floor was broken up. There were indications of a doorway leading into the room M; also another in the north-east corner: near the latter place, the second best coin was found inside, near the doorway. At the north-west corner of the room J, the fragment of two sides of a tessellated pavement was found, composed of blue, yellow, red, and white tesserae, half an inch square, forming an outer border of the Vitruvian scroll^a and an inner one of the simple guilloche, within which was a small ornamented circle, evidently the commencement of the central pattern. The hypocaust was heated from the fire-place in the eastern corner of the room I,

^a A drawing of the scroll is given from a fragment in the possession of Mr. Blundell at Daventry.

and consisted of a central flue, from which ran four others at right angles on the north, and two only on the south. A more careful research has shown that two outer ones turned off obliquely into the east and west walls. In one of the flues were found the remains of a fox, who, at some former time, had made it his earth. The room K, after the former excavations and the removal of the tessellated pavement, had lost all traces of its former importance. Baker informs us that, from its diminutive size, and being considerably below the level of the adjoining apartments, it is presumed to be a bath. The walls had been painted in fresco of various colours; some small portions still adhered to them, as well as to the base, which was finished with a narrow sloped border or moulding.^a Several rows of large coarse tesserae of the common stone of the neighbourhood, an inch square, surrounded an elegant square mosaic pavement, partly destroyed, but sufficiently preserved to develop the leading design. The exterior arrangement consisted of five borders, the first white, the second dark blue, the third white and dark blue vandykes transposed, the fourth white, and the fifth a simple guilloche of red, white, and dark blue tesserae. The same ornament was introduced in the central compartments, and disposed into a circle within two intersecting squares.^b The wall must have been subsequently added, to form a passage. This, however, upon a later examination, proved to be for the formation of a warm bath, 11 feet 6 inches long, by 3 feet 2 inches wide. It was floored with a pavement of coarse white inch tesserae, but it was so mutilated that it was impossible to trace out the design. There was a skirting round the bottom of an ovola moulding in reddish concrete.^c A perspective sketch is shown in drawing, as well as the arch of the praefurnium. From the horizontal flues of the hypocaust perpendicular ones, of large hollow bricks, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, by 10 inches wide and 5 inches deep, scored on each side in different patterns,^d ascended up the walls at certain distances, marked by slight projections in the plan. About 3 feet under the bottom of the floor, in removing the pavement, was discovered a small Roman cup of unglazed bluish clay inverted, probably a drinking cup.^e Adjoining to the bath on the south was probably the apodyterium, or dressing-room, as an ivory stylus, or pin, a small pair of volsella, or tweezers, and an instrument (a strigil) used for removing the water from the surface of the body after bathing, was found there.

^a See Drawing A, No. 3, fig. 1.

^b A restored plan of this pavement is given in C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 113.

^c See Drawing A, No. 3, fig. 1, full size.

^d See Sketches No. II. fig. a, and No. III. fig. a, for the flue-tiles.

^e See Sketch No. IV.

The room L was floored with a composition of pounded bricks, lime, and sand;^a upon it was a considerable quantity of loose ridge and other tiles,^b apparently the effect of a fallen roof. The room N presented part of a tessellated pavement, apparently about 6 feet wide, principally of the larger tesserae; the remainder had probably been dispersed by the plough, not being more than 3 or 4 inches from the present surface. The room P had a similar floor to N. The space between N, P, and S was only partially explored. Outside the west wall of the room T were the remains of a fire-place, with abundance of burnt ashes, and a very large deposit of loose tesserae of various colours and sizes. The wall of the northernmost room was 3 feet thick, and, conceiving it to be an outside wall, we dug for the foundation, but at the depth of 12 feet we found a few tesserae of various colours and sizes, fragments of pottery, an arch fallen in, and walls branching off in different directions.

"The whole space excavated (in 1823) was 144 feet long by 67 feet wide. The walls were in general 2 feet thick, solid throughout, and constructed of the stone of the neighbourhood. Roman coins have been frequently found here, but a denarius of Constantine was the only one brought to light on the present occasion.

"Near the foot of the vallum, south of the excavations, and running nearly parallel to it, a wall was traced for several yards, which, if pursued, would probably have formed the boundary of the praetorium. On the outside, extending quite up to the base of the vallum, about a foot or two below the surface, was an accumulation of burnt earth and charred wood, and amongst it the lower portion of an instrument, like the sacrificing knife represented in Lysons's Woodchester, and the socket of a spear; and in every direction around, teeth, jaw-bones, and other bones of horses, cows, deer, sheep, and pigs, with almost innumerable fragments of Roman pottery of various kinds; on a careful examination of which, portions of no less than seventy vessels of different kinds, from a cup of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, to a patera of 13 inches diameter, were satisfactorily recognised."^c

Returning to the subject of the present research at N, the hypocaust, as shown in the plan, was discovered. It was very perfect; apparently a late addition to the building. The opening from the west side is shown at O. The praefurnium was unfinished. The flues were built of stone, and the piers and sides of the flues plastered. The height of the interior of the flues was 3 feet 4 inches to 3 feet

^a See Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 1st Edition, pp. 122 and 123, for an interesting description of the properties of concrete.

^b See Drawing No. I. figs. 2, 3, and 4.

^c Vide Baker's *Northamptonshire*.

6 inches, sufficient to admit a person to pass through them. A large tile covered the part of the flue under the west wall.^a The upper floor was tessellated, but very much damaged in every part. There had been a part of a border of black and white half-inch tesserae, but it was impossible to make out the design. Q; this room, which was about one foot from the present surface, had a tessellated floor of one-inch coarse white tesserae, but very much broken up, particularly at the sides. A dozen coins were found in this room. R; a similar floor to Q. Marks of fire were upon the floor, apparently from the falling in of a burning roof. S; the floor of this room was of the red concrete, very much damaged. A fire-place opened on the north side into the hypocaust of room T. The room T appears to have been a later addition; it is narrower at the north end than on the south.^b The hypocaust was much broken up, and the floor above destroyed. The flues gave evidence of this quarter having been much occupied. Amongst the ashes, coals were found, showing an acquaintance with the mineral fuel by its occupiers. This room had been highly ornamented, judging from the fragments of painted stucco found in the ruins. The colours were rich and various; white and red striped, white and purple, a crimson red, and green and white; and ornaments or figures in an orange colour.^c One of the specimens shows the use of a style for tracing the squares in the plaster, but the painter has allowed his colour to run beyond the line. The north wall was extremely thick, with several sets off in the foundation, extending to 4 feet 8 inches; and on the exterior, to protect it from damp, the ground close to it had been puddled with clay.^d At a former period the wall on the east side had been damaged. The room at M had a floor of white one-inch tesserae. In exploring the well at A, it was found to be not quite circular. The diameter was 8 feet in one direction, and only 7 feet in another. It was stoned round. At the depth of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the remains of a skeleton were found much decomposed; different parts of what may have been his harness, were carefully picked out of the rubbish. A piece of the blade-bone was coloured green, from its contact with brass; pieces of which are shown at fig. 1 and 2, in drawing G. There were also found iron fibulae, a hook,^e and other relics. At 13 feet stags' horns were discovered, and from their size it is supposed that deer of

^a See Sketch No. V.

^b A similar irregularity occurs in one of the rooms in the Roman Villa at Withington, Gloucestershire: see *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 118.

^c Specimens are given in the drawings.

^d See *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 118, for the same use of clay.

^e See Drawing G.

large size existed in this part of the country. At Hardingston also, amongst other relics of Roman origin, were discovered recently the horns and face of the skull of a very large-sized animal, probably of the red deer. Further down, amongst rubbish of building materials, fragments of mill-stones, both of the Andernach and Derbyshire quarries, were found; also mouldings in brick.^a Near the bottom of the well other stags' horns were found, a bronze armilla, and several Anglo-Saxon instruments, whose actual use is not positively known.^b The depth of the well was proved to be 26 feet; water having been found at about 15 feet below the surface. It was the garrison well. At 30 feet south of the well, fragments of an urn, with part of a jaw and other bones; also a coin. And still further in this direction the iron instrument sketched,^c which Douglas^d has called an "iron instrument to curl the hair," and C. R. Smith, at p. 20, vol. ii. of his *Collectanea*, a key. It was probably a kind of chatelaine. Still further, at about 29 yards from the building, a wall was found running east and west, supposed to be a mound wall. On the south exterior marks of fire were seen on a kind of hearth, and the hook, fig. *a*, in drawing No. 8, was discovered, and a weight made of lead, weighing half a pound and six drams, avoirdupois, by the standard. Two other coins were also found in this direction.

Referring to the drawings, Nos. I. and II. *a* are specimens of wall decoration; at 2 and 3, two views of an article in red earthenware, apparently used for some game, probably chess. A similarly shaped one of jet was found in a tumulus, called the Moot Hill, east of the church at Warrington: ^e *d*, in the same drawing, is a moulding which may have been used for a surbase; it is very similar in pattern to the picture-frame mouldings so generally used formerly, and called by frame makers an ogee, or top round and hollow.

No. 3 contains drawings, full size. No. 1, the skirting moulding round the bottom of the stuccoed walls. In 2 and 3 are mouldings which the architectural student will readily recognise as occurring both in the Saxon and Norman architecture.

Nos. 4 and 5, specimens of fictile ware. In No. 4, fig. 2, is a fragment of a vase, which, when complete, would be similar in shape and size to the one found at Great Shawney, as represented in sketch No. III. The ornamentation is well

^a See Drawing A, fig. 2.

^b Some of these implements are figured in Mr. Neville's interesting and valuable work entitled *Saxon Obsequies*.

^c Outline, fig. 1.

^d See *Nenia Britannica*, p. 82, and pl. 20.

^e See the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. viii. p. 162.

defined in this specimen: *c* is a specimen of an urn, which, from the fragments found, must have been of a large size; it is very peculiar in its ornamentation, being raised in a manner difficult to describe: *d* and *e* are specimens of a ware similar to some described as being found at Headington, near Oxford: ^a *f* is a fragment of a patera of Samian ware, beautifully moulded; the lip turns over in a manner similar to the glass pateras found in Roman remains.

In the 5th drawing, *a*, the first subject is a fragment of a cup, evidently an imitation of the Samian ware; insects appear to have eaten through its outer or coloured coating: *b* is a specimen of the potter's clay, which had been burnt; it is difficult to make out any design in its manufacture.

In the 6th drawing, specimens are given of articles which may have been manufactured at Castor, in this county, of the smother-kiln description. The first is tooled in diaper work; the second, embossed grey; the white raised parts of the figure are made by rubbing off the colour to produce the effect. The animal appears to be the hydra, and different from any design yet found. No. 3 is of a blacker ground, with the ornaments in white laid on the ground. It is part of a vase of the same design as No. 1, plate 51, in *Artis' Castor Antiquities*. No. 5 is engine-turned and tooled on the upper part with an instrument, with characters not unlike some of the letters of the Bardic alphabet.

In the 7th drawing are specimens of articles in pewter. The under one is a representation of the weight found, weighing, by the present standard, half a pound and 6 drams.

Iron articles are shown in Nos. 8, 9, and 10. In the 8th a hook is shown; its use not ascertained. The nearest approach to it is the hook or key which the boys used for trundling their hoops, as represented in ancient gems. At the present day the boys in Northampton use a hook for trundling their iron hoops. *b*, a knife: *c*, part of a nail file found near the præfurnium to the hypocaust; the under part rough, and the upper or back moulded, similar in pattern to the lips of the mortaria: *d*, part of an iron fibula: *e*, a holdfast: *f*, tongue of a buckle, or other fastening.

In the 9th drawing *a* and *b* are bits of bronze found with the skeleton in the well: *c*, an iron hook: *d*, a fibula, which no doubt, as well as the one at *e*, had been tastefully and carefully finished: *f*, a tongue or fastening. The uses of the other articles, *g*, *h*, *i*, and *j*, are doubtful.

10th drawing, in outline. Nos. 1 and 2, iron keys. No. 3, a spear or javelin-head, found with the skeleton in the room near the hypocaust.

^a See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. vi. pl. vii.

In No. 1, fig. 2, is a representation of the impression on a tile of either a goat's or sheep's foot: fig. 3, a roofing tile of Swithland slate: 4, a tile. Nos. 5 and 6 are pieces of lead found in or near the hypocaust, Z, measuring nearly 4 inches across. It is difficult to conjecture to what use they could have been applied. One idea suggested was, that they were plummets to keep down the curtain suspended before the entrances to the baths.

Amongst the rubbish was found a piece of grey marble of the county; it was moulded as seen in sketch No. VI. At first it was supposed to belong to another piece of the same kind of marble found in 1823; but, on comparing them, the former one was one inch broader in the moulding, as seen in sketch No. II. fig. 6.

Various specimens of window glass were found, as seen on the card, and fragments of a beautiful specimen of fine glass, belonging to a thuribulum. These articles were found near the baths.^a

Iron nails, in great variety, were found varying from 6 inches in length to the sizes used generally in slating of roofs.

Upon referring to Baker's History, p. 344, "the small trench" which occurs in the plan of Bennavenna, entering the western intrenchment and crossing transversely, by a flexure, bends with the eastern intrenchment, was no doubt a roadway, such as are frequently seen crossing the British encampments. The tumulus would serve for a beacon, and would be a most conspicuous object to parties advancing from the east and journeying to the more northern portion of the country.

The spring called Spel-well may, perhaps, retain in its name some tradition of the deeds done in a former time, when devastation occasioned the throwing the body down the well; the remembrance of the site of the latter being lost, and the occurrence supposed to have been at the spring. There are three barrows with the prefix spel, called Spellow Hills, *i. e.* Hills of the Slain, and conjectured to be Saxon by the name. They are on a hill, at a small distance from the village of Langton, near Horncastle, Lincolnshire.

Baker has very confidently placed Isannavaria at Burnt Walls; but the remains there military authorities conjecture to have been, if Roman, a mere outwork for the purpose of guarding the station Bennavenna from any approach on that side. It did not occur to our historian that Isannavaria might have been on the Watling Street, at a place called Great Shawney, exactly twelve miles from Lactodurum. There Roman remains are frequently discovered, and in cutting a road through a

^a All the objects discovered in these researches have been deposited in the British Museum; and the drawings referred to in this paper have been placed in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

field, in 1836-7, fragments of Roman pottery, bones of men and of horses, several skulls, and numerous coins of the Lower Empire were discovered. A cannon-ball, too, was found; but this was probably a relic of the Royal army, on its march from Daventry, where Charles is said to have slept at the Plough and Bell, to the fatal field of Naseby. In the fields surrounding the house of Mr. Radburne, at Thorpe, for the space of upwards of thirty acres, Baker informs us that thick foundation walls and fragments of ancient pottery are frequently turned up. Specimens of Roman pottery from this site are shewn in sketch No. III., in which a grey vase of the Castor make is drawn; and in sketch No. VII. fragments of Roman pottery are given. The diamond fret exhibited on the longest piece is of the same style of ornamentation as occurred on a bronze vessel from Treves. The smaller piece exhibits shells indented on it by way of ornament. At first it was conjectured that Great Shawney might have been the necropolis of the station at Bennavenna; but, from the extent of ground occupied by the relics of Roman origin, it must have been of more importance; no doubt the station Isannavaria. Shawney probably retains some portion of its original name. It is easy to conjecture that the prefix Is, in Isannavaria, was only to denote its relative situation; and Shawney, that is the corruption of Sanna, which the Romans may have Latinized from Sarney. The termination Varia was to denote the deviation in this part of the road from its straight line, or the station at Bennavenna. Sarn, in the British language, is a pavement or stepping-stones. A reference to the Map traced from the Ordnance survey will shew the situation of the place, which would be on the route of a vicinal way from the line of forts on the Nen or Antona to Brinavis, passing through Norton and Daventry, and at Badby throwing off a branch to the camp at Arbury. This line of road is accompanied by tumuli, so characteristic of a Roman way; at Daventry there is a tumulus, and another about a mile and a half on the Badby road, and at Charwelton, as shewn on the Map, the latter tumulus was removed about forty years since. The Portway alluded to by Baker may have been a branch leading off towards Aelia Castra (Alchester by Bicester). Several roads, apparently of minor importance, bear the name of Portway; as those in Buckinghamshire, leading from this county from the forest. Before leaving our station at Bennavenna, we may take a look at the lines of communication from this commanding post.

In the drawing over the farm-yard, looking towards the east into the extreme distance, the following places are seen, which may have been the *specula* for the Antonian forts: *Thornborough Hill*; *Gowborough Hill*; *Bury Wood*, at Duston; and *Wade Hill*, at Nobottle. These are all very visible objects to the sur-

rounding country, and from these points a tumulus in Abington Park, signalled to Clifford Hill, and on to Irchester, and the other posts on this river. Our

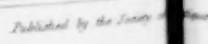


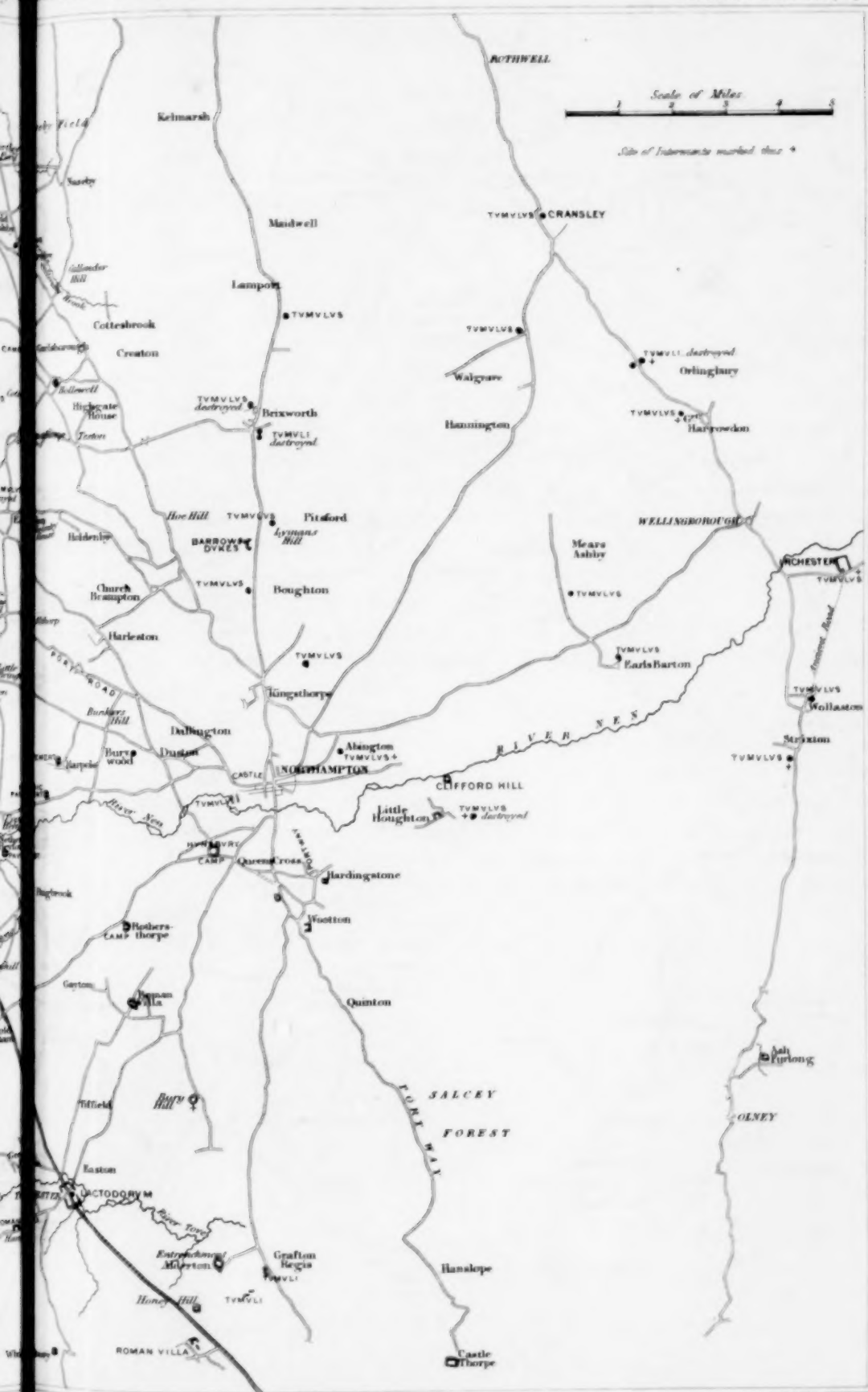
next point is more to the north. At a place called Buckby Folly, near to the Windmill, in a field to the left, there formerly existed a very large tumulus, which was the intermediate point towards the Roman camp at Guilsborough. Another tumulus formerly existed at West Haddon, called Oster Hill. This would also communicate with the same place; and from Guilsborough on towards Market Harborough, in a direct line for Borough Hill, a Roman encampment in Leicestershire. Turning our attention more to the north, we observe the Welford Hills: Downton Hill is a very conspicuous object; Honey Hill would command the line of the Avon towards Tripontium, and from thence towards the camp and tumulus on the Foss Road at Brinklow. The direct line of communication by the Watling Street to Tripontium is not clearly defined by any *specula*; the one by the Welford Hills probably answered the purpose sufficiently. Tripontium has been placed at Lilbourne, where there is a tumulus between the Watling Street Road and the entrenchment adjoining the church; also another tumulus on the east side of the village. But there are certainly greater indications of Roman occupancy on the other side of the Avon at Biggin and Caves

Inn, on the Watling Street Road. More to the north-west we do not find many Roman remains very near to us. About thirty years since, a burial place was discovered by the side of the Watling Street in the parish of Churchover, north of the Pilgrim's Low, described in the Map. Fibulæ, spear-heads, beads, &c., now in the collection of M. H. Bloxam, Esq., were found, and drawings of them by Mr. E. Pretty were exhibited at this Society February 9th, 1854. On the Foss Road, to the south-west, there is an encampment at Wappenbury, and Roman remains have been found at Princethorpe. Probably it was too much in the Ardenian or woody tract of country to serve the purpose of the Romans, who were anxious to keep the open field districts for their military operations. Upon referring to the drawing (sunset), we observe in the distance the nearest Roman camp of any importance. Its advantages as an ex-



ploratory camp are readily seen, particularly when we find that it was turned to account by the engineers employed in the Ordnance survey, this spot being one of their trigonometrical stations. From hence no doubt communication was carried on with the station at Brinavis and other ports in Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, by which the line of the Severn was reached, thus offering a barrier to the incursions of the enemy from their forest fastnesses. We





have before alluded to the vicinal way in speaking of Isannavaria. A road led direct from Borough Hill to Aelia Castra, by way of Preston Capes, and a large tumulus on the Banbury Lane, called Brough or Barrow-hill, commanded the course of the country in this direction. Directing our attention to the south-east, we find the next Antonine station on the Watling Street, at Lactodurum. At a time when the Romans had a complete ascendancy in the country, we find them locating themselves on the banks of the Nen, as is evident by the tessellated pavements discovered at Heyford and Harpole, and relics found at Duston, Hardingstone, and other places on the course of the river. Further on the line of the Watling Street, we find their habitations at Hanley,* on the line of road from Lactodurum to Brinavis; and on higher ground at Whittlebury. Also the extensive villa near Paulerspury, in the forest, and the entrenchment at Alderton; and further down eastward, on the banks of the Tove, at Castlethorpe. The road from Northampton towards Leicester, and the Wellingborough road towards Market Harborough and Leicester, through Orlingbury, are accompanied by tumuli, which is indicative of their antiquity. On the borders of the county in Warwickshire, at Sawbridge, Roman urns were discovered in 1689; and at Willoughby, Roman coins, mosaic pavements, and other antiquities have been found.

In the Map, where the tumuli have been removed a mark ✚ is placed.

Situated on the direct road from Lindum (Lincoln) to Aquæ Solis (Bath) the station of Bennavenna was one of the most commanding and important in the Midland Counties. Repeated excavations on this spot have not only established the fact of Roman occupation, but thrown some light on the period of devastation and rapine which immediately followed the evacuation of this island by the Romans. There is no more dreary page in England's history than the melancholy annals of Pagan Saxondom.

* At the Delf

XXXI.—*Colline de Sacrifices de Chavannes sur le Veyron. Décrite par FRÉDÉRIC TROYON. Communicated through JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

Read March 23, 1854.

Bel-Air près Lausanne, Janvier 1854.

LES habitants de Chavannes^a ont conservé une ancienne tradition d'après laquelle les payens sacrifiaient autrefois à leurs dieux sur la Motte du Châtelard, située près du village, au bord d'un précipice accidenté au fond duquel est le torrent du Veyron. Jusq'à ces dernières années, on voyait sur le lieu attribué aux sacrifices une colline artificielle, de la forme d'un mamelon arrondi, haute de 22' sur 114 de diamètre à sa base, et entourée de deux fossés, disposés en cercles concentriques, qui mesuraient chacun 35' d'ouverture sur 10 de profondeur; ces fossés étaient séparés l'un de l'autre par une bande de terrain de 40' de largeur, légèrement exhaussée au-dessus du sol environnant.^b Les frères Bettens, voulant rendre à la culture cette partie de leur domaine, ont rejeté dans les fossés la terre du mamelon, en pratiquant sur celui-ci des coupes verticales qui m'ont permis d'examiner avec soin l'intérieur de ce monticule. A la base, l'aire de la colline était couverte d'une couche de cendres et de charbons de 8 à 10" d'épaisseur, sur laquelle reposait un lit de cailloux roulés et de terre argileuse. Au-dessus, venait un nouveau lit de cendres et de charbons, recouvert de terre, et ces couches alternatives se reproduisaient jusqu'au sommet du mamelon. Il est cependant à remarquer que les lits de cendres et de charbons, disposés en 7 à 8 étages irréguliers, ne présentaient pas tous l'épaisseur et la continuité de la couche inférieure. Les lits supérieurs étaient souvent interrompus et quelquefois séparés par des cavités d'autant plus surprenantes que la terre, qui en formait les parois, n'était soutenue

^a Village du Canton de Vaud, en Suisse, à 3½ lieues au N. O. de Lausanne.

^b La Pl. XVII. fig. 1, donne la coupe: A, de la colline; B, des fossés; C, de la bande de terrain entre les fossés; et E, du lit du torrent. Les anciens plans de cadastre de la commune de Chavannes représentent cette colline avec ses deux fossés intacts. Dès lors, on a exploité au fond du ravin une carrière de mollasse, ce qui a déterminé l'éboulement du terrain supérieur, en sorte que, depuis plusieurs années, les fossés ne dessinaient plus que deux grands arcs de cercle, interrompus sur le bord du précipice. Il reste encore à enlever une petite partie du mamelon, qui ne tardera pas à disparaître tout à fait.

Fig. 1.

A



Couche de cendres de charbon et de terre brulée.

Coupe de la Motte du Châtelard et de ses fossés d'enceinte.

Echelle dans ligne pour 5 pieds.



Antiquités de Charvonnex sur le Léman en Suisse.

Plan. 1. et 2. de 100 mètres de distance approximative avec le point de repère.

Antiquités de Charvonnex sur le Léman en Suisse.

par aucun corps solide (Pl. XVII. fig. 1. D.) ; il est probable qu'une matière décomposable a facilité la formation de ces vides, difficiles du reste à expliquer d'une manière satisfaisante.^a Les tranchées verticales ont mis à jour la composition des couches, dont la couleur variait du noir au gris et au rouge, suivant qu'il y avait eu sur un point ou sur un autre accumulation de charbons, de cendres ou de terre brûlée. Ces divers foyers étaient séparés par des couches de 2' à 3' d'épaisseur, d'une terre argileuse extrêmement compacte, tandis que le sommet de la colline était formé d'un lit de terre végétale de 2' d'épaisseur.

Au milieu des cendres et des charbons, se trouvaient quelques objets en métal et une quantité considérable d'ossements d'animaux, fracturés et jetés pêle-mêle, de telle sorte qu'il ne restait nulle part l'assemblage d'aucun squelette. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de faire quelques observations sur un certain nombre de ces ossements, recueillis sans aucun choix, et tels qu'ils se présentaient sous les instruments des travailleurs. Quatre cent quatre-vingt-dix-sept os, pris ainsi au hasard, proviennent de chevaux, de vaches, de génisses, de moutons, de cochons, de chiens, de cerfs, de faucons et d'autres oiseaux. Plusieurs fragments, encore indéterminés, indiqueront sans doute de nouvelles espèces, mais il importe de remarquer qu'on n'a jamais trouvé aucune trace d'ossements humains. Sur ces 497 pièces, 273 appartiennent à des animaux de grande taille, tels que le cheval et la vache, et 224 à des espèces plus petites. Dans le nombre total, il n'y a que trois os qui aient subi l'action du feu ; tous les autres, bien qu'ils aient été recueillis dans les couches de cendres et de charbons, ne portent aucune trace de calcination ; en revanche, leur parfaite conservation est due aux matières dont ils étaient entourés. Trente-cinq os seulement sont entiers, et ce sont essentiellement de petites pièces comme les calcaneum, les métatarses et les phalanges. Les os fracturés^b sont au nombre de 263, et appartiennent à des animaux de toutes tailles ; les femur, les tibia, les humerus et les canons sont souvent fendus dans leur longueur ; il n'est pas une seule côte entière ; les crânes, les omoplates, et les bassins ont été pareillement fracturés à coups de pierres ou de marteaux. Il reste 197 os qui portent tous des entailles plus ou moins profondes, faites avec des instruments tranchants, tels que haches et couteaux. Les cornes étaient coupées à leur naissance, à en juger par les entailles des apophyses et des bois de cerf. Ces incisions se retrouvent à peu-près sur toutes les parties du squelette. Sur 90 côtes entaillées, 12 l'ont été sur la partie convexe, et 78 sur la face concave, ce qui indique qu'on découpait les

^a On n'a rien trouvé dans ces cavités, si non, une ou deux fois, quelques ossements concassés.

^b Il va sans dire qu'il n'est question que des cassures antiques, faciles à distinguer des fractures résultant de la fouille.

animaux à peu-près comme de nos jours dans les boucheries. On doit encore tenir compte de ce fait, c'est que la plupart des os portant les marques d'instruments tranchants sont en outre fracturés comme les précédents. Dans le nombre de ces ossements, ceux de chevaux sont assez rares, beaucoup proviennent de la génisse,^a et ceux de cochon sont particulièrement nombreux.

Les antiquités découvertes dans cette colline étaient déposées sans ordre apparent dans les couches de cendres et de charbons. Les armes consistent seulement en une douille de fer de lance,^b et en trois fers de flèche (Pl. XVII. 1), munis d'une pointe en forme de carreau allongé. Cinq fers de chevaux (Pl. XVIII. 2), de petite dimension, sont d'un travail assez primitif; ils n'ont ni crampons, ni éponges; les étampures, au nombre de six, ont repoussé le métal sur le bord extérieur, de manière à former une ligne ondulée; les clous (Pl. XVIII. 3, 3^a, 4) plus carrés et plus forts que ceux dont on se sert de nos jours, sont munis d'une tête haute et plate, qui, avant l'usure, pouvait remplacer quelque peu les crampons. Un mors de cheval (Pl. XVIII. 1), rompu et formé de quatre branches unies par des anneaux, mesure 52'' d'ouverture, ce qui permettrait de conclure qu'il était destiné à une race de grande taille, si l'on ne voyait de nos jours, en orient, dans la bouche de petits chevaux, des mors de grandes dimensions. Deux ornements en fer (Pl. XVII. 9, XVIII. 5), affectant la forme d'une croix grecque, ont peut-être servi au harnachement du cheval: dans tous les cas on ne saurait y voir un symbole de la foi chrétienne. Trois éperons en fer (Pl. XVII. 5), de dimensions légèrement différentes, ont appartenu chacun à des cavaliers différents.^c La tige de l'éperon est armée, au lieu de molette, d'une pointe à quatre faces, dans le genre d'un fer de flèche, et diffère beaucoup par sa longueur et sa forme de celle des temps mérovingiens;^d en revanche, un éperon en bronze, pareil à ceux de Chavannes, a été découvert dans un tumulus bavarois de l'âge du bronze avec des bracelets, des poignards et des celts.^e

^a Plusieurs canons de veau ont été recueillis, et la variété dans leur grandeur, ainsi que la découverte de quelques dents prouvent qu'une bonne partie provient de jeunes bêtes et non d'une petite espèce de vaches.

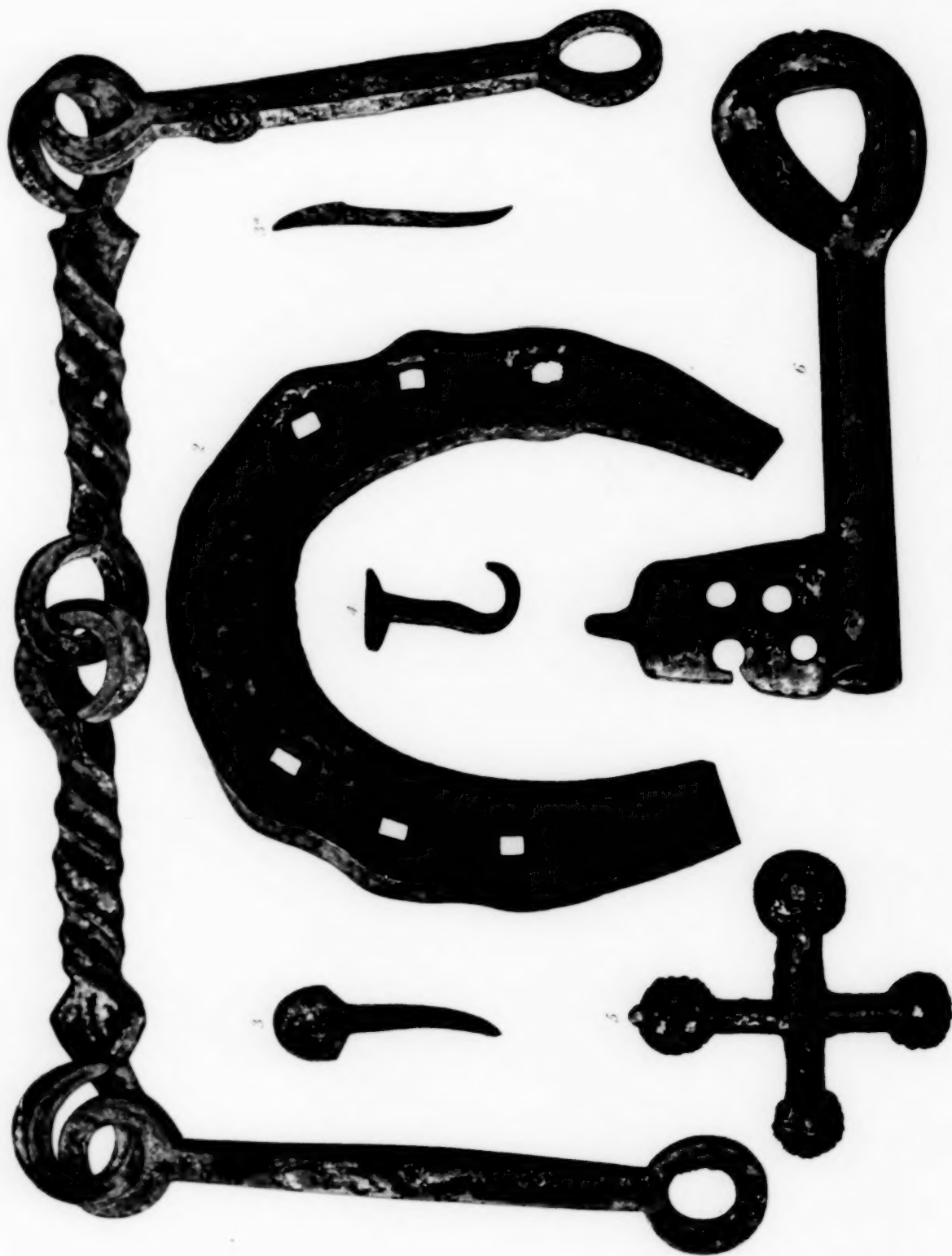
^b A environ 1,000' au nord de la Motte du Châtelard, on a trouvé dans une masse de cendres contenue entre des pierres, à 3' de profondeur sous la surface du sol, une pointe de javelot d'une forme très rare en Suisse (Pl. XVII. 4) et qui provient d'une sépulture sans doute contemporaine de la colline de sacrifices. Il est à remarquer que, dans le Canton de Vaud, l'ustion n'a jamais été observée ailleurs qu'avec les urnes cinéraires de l'époque romaine, malgré les nombreuses tombes antérieures à l'ère chrétienne découvertes dans ce pays.

^c J'ai retrouvé quelquefois des éperons dans des tombes antiques, mais le mort n'en portait jamais qu'un seul, qui était fixé au pied gauche.

^d Ma Description des tombeaux de Bel-Air.—Pl. V. fig. 13.

^e Abhandlung über einige alte Grabhügel, bei Amberg, von David Popp, 1821.

Fig. 1



On a encore trouvé dans la Motte du Châtelard un anneau en fer (pl. XVII. 10) de 27^{'''} de diamètre, un ciseau (pl. XVII. 3) long de 6'', une clef (pl. XVIII. 6) dont le panneton est percé de quatre trous circulaires,^a une pièce en fer (pl. XVII. 2) à angle droit, qui a peut-être fait l'office de verrou, plusieurs petits fragments indéterminables, des scories de fer et une barre de fer du poids de huit livres, large de 2'' sur environ 2' de longueur.^b Il est assez curieux qu'on n'ait jamais découvert avec ces objets en fer aucune trace de bronze ou de quelque autre métal.

La poterie n'est représentée que par un petit disque en terre cuite, percé d'un trou (pl. XVII. 6), et par trois petits fragments de vases, en terre rougeâtre d'une pâte grossière qui renferme un grand nombre de petites pierres siliceuses (pl. XVII. 3). Ces fragments rappellent tout à fait, par leur composition, la poterie qu'on retrouve dans les tombeaux des âges primitifs. Il reste à mentionner le fragment d'un grand coquillage, celui du strombe géant provenant des côtes des mers de l'Inde.

Si l'on tient compte de la construction de la colline de Chavannes, de la diversité des êtres dont elle renfermait les restes, du grand nombre d'ossements fracturés ou entaillés et de la nature des divers objets découverts, on ne saurait méconnaître qu'elle a été élevée par une population étrangère à la foi chrétienne. D'autre part, l'absence d'ossements humains et de traces de sépulture ne permet pas d'y voir une simple variété de tumulus. Il serait cependant téméraire d'affirmer qu'aucun homme n'ait été sacrifié et consumé sur cette colline, mais si elle eût été destinée à la sépulture, les cendres humaines auraient dû être recueillies dans des urnes ou mises à part dans quelque niche. Rien de pareil n'ayant été observé, malgré les soins apportés à cette fouille, on est conduit à admettre l'ancienne tradition populaire qui voit dans la Motte du Châtelard un lieu de sacrifices, opinion que viennent confirmer plusieurs faits analogues.

Pausanias^c parle d'un autel de Jupiter Olympien, formé des cendres des victimes brûlées en l'honneur du dieu, et que s'élevait à la hauteur de 22' grecs. Apollon possédait un autel pareil à Thèbes, ainsi que Junon à Samos. Il est à regretter qu'on n'ait pas de description plus détaillée de ces monuments, mais il est certain qu'ils ne purent s'élever à la hauteur de 22' qu'à la suite de nombreux sacrifices, même en admettant que les cendres du bucher fussent mêlées à celles des victimes et recouvertes de légères couches de terre pour en empêcher la dispersion par les

^a M. de Bonstetten a trouvé dans le cimetière helveto-burgonde de Bofflens une clef pareille, à l'exception du panneton.

^b Les propriétaires de la colline ont fait forger cette barre de fer pour un instrument aratoire, qui n'a pas tardé à se casser, à cause, disent-ils, de la grossiereté du grain.

^c L. v. c. 13.

vents. Quoiqu'il en soit, nous voyons ici des autels, ayant du affecter la forme de monticules, s'élever graduellement par des sacrifices successifs. Ce genre de collines cinéraires, antérieur aux beaux temps de la Grèce, ne se retrouve nulle part chez les Romains. Dans le nord de l'Asie et dans les provinces du nord-ouest de la Russie, il existe plusieurs collines, parfois très élevées, qui ont laissé le souvenir d'une destination sacrée, et qui portent des traces de feu sur leur sommet; le manque de fouilles ne permet cependant pas d'affirmer que leur construction intérieure soit pareille à celle de la Motte du Châtelard. Des collines artificielles de la Bohême,^a dont la terre est mêlée de cendres, d'ossements d'animaux et de fragments d'ustensiles, à l'exclusion de toute trace de sépulture, présentent des rapports plus certains. Près de Schochwitz, dans une contrée arrosée par la Saale, un monticule ne renfermait que des restes d'animaux; et dans les environs de Bayreuth,^b en Bavière, deux mamelons de 16' de hauteur recouvraient chacun une couche de terre brûlée de 8' d'épaisseur, sans traces d'ossements humains ou d'urnes cinéraires. Les contrées occupées par les Slaves conservent en outre de nombreuses enceintes, consistant en levées de terre, à l'intérieur desquelles le sol est exhaussé par d'épaisses couches de cendres et de charbons,^c débris de cérémonies religieuses dont le souvenir est encore conservé par plusieurs chants populaires de la Russie. Bien que des collines du genre de celle de Chavannes n'aient pas encore été observées, du moins à ma connaissance, dans l'occident de l'Europe et dans les pays scandinaves, il suffit de ces rapprochements et surtout des faits mentionnés par Pausanias, pour admettre l'existence

^a Dans les cercles de Rakonitz et de Bunzlau, près de Teirowitz et de Msseno.

^b Keferstein, Kelt. Alt. s. 165.

^c Dans ces couches on trouve de nombreux débris d'ossements fracturés, d'ustensiles et de poterie qu'on envisage généralement comme les restes de repas sacrés. M. le Comte de Gobineau a observé près de Guéméné, dans le département du Morbihan, un *Hradische* ou cercle d'environ 100 pas de diamètre, entouré d'un fossé et formé par une levée de terre de 10 à 15' de hauteur, à l'intérieur duquel sont des cendres et quelques débris de poterie; mais il envisage ce fait comme exceptionnel en France et tout à fait étranger aux usages celtiques.

Où pourrait mentionner encore la découverte remarquable, faite en Irlande, dans le comté de Meath, près du village de Dunshaughlin, où une colline de 520 pas de tour, sur environ 8' de hauteur, contenait un si grand nombre d'os de chevaux, de vaches, d'ânes, de cochons, de chèvres, de chiens, de cerfs, de renards, et d'oiseaux, qu'on en chargea, dit-on, 150 voitures. Mais les ossements n'étaient pas concassés, et, au centre de la colline, à environ deux pieds sous la surface du sol, étaient couchés deux squelettes humains, en l'honneur desquels eut sans doute lieu ce sanglant sacrifice. (Neue Mittheilungen von Halle, VI^{ter} Band, II^{tes} Heft, s. 155.) Malgré les recherches faites sous la colline de Chavannes, on n'a trouvé que le sol vierge, sans aucun indice de sépulture pareille, en sorte qu'il faut l'envisager comme répondant à un autre ordre de faits.

de lieux consacrés, élevés en monticules par les débris accumulés de sacrifices successifs.

On peut se faire une idée des sacrifices célébrés sur la Motte du Châtelard, en se rendant compte des faits observés. Une enceinte circulaire, tracée sur le bord du précipice au fond duquel coule le Veyron, était entourée d'un double rang de fossés destinés peut-être à écarter la foule qui assistait à ces sacrifices. Sur l'aire consacrée, s'élevait le bucher, ce dont on peut se convaincre par l'action du feu sur la terre rougie et les pierres calcinées de la colline. Les os carbonisés et ceux qui ne portent pas de traces de feu rappellent l'usage de réserver une partie de la victime pour le repas sacré, tandis que le reste était livré aux flammes. L'épaisseur des couches de cendres et de charbons et le petit nombre d'ossements calcinés^a donnent une idée de la grandeur du bucher, de même que la quantité considérable des os fracturés témoigne de la grandeur des sacrifices. La plupart des animaux domestiques étaient immolés,^b ainsi que le cerf, des oiseaux, et le faucon, déjà cher au chasseur, puisqu'à la mort des anciens héros du nord de la Germanie, on les représentait s'avancant vers un autre monde avec un faucon dans la main gauche. La génisse et le cochon, dont les restes sont les plus nombreux, paraissent avoir été particulièrement voués aux dieux dont on recherchait la faveur. L'offrande s'unissait au sacrifice. Le guerrier jetait sa lance et ses flèches sur l'aire consacrée, le cavalier son éperon, l'artisan l'instrument de sa profession, et tel autre quelque objet auquel il attachait du prix.^c Dans les repas sacrés, l'usage de briser les os de la victime paraît remonter à une haute antiquité, si l'on en juge par l'ordonnance de la Pâque chez les Juifs, qui défendait de casser les os,^d défense dont on ne comprendrait pas la raison si l'usage contraire n'avait été établi. Les entailles dont

^a Les tumuli des Suèves que j'ai ouverts en Suède, sur l'île de Munsön, dans le lac Mëlar, présentaient, soit dans les urnes cinéraires, soit dans les charbons répandus à l'entour, de nombreux restes d'ossements calcinés, mais encore assez conservés pour permettre à M. le professeur A. Retzius d'y reconnaître le cheval, la vache, le mouton, le cochon, le chien, le chat, et la poule. Les os de ces animaux étaient toujours en dehors des urnes dont les cendres ne contenaient que des débris humains. Je n'ai remarqué dans aucune fouille une action du feu aussi forte qu'à Chavannes. Il serait cependant possible que les portions de la victime jetées sur le bucher fussent essentiellement les entrailles, vu qu'on retrouve presque toutes les parties du squelette dans les os provenant du repas sacré.

^b Dans l'ancienne Grèce, le chien n'était sacrifié que chez les Colophonien et les Spartiates (Pausanias, l. iii. c. 14.)—On verra plus loin qu'il l'était aussi chez les Slaves.

^c On peut se faire une idée de l'immense variété des offrandes par celle des ex-voto, déposés de nos jours dans les temples de plusieurs contrées au pied du Caucase. (Voyage autour du Caucase par Du Bois de Montpéroux, *passim*.)

^d Exode xii. 46.—On sait que cette ordonnance avait trait au corps du Sauveur, dont les os ne devaient pas être brisés, mais l'observation sur l'usage contraire n'en est pas moins fondée.

nous avons parlé montrent que l'animal était à peu près découpé comme on le fait de nos jours. Quant au lieu où se célébrait ce repas, on ne peut faire que des conjectures, mais il n'est pas impossible que l'espace, de 40' de largeur, compris entre les deux fossés, ne fût réservé pour cette cérémonie.

Après ces sacrifices et ces offrandes, après le repas et l'extinction du bucher,^a on répandait sur l'aire consacrée, avec les cendres et les charbons, tous les débris qui n'étaient pas consumés, puis l'on recouvrait le tout de pierres et de terre pour empêcher que ce qui avait été offert aux dieux ne fût profané ou dispersé. Chaque sacrifice nouveau ajoutait une nouvelle couche à la colline qui s'est élevée ainsi à la hauteur de 22'.^b Il est à remarquer que le premier sacrifice dans ce lieu paraît avoir été de beaucoup le plus considérable, vu l'étendue et l'épaisseur de la couche de cendres et de charbons qui est à la base de la colline, tandis que les couches supérieures n'offrent point la même épaisseur ni la même continuité, ce qui ne permet pas de compter le nombre des sacrifices par celui des étages de charbons que les tranchées verticales de la fouille ont mis à vu. On pourrait supposer d'après ces faits que la première cérémonie, unie à la consécration du lieu, amenait une foule et des offrandes beaucoup plus nombreuses que les cérémonies suivantes, ainsi que c'est encore le cas dans la dédicace des temples chrétiens.

Si l'on tient compte des divers genres d'antiquités observés dans la Suisse Romande, ainsi que des données historiques relatives à ce pays, la colline de Chavannes paraît au premier coup d'œil étrangère à la période Helvète-Burgonde, qui s'étend du V^e au IX^e siècle de notre ère. Le Christianisme comptait plusieurs adhérents sur les bords du lac Léman dès les temps d'Irénée, et les Burgondes avaient déjà reçu le baptême lorsqu'ils s'établirent dans l'Helvétie occidentale au commencement du V^e siècle. Les antiquités qu'on trouve dans leurs tombeaux sont d'un genre si différent de celles de Chavannes qu'il faudrait que celles-ci, pour être contemporaines, appartenissent à une peuplade étrangère, dont nos annales n'auraient pas conservé le souvenir. La dissemblance n'est pas moins

^a Cette extinction du bucher avait peut-être lieu par des libations: quoiqu'il en soit on ne peut la mettre en doute quand on voit l'épaisseur des couches de charbons qui se seraient nécessairement réduits en cendres si le feu n'avait été éteint. D'autre part, les os du repas jetés sur les foyers auraient été consumés en partie, tandis que je n'en ai trouvé qu'un seul qui ait été en contact avec des charbons ardents, c'est un fémur légèrement carbonisé sur le milieu de sa longueur, mais nullement à ses extrémités, en sorte qu'il n'a point passé par le bucher.

^b Il est probable que la terre était prise dans les fossés dont la profondeur augmentait à mesure que la colline s'élevait. Le lit de charbons inférieur étant à environ 2' au dessus du sol environnant, on pourrait admettre que cette couche provenait du premier tracé des fossés d'enceinte. La terre argileuse dont est formé le mamelon correspond du reste à la nature du sol sur lequel il a été construit.

grande, si l'on remonte à l'époque de la domination romaine en Helvétie—époque dont le culte ne comportait rien de pareil. Lors même que plusieurs des dieux des vaincus avaient été associés à ceux des vainqueurs, les druides n'en furent pas moins poursuivis, massacrés, ou réduits à se cacher; ne pouvant plus présider à ces sacrifices publics, on ne comprendrait pas que les prêtres romains les eussent remplacés dans des cérémonies qui n'étaient pas les leurs. On est ainsi conduit à remonter aux âges antérieurs à la conquête des Gaules par César, mais la présence du fer et l'absence d'armes en bronze ne permettraient pas dans tous les cas de s'éloigner beaucoup du temps de l'émigration des Helvètes.^a L'usage antique, rapporté par Pausanias, consistant à accumuler les cendres des victimes, est propre, comme nous l'avons vu, à des époques et à des peuples divers. Les Gaulois, d'après Strabon,^b sacrifiaient des hommes et toute espèce d'animaux qu'ils livraient aux flammes. La poterie de Chavannes (Pl. XVII. 8) est pareille à celle des tombeaux celtiques. Quant aux pointes de traits (Pl. XVII. 7), leur forme se retrouve dans les ruines romaines de la Suisse, mais elle reparait surtout avec les monuments du moyen âge. On pourrait douter que l'éperon (Pl. XVII. 5), bien qu'il fût connu des Grecs et des Romains,^c ait déjà été en usage chez les barbares, si l'on n'en avait découvert un de la même forme que ceux de Chavannes dans un tumulus de la Bavière^d avec divers instruments tranchants de l'âge du bronze. En revanche, rien n'autorise à affirmer que les Gaulois aient connu l'art de ferrer les chevaux, bien qu'on ne puisse conclure leur ignorance à cet égard du silence des auteurs anciens, car il est à remarquer combien souvent apparaît l'existence d'anciens usages qui n'avaient pas été mentionnés, tandis qu'il est un assez grand nombre d'armes ou d'instruments dont la forme ne nous est connue que par des descriptions, sans qu'on les ait jamais retrouvés dans le sol.

On ne peut cependant se dissimuler que les antiquités de Chavannes ont un caractère très différent de celles des sépultures antiromaines de la Suisse, et qu'elles ne sont pas sans rapports avec plusieurs découvertes d'un âge postérieur. D'autre part, si le genre de sacrifices observé plus haut était propre aux Gaulois, il serait surprenant qu'on n'eût pas remarqué un certain nombre de faits analogues dans

^a Quelques savants admettent que les Gaulois ne connaissent pas le fer avant la conquête de César, bien que plusieurs passages d'auteurs anciens indiquent le contraire. Cette question ne pouvant être traitée dans cette notice, je réserve pour un travail spécial les données que j'ai recueillies sur l'époque de l'introduction du fer dans divers pays de l'Europe.

^b L. iv.

^c Xenophon (*De re Equest.*).—*Enéide*, xi. 714.—*Silius Italicus* vii. 696.—*Tite Live* ii. 6; iv. 19, 33.—*Cicéron*, *Att.* vi. 1; *Orat.* iii. 9.—On a trouvé des éperons dans les ruines romaines d'Augst, près de Bâle.

^d Voir la note e, p. 398.

les contrées qu'ils ont occupées, pendant qu'on en retrouve de pareils chez les Slaves et chez les Vendes qui pénétrèrent au V^e siècle dans le nord de l'Allemagne et s'étendirent jusqu'en Bavière. Les urnes cinéraires des Vendes, ainsi que les lieux qu'ils destinaient aux cérémonies du culte, contiennent un grand nombre d'objets en fer,^a et leurs sanctuaires présentent constamment les mêmes lits de cendres et de charbons avec divers débris concassés, mais il faut ajouter que les rares fragments de vases en argile de Chavannes n'ont aucun rapport avec la belle poterie noire et abondante des Vendes. Malgré ce contraste exceptionnel, plusieurs objets de la Motte du Châtelard reproduisent les formes d'antiquités de la Russie, et des pays de l'Allemagne occupés par les Vendes. Les ornements représentés dans les pl. XVII. et XVIII., fig. 9 et 5, sont propres aux tombeaux de la Livonie.^b La fig. 9 est aussi la partie centrale d'un ornement trouvé près de Wurzburg, en Bavière, sur une place de sacrifices qui contenait de nombreux charbons, des os d'ours, de ruminants, de cochons, de chiens, et d'oiseaux, avec une clef, des pointes de traits, des fragments de tuile, de verre et de poterie, sous lesquels étaient, en outre, une cinquantaine de vases d'argile, de forme carrée, plus ou moins conservés.^c Le trait caractéristique des éperons de Chavannes ne consiste pas tant dans la longueur de la tige et l'absence de molettes que dans la forme de la pointe dont ils sont munis. On retrouve pareillement, dans les tombeaux des Vendes du nord de l'Allemagne, et quelquefois même dans leurs urnes cinéraires, des pointes très massives d'éperons en fer, de forme conique, adaptées à un arc de cercle, en bronze, qui, vu ses courtes dimensions, devait être fixé à la chaussure ou à une forte courroie.^d Un fer de cheval a aussi été découvert en Bavière, avec des pointes de traits et de lances, dans un tumulus des environs d'Aufsee, dont la construction, malgré les sépultures qu'il renfermait, est une reproduction frappante de celle de la colline de Chavannes; des couches d'urnes, d'os, de charbons et de cendres étaient séparées par des lits de pierres et de terre brûlée, de manière à former plusieurs étages, depuis la surface du sol jusqu'au sommet du tumulus.^e Enfin

^a C'est aux Vendes que le Dr. Lisch attribue l'introduction du fer dans le nord de l'Allemagne.

^b Necrolivonica von Kruse *passim*—Die Gräber der Liven von J. K. Bähr, Taf. X. 2, 3; XXI. 4^a, 4.

^c Handbuch der Alterthümer in Deutschland, von S. C. Wagener, S. 97, Taf. CXXXVIII. fig. 1331.

^d Près de Gnevikow, dans le Brandebourg, par M. le Général de Minutoli, et dans plusieurs localités du duché de Mecklenbourg-Schwerin.—Jahresbericht des Vereins für Meklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde VI. s. 144, figd. VIII. s. 44, taf. II. 14.

^e Wagener, s. 97, Taf. IX. f. 93.—Un fer de cheval a aussi été découvert dans un tumulus du Canton de Berne, mais sa forme est exactement celle qu'on retrouve dans les ruines romaines; il était aussi accompagné d'un éperon à courte pointe, comme ceux de Bel-Air. Mittheil. der Antiquar. Gesell. in Zurich VII^{er}. Bd. Die Ausgrabungen zu Grächwyl im Kanton Bern von A. Jahn, Taf. II.—On voit des fers de chevaux

les pointes de traits ou de javelots peuvent encore être rapprochées de celles de Minsk, en Russie,^a mais aussi de quelques découvertes anglo-saxonnes de l'Angleterre.^b

D'après ces divers rapprochements, il est plus naturel de rapporter l'érection de la Motte du Châtelard à quelque peuplade d'origine slave, qu' à des usages dérivés de ceux de l'ancienne Grèce, mentionnés par Pausanias. Si la construction de cette colline était antérieure à notre ère, on ne comprendrait guères que la tradition populaire de sacrifices payens se fût conservée à travers tous les bouleversements que l'Helvétie a subis dès lors, tandis qu'à une époque postérieure, le souvenir de pareilles cérémonies a pu se graver facilement dans l'esprit des habitants de la contrée, surtout en tenant compte que ceux-ci étaient déjà convertis à la foi chrétienne. Les antiquités de Chavannes étant d'un genre très différent de celles des Helvéto-Burgondes,^c et présentant des rapports incontestables avec celles des Slaves, on est conduit à admettre dans cette localité l'établissement temporaire d'une horde qui s'était peut-être détachée des Vendes fixés au delà du Rhin, à moins qu'elle ne fit partie des bandes hongroises qui désolèrent la Petite Bourgogne au X^e siècle, en même temps que les Sarrazins.^d De nombreuses invasions se répandirent encore sur l'Helvétie occidentale, du V^e au X^e siècle, et il n'est pas impossible que de nouveaux faits ne permettent de déterminer avec plus de précision le moment au quel on doit faire remonter l'apparition de ces usages sur les bords du Léman. Quoi-qu'il en soit, le nombre des sacrifices successifs célébrés à Chavannes est un indice que la horde dont ils révèlent l'existence a occupé pendant quelque temps le territoire environnant, mais l'absence des dénominations slaves, si communes dans les contrées de l'Allemagne occupées par les Vendes, permet de supposer que son séjour ne fut que temporaire, ce qui expliquerait la rareté de ces collines, entre les Alpes et le Jura.^e Il est probable cependant que

pareils à ceux de Chavannes, mais d'un travail plus avancé, provenant du champ de bataille de Crécy et conservés dans le Musée de l'Artillerie, à Paris. La Collection d'Antiquités de la Somerset House, à Londres, possède un fer du même genre, trouvé en terre à 9' de profondeur, près de Lewes, dans le comté de Sussex.

^a Rzut oka na zródla archeologii Krajowej. Pl. IV. Wilno, 1842.

^b Du moins à en juger par les dessins: Akerman's Archaeological Index, pl. XV. Fairford Graves, by W. M. Wylie, pl. XI.

^c On trouve fréquemment dans leurs tombeaux la représentation de symboles chrétiens, tels que le prophète Daniel dans la fosse aux lions, le Christ bénissant, des hommes en attitude d'adoration devant la croix, etc. Voir ma Description de Bracelets et Agraphes Antiques du Canton de Vaud, pl. II. et III.

^d Liutprand—Frodoard—La reine Berthe et son temps par L^s. Vulliemin.

^e Ces dénominations slaves ne sont pas entièrement étrangères à la Suisse orientale. Cernetz ou Zernetz,

c'est à la même peuplade qu'il faut encore attribuer quelques autres constructions qui se trouvent à peu de distance et dont une description rapide complétera les traits qui servent à caractériser les monuments des Slaves.

Sur le territoire de *Gollion*, à une lieue au sud-est de Chavannes, sont trois constructions en terre de genres divers, tous propres aux Vendes. L'une, appelée *le fort de Brichy*, consiste en un tertre de la forme d'un cône tronqué, haut de 10' sur 120 de diamètre à sa base et 75 au sommet. Il est entouré d'un fossé circulaire de 15' d'ouverture sur 5 de profondeur, et la plateforme par laquelle il se termine est creusée en bassin concave, profond de 4', ce qui lui donne tout à fait l'aspect des *Hradischje* ou *Erdburg* de la Russie et de l'Allemagne. Non loin de Brichy, on voit dans le bois du *Châtelard*, sur le bord d'un profond ravin, une grande colline arrondie de 23' de hauteur sur 1,200 de pourtour, surmontée d'une terrasse plane. Elle est entourée à sa base, du côté opposé au ravin, par un fossé de 24' d'ouverture sur 7' de profondeur. L'exploitation de gravier pratiquée sur cette colline ne laisse pas de doute sur sa formation naturelle, mais il est évident que les contours réguliers de ce mont, son terrassement, et le fossé sont le travail de la main de l'homme. Des fouilles ont mis à jour quelques restes de fondements en maçonnerie. C'est sur des *hauts-lieux* de cette nature que les Slaves payens élevaient leurs temples en bois, les Slaves chrétiens leurs églises, et les chevaliers leurs châteaux. Entre ces deux points est le plateau de *Bovex*, séparé du précipice vers lequel il se termine brusquement par un retranchement en terre qui décrit la moitié d'un ovale, et dont les extrémités reposent sur le bord du ravin. Cette levée de terre, longue de 222', a 10' d'élévation et 3' de largeur à son sommet. L'enceinte, séparée du plateau par le retranchement, est une terrasse ovale, ouverte sur le précipice, longue de 135' sur 84 de largeur, et élevée de 2 à 3' au dessus du plateau voisin. Cette construction reproduit d'une manière frappante, quoique dans des proportions beaucoup moins considérables, le fameux sanctuaire de l'île de Rügen, connu sous le nom d'*Herthaburg*; ce dernier est ouvert sur le lac d'Hertha de la même manière que la terrasse de Bovex sur le précipice qu'elle domine.

Un autre monument, quoique d'un genre très différent, peut-être rapproche de est le nom d'un village du Canton des Grisons, situé entre la haute et la basse Engadine, qui signifie *roche noire*, de même que le *Zornebock* ou *Cêrn bog*, esprit mâlin du Riesengebirge, est le *dieu noir*. On voit en effet près de Cernetz des masses noires de roches amphiboliques qui font saillie au fond de la vallée, et sont l'un des traits les plus marquants de la localité. (Communication de Mr. de Morlot.) M^r G. de Bonstetten a observé près de Coire une vingtaine de collines, entourées de fossés, sur le sommet desquelles on trouve des ossements de chevaux. Le lac de Thoun, dans le canton de Berne, portait anciennement le nom de *Wendelsee*.

ceux qui précèdent, comme servant à constater dans l'occident de l'Europe quelques-uns de ces faits qui n'ont pas encore été suffisamment observés. Entre la ville de Genève et le mont Salève, un monticule naturel, de formation glaciaire, porte à son sommet un bloc erratique de 10' de longueur sur 4 de largeur et 5 de hauteur, connu dans la contrée sous le nom de *Pierre-aux-Dames*. La face verticale du bloc, tournée vers le sud, porte un bas-relief grossièrement sculpté, représentant, sur une hauteur d'environ 2', quatre femmes debout, vues en face, et ayant chacune la même attitude. Elles sont revêtues d'une sorte de tunique serrée au bas de la taille par une large ceinture, qui disparaît en partie sous les avant-bras et les mains ramenées sur le devant du corps. On pourrait prendre cette attitude pour celle de l'adoration, si les mains n'étaient plutôt rapprochées pour tenir contre la ceinture un objet cylindrique dont la longueur dépasse quelque peu la largeur des mains.^a Cette sculpture sur granit n'a pas de rapports avec celles qui ont été observées sur quelques monuments druidiques; en revanche, elle reproduit parfaitement une figure représentée sur une coupe en billon, trouvée en Russie, dans un tumulus du gouvernement d'Orenbourg, et dont le dessin est conservé dans la collection du prince Gagarine. Ces figures rappellent les *Baba*,^b statues d'un travail grossier, dressées sur des collines comme la *Pierre-aux-Dames*, et qu'on voit en grand nombre sur les bords de l'Iénisséi, de l'Irtisch, du Samara, et de la mer d'Azof, d'où elles se répandent dans le midi de la Russie, jusqu'au sud de Moscou.^c Leur trait caractéristique consiste dans le type mongol et surtout dans le mystérieux corps cylindrique, placé entre les mains, et dont on a fait alternativement une coupe, une bourse, ou un livre sacré. Ammien Marcellin constate déjà l'existence de ces statues sur les bords du Pont Euxin, et compare leur figure à celle des Huns; Ruysboek en fait encore mention au XIII^e siècle, et Pallas leur assigne une origine mongole. Dans tous les cas, il est à remarquer qu'on ne les retrouve point dans le nord de la Russie d'Europe, ni dans les pays de l'Allemagne occupés par les Vendes. Si la *Pierre-aux-Dames* de Genève^d est, ainsi qu'il le paraît, une

^a Voir le dessin de cette pierre dans la Description de quelques monuments celtiques par Blavignac, architecte. Eusèbe Salverte en a fait un monument astronomique.

^b Les prêtres d'Ifa, déesse des palmiers, chez les Yorubas, en Afrique, portent le nom de *Babba-lao*.

^c J'ai vu trois de ces *baba*, en grès, conservées dans le bâtiment de l'Université à Moscou, qui proviennent des contrées environnantes. L'une de ces statues, tenant toujours cet objet mystérieux entre les mains, est surmontée d'une tête d'animal. Je ne sais si l'on pourrait voir quelque chose de pareil dans une pierre assez mutilée des îles Orcades, représentée dans "Account of some of the Celtic Antiquities of Orkney, by F. W. L. Thomas," p. 37.

^d C'est auprès de la *Pierre-aux-Dames* qu'on allume encore le premier feu des *Brandons*, qui sert de signal pour les autres feux de la contrée.

reproduction des *baba* de l'Orient, on peut admettre que cette sculpture grossière est un souvenir des invasions des Huns ou de quelqu'autre peuple d'origine mongole.

Il existe plusieurs de ces faits isolés dont la détermination est d'autant plus difficile qu'il ne suffit pas toujours du rapprochement de faits analogues pour pouvoir conclure à une origine commune. Le même usage a souvent été propre à des peuples divers ; la reproduction de formes identiques dans des contrées éloignées n'indique point nécessairement une parenté de familles, non plus que des époques correspondantes ; il est même telle forme d'instruments, encore usitée de nos jours, qui ne se retrouve en Europe que dans les sépultures les plus anciennes. Cependant, si l'esprit humain s'exprime souvent d'une manière analogue, indépendamment des temps et des lieux, on doit reconnaître qu'il est aussi une certaine classe de faits dont la reproduction se rattache à une communauté d'origine. Pour déterminer avec certitude un fait isolé, il faudrait pouvoir s'assurer, non seulement des contrées où il répond à une manière de faire générale, mais encore de celles où il n'existe pas. Malgré les lacunes de la science à cet égard, la formation de la colline de Chavannes peut être regardée comme étrangère aux usages de la plupart des pays de l'occident de l'Europe, ainsi qu'aux mœurs des populations scandinaves. Sa situation auprès des constructions en terre de Gollion, représentant un groupe d'éléments divers qui tous sont propres aux monuments des Vendes,^a on est autorisé, jusqu'à la révélation de faits contradictoires, à l'envisager comme provenant d'une horde Slave qui a du séjourner quelque temps dans une partie de l'Helvétie occidentale.

FRÉDÉRIC TROYON.

^a La différence de poterie fait seule exception, mais il est possible que sa richesse en Allemagne soit le résultat d'un séjour plus prolongé.

XXXII.—*Extracts from Accounts of the Churchwardens of Minchinhampton, in the County of Gloucester, with Observations thereon. By JOHN BRUCE, Esq. Treas. S. A.*

Read May 5, 1853.

AN opportunity having been afforded me of inspecting a collection of old churchwardens' accounts, I have made some extracts from them, which I beg leave to submit to this Society.

The importance of this class of historical evidences has been long universally admitted. Illustrations of manners and customs, information as to prices and comparative values, and interesting facts in history, topography, and biography have been derived from these humble records. The present accounts differ in some respects from those which have been already published, and, although certainly not to be compared in point of interest with one or two of the most important, they will not, I think, be deemed unworthy of consideration.

They are the accounts of Minchinhampton, a parish in the county of Gloucester, twelve miles in circuit, and occupying a tongue of land which terminates one of the hill districts of that county.^a The table-land of the parish stands at a level of several hundred feet above the Bristol Channel, which may be seen from several eminences sparkling in the distance. It also commands extensive views over the valley of the Severn, westward as far as the Black Mountains in Glamorganshire, and north-westward to the beacons of Herefordshire and Worcestershire, above Malvern. From each side of this table-land there is a steep, and in some places a precipitous, descent. On the north side, the descent is into the beautiful valley of the Stroudwater, comprising the villages of Chalford and Brimscombe and the town of Stroud; on the south, it is to the old British village of Avening, to the modern town of Nailsworth, and thence to the Roman station of Woodchester. Like all the hill sides of this district of Gloucestershire, these sudden descents are

^a The mineral character and curious fossil conchology of the colite of Minchinhampton were made the subjects of a valuable communication to the Geological Society, in December, 1847, by J. Lycett, Esq. of Minchinhampton, a gentleman of well known scientific acquirements. Mr. Lycett's paper was printed in the Proceedings of the Geological Society.

intersected by combs and deep narrow valleys or ravines—both perhaps, and certainly the latter, ancient watercourses, down which streams, gushing from the hill sides, formerly poured their tribute to the Severn. At the period when these accounts commence these valleys were thickly covered with self-sown beech. In many places this natural covering still remains; and when, as in the Golden Valley of Chalford and in the valleys of Sapperton and Toadmoor, it occurs in a landscape which is in other respects varied and picturesque, the slender-waving beeches, rising tier above tier on the steep hill sides, impart to the scene a rich and glowing beauty which cannot easily be paralleled in England.

A few patches of this hill-side woodland, cleared here and there in situations commodious for the removal of the timber, with some ancient pieces of arable, chiefly producing barley, and situate in dips of the table-land, were probably all that, three hundred years ago, was brought into cultivation in the parish of which we are treating. The whole of the land in tillage could not have amounted to many score of acres; and, with this exception, a wide spread open down extended for miles around the ancient town of Minchinhampton. The early occupations of the inhabitants may be safely inferred from the character of the neighbouring country. There were several mills on the streams in the valleys, or bottoms, as they are there termed; a little malting was done in the town, and the mast of the beech-woods yielded excellent food for swine. Under such circumstances, although some few of the inhabitants may have been tillers of the ground, the great majority were, doubtless, keepers of sheep. The cloth manufacture, for which this county has been distinguished, was confined, as I take it, to the corporate towns of the county until late in the reign of Elizabeth; and the power of producing a brilliant and permanent scarlet dye, for which the waters of Chalford have become celebrated even to China and the remotest countries of the East, remained undiscovered until about the same period.

An ancient road, running west from Cirencester to Gloucester, and another similar road running north from Bath to Gloucester, united within a mile westward of Minchinhampton, and connected the old town with the surrounding world. Save for the traffic on these roads a more secluded place could scarcely have existed. The town was built on the line of the latter road, and consisted of four short streets, meeting each other at right angles, with a cross standing at the point of intersection. The east and west streets were on the line of the road from Bath to Gloucester; the north or high street ran straight from the cross to the church; the south street led to the town well, and thence, by a steep descent, into a woody valley, which wound to the south-west towards Nailsworth.

Besides the town, there were included within the parish various little outlying hamlets, or collections of houses, which had grown up principally round the water-mills erected in the valleys, eight of which mills are mentioned in Domesday Book. Most of these hamlets were situate a long mile of steep ascent or descent from the parish church, and several of them have since been converted into separate chapelries or ecclesiastical districts. At the time when these accounts commence, that is, A.D. 1555, the second year of Philip and Mary, Rodborough, since well known in the history of George Whitefield and Dissent, and celebrated for the view from an eminence there called The Fort, which overhangs Stroud, was a chapelry of Minchinhampton. An aisle of the mother church was set apart for the accommodation of the people of Rodborough, and the chapelwardens of Rodborough made an annual contribution of 20*s.* towards its repair. Besides Rodborough, which has been long erected into a parish of itself, there were, on the north side of the parish, the hamlets of Besbury, Cowcombe, Brimscombe, Hyde, Burley, and Chalford; and, on the south, Forewood, Saint Lo, Holcombe, Longford, Dunkirk, the Box, Amberley, and Littleworth, rendered conspicuous on the western side of Minchinhampton-common by its lofty ancient May-pole. Of these hamlets Brimscombe, Amberley, and Chalford, are now separate ecclesiastical districts.

In the Conqueror's survey the town is mentioned by its Saxon name of Hamtune, and by that name it continues to be ordinarily designated down to the present day, not only by the inhabitants, but by the residents in the neighbourhood, and in the inscriptions on direction posts. At the period of the conquest, Hampton belonged to the cathedral of Worcester. On its subsequent forfeiture to the Crown it was granted by the Conqueror to the abbess and nuns of the convent of the Holy Trinity in Caen, and in this way it acquired its prefix of Minchin. On the loss of Normandy, Minchinhampton reverted to the Crown, and was afterwards granted to the nuns of Sion, near Isleworth. The dissolution of the monasteries brought it again into the possession of the Crown, and, late in the reign of Henry VIII., it formed a part of the lands which were the subject of a transaction which, save in its result, affords a modern parallel to the history of Naboth's Vineyard.

The family of Windsor had been seated for many generations at Stanwell, between Staines and Colnbrook, a situation which possessed the great advantages of contiguity to the metropolis and to Windsor. Henry VIII. thought their residence too near the latter place. He sent Lord Windsor a message that he would dine with him. At the appointed time his majesty arrived, and was received with bountiful and loyal hospitality. Lord Bacon tells us that Henry VII., on quitting

the residence of the Earl of Oxford on a similar occasion, referred his entertainer to the Attorney-General, and bade him compound for penalties incurred by the excessive number of the retainers to whom he had given his livery in order to do honour to his royal guest. This was the return, not of a king, but of an informer. The conduct of Henry VIII., if less mean, was more tyrannical. On leaving Stanwell, he addressed his host in words which breathe the very spirit of Ahab. He told Lord Windsor "that he liked so well of that place as that he resolved to have it, yet not without a more beneficial exchange." Lord Windsor answered, that he hoped his highness was not in earnest. He pleaded that Stanwell had been the seat of his ancestors for many ages, and begged that his majesty would not take it from him. The king replied, that it must be so. With a stern countenance he commanded Lord Windsor, upon his allegiance, to go speedily to the Attorney-General, who should more fully acquaint him with the royal pleasure. Lord Windsor obeyed his imperious master, and found "the draught ready made" of a conveyance, in exchange for Stanwell, of lands in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, and amongst them of the inappropriate rectory of Minchinhampton, with the manor and a residence adjoining the town. Lord Windsor submitted to the enforced banishment; but it broke his heart. Being ordered to quit Stanwell immediately, he left there the provisions laid in for the keeping of his wonted Christmas hospitality, declaring, with a spirit more prince-like than the treatment he had received, that "they should not find it Bare Stanwell."^a If he passed his Christmas in his new residence at Minchinhampton, he probably found it bare enough. He died in the following March.

From the Windsors, Minchinhampton passed, in the 17th century, to the Shepards, a family of the neighbourhood, enriched by the practice of the law; and, on the death of a member of that family, a portion of the estate was purchased by the celebrated David Ricardo, the writer on political economy. The Shepards erected an elegant modern mansion at Gatcombe, a spot of great beauty on the south-eastern side of the little town. This, being part of Mr. Ricardo's purchase, is now the seat of one of his sons.

Minchinhampton is the burial-place of Dr. Bradley, F.R.S., the Astronomer Royal, the inscription to whose memory has lately been properly repaired and placed in a prominent situation in the church.

Many other *notabilia* might be mentioned respecting Minchinhampton, and especially with reference to various Celtic remains in the neighbourhood, and the

^a Dugdale relates this anecdote upon the authority of Thomas Lord Windsor.—*Baronage*, ii. 308.

ancient earth-work which incloses the whole town, and is popularly termed a Danish camp; but my object, at present, is merely to give such a general idea of the history and situation of the place as may enable the Society to understand and apply the extracts which I have made from the churchwardens' accounts. Having done this, I now proceed to the accounts themselves.

The ordinary ancient revenue of the churchwardens of this parish, as exhibited in these accounts, was derived from the following sources:—1. The payment from Rodborough, to which I have before alluded. 2. The profit derived from under-letting a church-house and other houses, and a piece of land held by the parish under a lease from the lord of the manor, which has long since expired. 3. "Hogling-money," which I take to have been a customary payment made by the sheep-farmers of the parish for their hoglings, or hoggets, that is, their sheep of the second year: this payment was not continued after 1595. 4. Paschal money, which consisted of customary contributions made by such of the parishioners as came "to take their rights," as it was termed, that is, to confess, be absolved, and receive the Eucharist at Easter. After the Reformation, the communicants at Minchinhampton seem at first to have made an offertory donation only at Easter. From about 1604 the offertory money began to be collected from time to time on every occasion of receiving the Lord's Supper. In this parish the whole of the Paschal money and the Offertory collection were paid over to the churchwardens, they providing the sacramental elements. 5. An annual gathering or collection made by the churchwardens from house to house throughout the parish. Many of the parishioners contributed not in money but in kind: quantities of wheat and malt were thus accumulated by the churchwardens. This gathering was succeeded by a rate about the year 1646. 6. The last item of the old ordinary parochial receipt consisted of the profits of a church-ale, held by the churchwardens annually at Whitsuntide. On this occasion the parochial donations in kind were turned to account. Ale was brewed by the churchwardens; a feast was held at the church-house; the church-ale was sold to all comers, and the day was passed in the revels and amusements customary at rural festivals. The profit to the church from the gathering and the ale generally amounted to from 3*l.* to 5*l.* per annum. After some occasional intermissions, the church-ale in this parish was finally discontinued from 1589. From these sources the total income was ordinarily fully sufficient to defray the demands against the parish.

A good deal of curiosity attaches to many of the separate items of payment charged on the other side of this account; but it will better suit my own compe-

tency, as well as my view of the use of documents of this description, if, instead of presenting a series of illustrations of the detached payments, which almost every member of this Society could furnish better than myself, I endeavour in these prefatory observations to exemplify the historical use of these accounts—to deduce from them, that is, an example or two of the evidence which they contain of the influence of the great public events in our national history upon this secluded little town. With this view, I will show from these accounts what, practically, the shepherds and maltsters of this remote district did when Queen Mary brought back the ancient faith and worship; and again, in like manner, what they did when Protestantism was restored by Queen Elizabeth. It cannot be expected that a very great deal of information can be found on these points from such documents as those before us, but, probably, we shall obtain more than at first sight might be thought likely.

The first account in the earlier of the two books is that rendered for the year extending from Christmas 1554 to the same period in 1555. England had then been fully and openly reconciled to the See of Rome. The English service had been prohibited by proclamation from the 20th December, 1553. But change travels slowly into far-off districts, and it was not until 1556 that all the necessary alterations had been completed at Minchinhampton. During the intermediate years the churchwardens had no doubt been fully occupied. Their first care had been to provide service books. Probably a breviary was purchased in 1554, the account for which year has not been preserved. The people were evidently fond of devotional singing, as they are at the present day. To gratify them, the sum of 16*s.* 4*d.* was paid for an antiphonarium, besides 12*d.* for a skin of leather to cover the precious volume. A porthose cost 15*d.* Sir Roger, the officiating priest, was allowed 2*s.* 6*d.* for two other books; and Pockmore, a person whose name occurs several times in these early accounts, was also paid, in 1558, "for a boke, 2*s.*" Priestly garments were fortunately provided at little cost. A cope carefully preserved in the vestment closet was made serviceable at the expense of 12*d.* for mending; two surplices were furbished up for 3*s.* 4*d.* The old sancte bell had been allowed to remain untouched, all that it needed was a new rope. A rood cost 20*s.*, a tabernacle, 12*s.*, a pyx, 3*s.* 10*d.* A carver at Gloucester was set to work upon an image of the Trinity, to whom the church was dedicated, and 12*d.* was paid to him as earnest money. Thus provided, Easter seems to have been celebrated with all the old-fashioned ceremonies. Wax, at 1*s.* per pound, was provided for a Paschal taper and a taper for the font; there were two extra tapers for the altar; a sepulchre was constructed, with all necessary pins and points and

nails and packthread; men were hired to watch it; candles were placed round it; frankincense was provided; and the "horgons," as the word is written with true Gloucestershire aspiration, were duly repaired, in anticipation of the Easter service. So far as could be expected in a distant country parish, the restoration of the old service was complete.

But the most serious addition to the expense of the parish at this time was a repair of the church windows, and particularly of a window specially alluded to as "the window" in Andrew's, or, as it is called in other places, Ansloe's, that is, St. Loe's chapel, the northern transept of the present church. Whether from long inattention, or the iconoclastic zeal of the more ardent Reformers (I think from the former cause), these windows stood in need of entire renovation. The destruction, or decay, had been so complete, that even iron partitions had to be purchased. The glazier came from a distance, probably from Gloucester, a bargain was made, earnest money was paid to him, he was to use up all the old glass, and to be paid for new glass at about 9*d.* per foot. The repair was the work of several years. Ansloe's chapel was finished first; the small side windows cost 5*s.* 5*d.* over and above the old glass, "the window" took 42 feet of new glass, which was charged at 32*s.* 1*d.* I do not find in these accounts any direct allusion to the elegant rose window in the southern transept, which is the only ancient portion of the present church except the tower. This window and the Delamere effigies below it were saved from destruction, on a recent rebuilding of the church, mainly by the exertions of a Fellow of this Society, Edward Dalton, Esq. D.C.L., who resides at Dunkirk Manor-house, in this parish.

The external change from Protestantism to Romanism had been completed, and the repair of the windows was still proceeding when Queen Mary died. Her death occurred, as is well known, in November. The more zealous Reformers throughout the kingdom cast off the mass immediately, but no change in the services was enforced by authority until the following Midsummer. There was no haste at Minchinhampton. At Easter, which was on the 30th March, there were all the customary ceremonies, the tapers and the sepulchre, with the "points and pins and packthread." The Parliament met on the 25th January. On the 28th April the Act of Uniformity was passed. Without waiting for the prescribed Midsummer-day, the English service was immediately adopted in all communities where there was any zeal for Protestantism. At Minchinhampton the enforced change was accepted very slowly. There was an archidiaconal visitation, but still no change. The summer was evidently waning, when at length there comes a payment for "A Booke of Injunctions, 4*d.*" These Injunctions, founded upon those of Edward VI. of 1547, and taken in connection with the Act of Unifor-

mity, substantially restored the external ministrations of the Church to the state in which they were left by Edward VI. Copes, and other pontifical garments, were to be returned to their old places of deposit; the rood, the pyx, and the tabernacle, were again to disappear; the breviary, the porthose, and the antiphonarium, once more to be laid aside; the sancte bell to cease to tinkle. Following hard upon the receipt of the Injunctions we find that 6s. 8d. was paid for "a Booke of Sarvyce and Administracon of the Sacraments;" no doubt "The Boke of Common Praier," published in 1559. There were two editions, one printed by Grafton and the other by Jugge and Cawood, and the variations between them are a great puzzle to bibliographers. The Queen's next step was to send Commissioners throughout the kingdom to ascertain that the change of service had been actually effected in every parish, and to administer the oath of supremacy to the clergy. We find, accordingly, that the churchwardens, and six others of the parishioners, journeyed to Gloucester to attend the Queen's general visitation. They had been directed by the Injunctions to take with them an inventory of the vestments, copes, and other ornaments, plate, and books, and "specially of grayles, couchers, legends, proceSSIONALS, manuals, hymnals, portuesses, and such like," appertaining to the Church. But their hearts were not in the matter; the inventory was omitted. There was consequently a second journey to Gloucester to lodge their inventory, with "the mayor there and other," probably after the departure of the Commissioners. The records of this royal visitation, a proceeding founded upon the Queen's authority as head of the Church, have very strangely disappeared. An account of the visitation of the province of York, which was seen by Bishop Burnet, was again brought to light, some little time since, by Mr. Lemon, in the State Paper Office; but that of Canterbury has not yet been discovered. I need scarcely point out to gentlemen who have opportunities of searching in record offices, and inspecting original documents of this period, how curious and valuable the returns made to these Commissioners would probably be found to be.

In the next year, that is, in 1560, the churchwardens, delaying as long as they could, purchased a Bible, at the cost of 12s. 6d., besides carriage. This was a purchase which they were bound to make, by the Queen's Injunctions, within three months after the General Visitation. It appears in the record of the visitation of the province of York, to which I have before alluded, that in several parishes in the North, on the accession of Queen Mary, the bibles and other books of the time of Edward VI. were delivered to the priests to be burnt. The Bible in Minchinhampton church, if not burnt, was less cared for than the old cope.

In 1561, the churchwardens, still delaying as long as possible, tardily provided

"a paraphrase," at the cost of 8s. The book alluded to was "Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the Gospels," which, under the Queen's Injunctions, ought to have been purchased within twelve months after the General Visitation. It was directed by the Injunctions that this paraphrase should be set up in the church for the perusal of the people.

The slowness of these purchases was cast into the shade by the conduct of the parish authorities in reference to the book of Homilies. On the accession of Elizabeth, it is well known, that, in consequence of the hostility of the clergy to the changes sanctioned by the Government and Legislature, all preaching was forbidden except by persons specially licensed. As a substitute for this important instrument of moral and religious teaching—if indeed it be not a divine ordinance—a Homily was directed to be read in the church every Sunday. In the Queen's Injunctions, and in the Articles of the General Visitation, the reading of the Homilies was taken for granted. The question was not therefore asked, whether the parish possessed a book of Homilies or not. Several editions of the first book of Homilies were put forth in the reign of Edward VI. If Minchinhampton ever possessed a copy, it had shared the fate of their Bible, for on the publication of the second book of Homilies, in 1563, a copy of that volume was bought by the churchwardens in the following year, at the price of 3s. 6d., and at the same time, after the lapse of five years, the want of the former volume was supplied by the purchase of "the first tome of Homalies, 15d."

A further evidence of the unwillingness with which the people of Minchinhampton came into the religious changes made by the Government of Elizabeth, is to be found in the expense of bread and wine for communicants. Under the old system, people, generally speaking, communicated at Easter only. The universal reception at that time was thought by Protestants to have too frequently degenerated into a mere form. In Protestant places an administration at other times was therefore deemed advisable, and by some people was even preferred. In Minchinhampton, for a good many years after the accession of Elizabeth, every body continued to receive at Easter only. The expense of bread and wine for the whole year, except at Easter, ranged, for a good many years, from 5d. to 18d. Even in 1569 there is a payment which may intimate that oil was still used in baptism. It is as follows: "For wyne, 12d.; for breadde and oyle, 2d."

I think it cannot be doubted, from the circumstances I have stated, and others might be adduced from the books before us, that Minchinhampton was one of those parishes, and they were very numerous, especially in remote districts, in which the popular feeling was adverse to the Reformation. This

state of things may be easily accounted for. The second Lord Windsor was a staunch supporter of Queen Mary; but he had fixed himself nearer London, at Bradenham, in Buckinghamshire, and interfered little with Minchinhampton, except in the exercise of his ecclesiastical patronage and his rights of property. The true cause of the disinclination to the Reformation is an exemplification of the old proverb, "like priest like people." During the reign of Edward VI., and at the accession of Queen Mary, the Rector of Minchinhampton was the celebrated Gilbert Bourne, the same who, in the first year of Queen Mary, had the temerity to defame Edward VI. and exalt Bishop Bonner, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, and would have been torn to pieces in consequence by the enraged people, but for the interference of Bradford and Rogers, the subsequent martyrs, one of whom caught the dagger which was thrown at him, and the other assisted him to escape into St. Paul's school. Gilbert Bourne was a considerable pluralist, and probably was little at Minchinhampton after the accession of Mary, by whom he was appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells; but, during the reign of Edward VI., whilst Hooper was endeavouring to Protestantise Gloucester, Bourne was doing all he could to keep Protestantism away from Minchinhampton, and one cannot doubt that Bourne's curate, "Sir Roger," and his successor, if appointed by Lord Windsor, would follow in the footsteps of Bishop Bourne. This circumstance, added to the prejudice against all presumed novelty which is found amongst people living in secluded districts, sufficiently accounts for the slow reception of Protestantism in this distant parish.

It came however at last, and it came in a way which affords another illustration of "like priest like people." A change begins to appear from about 1573. In 1575, Edward, the third Lord Windsor, died. In the same year a new rector was presented, a Reverend Thomas Freeman, probably a relation of Freeman the epigrammatist, who dedicated his works to Lord Windsor. Change now came on rapidly. The amount paid for bread and wine at other times than at Easter soon doubled, quadrupled, and ran up to a considerable amount. A Bible was bought of the new translation, the bells were begun to be rung on the day of the Queen's accession, and a desk was erected at the pulpit;—probably the prayers had been read up to this time at the altar. The next item, which occurs immediately after the appointment of Mr. Freeman, is conclusive. "Paid to John Mayow and John Lyth, for pullynge down, destroying, and throwing out of the church, sundry superstitious things tending to the maintenance of idolatry, 6s. 8d.;" and that no possible doubt may remain as to the new spirit which had entered the parish, the payment of Pentecostals is entered in the same account thus: "to the sumner for

Peterpence, or smokefarthing, sometime due to the Antichrist of Rome, x^d." As this feeling increased so did the popular demonstrations of respect and loyalty to the Queen. In 1576 there is the following entry: "For ringing, the day of the Queen's majesty's entering into the Crown, whom God long time we beseech to preserve."

From this time to the end of the reign of Elizabeth the Protestant feeling evidently went on increasing. Payments to preachers occur from 1596. In that year 5s. was paid "to the preacher," and payments on the same account occur in subsequent years. These preachers were probably some of the lecturers at that time so much favoured by the people. Another thing which appears from the accounts before us is, that during the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, the watchfulness of the ecclesiastical governors was found to be extremely troublesome and expensive to the churchwardens and parishioners. The people were not merely superintended, but were teased and irritated by perpetual visitations and inquiries, often about trifles. They were compelled to go to Tetbury, to Stroud, to Painswick, to Gloucester, to Cirencester, and in turn, three or four times a year, to most of the surrounding towns. And all these visitations were attended by fees to the paritor or summoning officer, one of the most unpopular of public functionaries. He travelled round from parish to parish, taking with him, besides his summons, which he was paid for delivering, a book of articles, or a brief, or a proclamation, or something or other, which was also to be paid for. At the day appointed the churchwardens and sidesmen were bound to attend personally. They had to deliver in a return, often, as stated in these accounts, of "none recusants," but which they were obliged to get written for them in due form by some paid scribe, and which was of course not received or filed without the payment of fees to the officers of the court. The parish had also to pay the travelling expenses of the persons representing the parish on these occasions, and the churchwardens were not unfrequently called upon to purchase a copy of a new edition of some ecclesiastical book, which it was generally found economical to buy. Refusal was sure to be remembered, and sometimes to be followed by citation or excommunication on some pretence or other, as "paid for taking off our excommunication for not appearing when we were never summoned to appear, 6s. 8d." The number of these calls upon the parish fully appears in the extracts I have made. The year 1582 is an illustration. A church surveyor appointed a particular day to come and "look upon" the steeple. The day was inconvenient, and a messenger was sent to him at Painswick to will him not to come, "the parish not being at leisure." At last he came, and was paid a fee of 2s. 6d. for his pains. The Dean that year held a sitting at Stroud, where the churchwardens attended and "put up their bill." Then there came a mason from Malmesbury to look

upon the tower—(the visits of these inspectors, it may be remarked, were not followed by any immediate repairs)—who was paid his fee of 16*d.* Then followed an episcopal visitation, when the churchwardens and sidesmen attended at Tetbury and made their presentments; a book of articles was paid for, and the apparitor had fees for summoning the churchwardens to Stroud and to Tetbury. Shortly afterwards, the same persons had to go to Gloucester, where there were expenses incurred and fees paid on putting up their presentment: and finally, the Archdeacon held his customary visitation at Tetbury, where the churchwardens and sidesmen again presented themselves. They then returned home, put clasps to the Church Bible, repaired the clock, and, as the times were threatening, put in order their share of the national defences; they scoured the parish caliver, and mended their collection of perhaps three or four head-pieces.

The account for 1635 presents another example nearer to the time when these things produced their effect. There is, first, a journey to Tetbury, on 14th June, 1635, to the Archdeacon's visitation, when the fees and charges are 1*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*, besides 3*s.* 5*d.* "for makeinge a terriall of the glebe lands and caring it in." Then follow the following entries: "Paid att Gloucester courte, for expenses and fees, 3*s.* 2*d.* Paid att Gloucester, the second tyme, for expenses and fees, 4*s.* 6*d.* Paid att Gloucester, the third tyme, for expenses and fees, 1*s.* 7*d.* Paid att Gloucester, the fourth tyme, for expenses and fees, and the sydesmen's charges there, 9*s.* 4*d.* Paid att Gloucester, the 5th tyme, for expenses and fees, 4*s.* 4*d.* Paid at visitation, the 17th November, 12*s.* 4*d.* . . Paid to the visitor of the church, 5*s.*"

To consider fully the question of the harassing effect of these continual visitations would lead me too far a-field; were it otherwise, I think it might be shown, even from the accounts before us, that this over-watchful superintendence—troublesome under Elizabeth, and positively vexatious under James I. and Charles I.—was, in all probability, one of the causes which led to the general unpopularity into which the Church of England and Episcopal government ultimately fell. The great rebellion, it must be borne in mind, was a rising as much against the church as against the king; and I think these accounts lead to the conclusion, that one cause of the unpopularity of the church is to be found in the vexatious over-vigilance exercised by its governors—a vigilance which had a jealous regard for the care of buildings and the preservation of an external uniformity in religious services, but was anything but jealous for the maintenance of the peculiar doctrines of the national faith.

Another point which receives some little illustration from these accounts is, the amount and progress of education in this part of Gloucestershire. Until about 1635 the accounts were stated for the churchwardens by some person employed for

the purpose, and there is frequently a payment of 6*d.*, 1*s.*, or 18*d.* "for writing and casting the account." A transcript of the parish register of baptisms, marriages, and burials was returned to the bishop's register, and the person who made the transcript ordinarily also made out the churchwardens' account: sometimes this was done by the schoolmaster. In stating the accounts, numeral letters were generally used to express the sums until about 1613. From that time, with occasional exceptions, the Arabic figures are employed; and, from about 1595, the totals are frequently stated in Arabic figures, although the items are given in letters. In 1633 there occurs the first signature of a churchwarden; in that year also there is an entry by Thomas Lord Windsor of his gift of 10*l.* towards the expense of a new peal of bells; and from that time signatures, and entries, principally relating to the erection and allotment of seats and the appointment of parish officers, occur frequently. Some of these are formal documents, very correctly expressed; others, and especially one as late as 1664, are specimens of Gloucestershire dialect and grammar, very rough, but which might probably be paralleled elsewhere at the present day. In 1583 is an entry, "Paid to the parator, for xxij A. b. c. bookes, xxij^d;" these were probably the horn books, which have been lately mentioned in this Society.

The accounts throughout are full of illustrations of Gloucestershire idioms and pronunciation. To the present day, any person or thing, animate or inanimate, a clock, a steeple, a woman, or a book, is in that part of the country, popularly referred to as "he." Examples of this peculiarity occur in these accounts; and also such spelling as "vull pate," "quord," "hernest," "fant," "ven," "yran," "pillow," and "dooare," words which accurately represent the popular pronunciation of pulpit, cord, earnest, font, vane, iron, pillar, and door.

Nor is popular pronunciation the only thing which appears from these accounts to be unchanged. Very many of the names of the inhabitants which occur in the reign of Elizabeth are precisely those which may be found in this district at the present day. New names occasionally appear, and after a few years pass away, but throughout the accounts there are traces of certain good old Gloucestershire families, which, with occasional fluctuations, kept their station in the middle class. Representatives of many of those families still occupy, in this very district, positions analogous to those of their ancestors. With the assistance of these books and the parish registers, the descents of such families might be traced from the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

JOHN BRUCE.

EXTRACTS FROM ACCOUNTS OF THE CHURCHWARDENS OF MINCHINHAMPTON.

P. 2. This ys the accompte off Jhon Cambryg and Andrewe Haward, churche wardens off Hampton, mayde in the seconde yere off Kyeng P. and M. In the yere off our lorde God M.cccccc.lv.

In primis resewyd off Rych. Webbe and Thomas Dotton, xix s.

off Rych. Webbe for rent, liij s. viij d.

off Rych. Webbe for rent [obliterated]

off Horwad for rent, ij s. vj d.

off Howchyns for rent, v s.

off Baydyng for rent, v s.

• The summe of thys, v li. j d.

THE CHARGES.

Item, payd to Jhon Draper for holde detts, xiiij s. iiij d.

to Jhon Draper for to quarterys, ix s.

for vij li. off wax to make the pascall taper, the faunt taber and makyng, vij s. iiij d.

for the tabars off the awter, v s. vj d.

for a keye and mendyng off the stepulle dore, viij d.

for antyfonar, xvj s. iiij d.

for a skyen for to cower the boke, xij d.

for iiij bossyls of barly to sowe the churche lande, vj s.

for egyng brede and drynke, xij d.

for smoke farthyng, x d.

to Spennell for makyng off the sepulkyer, xij d.

P. 3. to Rych. Rysley for watchyng the sepulker, xij d.

to Jhon Long for watchyng, vj d.

for candylls and pyntes, ij d.

for drynkyns a good ffryday, iiij d.

to alys coke for kepyng the stoffe, ij s.

to Sir Roger for to bokys, ij s. vj d.

to Rych. Rysley for keppeng off the cloke, iiij s.

for a pyxe, iiij s. x d.

for wyllam ther makyng the bawryxes [?],^a xvij d.

for showtyng off the bel roppes, v d.

for iij bell rôppes and a saunte bel roppe, vj s. vj d.

for frankynesenna, j d.

for mooyng and rayng [*sic*], ij s.

for the churche rent, iiij s.

at the wysytacyonn, ij s. iiij d.

to pocmore, iiij d.

^a Baldricks for the bell-ringers.

Item, payd to Jhonn Jakys, viiij d.

for soder and mendynge the churche ledde, iij s. iij d.

at glosetor a bowth the church dettes, xvj d.

for a borde, vj d.

for haff a ponde of wyer, iiij d.

for mendyng off the cloke, iij s.

for candyllys, v d.

to logke [?], iiij d.

Item, we mayd off ovr ale and ester monye, iij li. |	The sume off ovr charges ys, v li. xviiij s.
xij d.	iiij d.

P. 4.

ANNO DOMINI 1556.

HAMPTON } Receavyd of John Kembrige and Andrewe Harrold [wardens] of the parishe churche
 MONIAL. } of the holye Trinite in Hampton aforesaid, the morowe after the feast of the Natyuyte
 of our Lorde in the second and third yere; of the rayngnes of or Souayne [Lord] and Ladye
 Phillippe and Marie, by the grace of God kynge and quene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Jeru-
 salem, and Irelande, Defendours of the Faith, Princes of Spayne and Sycyll, Archedukes of Austrie,
 Dukes of myllayne, burgundye and brabant, Countey; of haspurge, Flaunders and tyroll,^a That is
 to saye:

In primis Thomas Hawke and Roberte Davys have resevyd off Jhon caymebryge and andrewe
 horroll in monny, xxxij s. x d.

Item, resevyd xvj. bossyellys off barelly. Item, we hadde at ester xviiij s.

The summes off yowr resetes, lv s. x d.

THE CHARGYS.

In primis, to a man that say^b the stepulle, iij s. iiij d.; item, payd for a shewrplys, iij s. iiij d.;
 for iiij gyordyllys for the westmentes, iiij d.; for wyet lether, and makyng off bawryxes,^c xviiij d.;
 for barly to syowe^d the churche londe, xiiij s. j d.; for bradde and ale, viij d.; for rayng and mowyng,
 P. 5 ij s.; for mending off a coppe, xij d.; for frankynegsens, vj d.; for waxe to make the pastall taper
 and the fownt taper, vj s.; for mayng the tapers off the awter, iij d.; for mendyng off the horgons,
 xij d.; for mayng off the sepulkeyer, xij d.; for watchyng off the same, xij d.; for a rowppe, xv s.
 x d. [*sic*]; to Jhon Poemore, xij d.; to trowyelle for stonnys xiiij s. iiij d.; for a womyne, ij s.; for
 a the artykyellys, vj d.; for a Rowdde, xx s.; for bordys and nalys to mende the churche howasse,
 xs.; for kyeppying off the cloke, iiij s.; for potyoose, xv d.; for paper, iiij d.; for woodde, iiij s.;
 for mayng a anser at Glosetor, xij d.; to Wyellam forwood, iij li.; to trowyelle for mowyng the
 stonnys, xvj d.; at paynewyeke at the wysytecyon ij s.; for candylles, viij d.; for rent to the baly,
 iij s. viij d.; to herye pelle, iiij d.

^a This enumeration of the royal titles is inserted in a clerk-like hand, very different from the account which follows.

^b Saw, inspected; a church surveyor.

^c Bawdricks.

^d Sow.

P. 6.

1558.

THE RECETTES.

Item, receyvyd of Radborow, xx s.; of my lord Bysshopp, xix s.; of hoglyng monye, vij s.; of pascoll monye, xvj s.; summa, iij li. ij s.

Item, made of youre ale with youre gatherynge and alle thynges dyschargeyd, iij li. xvij s. iij d.; so that we had yn youre handes, vij li. iij d.

M^d, ower chargeys. Item, payd to John Newman for the makeing of the secound belle whylle^a new, and for the mendyng of a nother whyell, and for the trussyng of the belles, vj s. viij d.; for ye nayeles for the same whylle, vij d.; to persloo for ye yarne^b work for the same belle, vj d.; for a pece of tymber for the same belle, xij d.; to Watter butt and to Thomas barnffield, ij d.; for viij li. of wax, viij s.; for makeyng ye Est^r tabar, and ye fovntt tabar, and ye ij tabares of ye avtt^r, xj d.; for ye makeyng of ye sepulkar, xij d.; for pynes and nayelles for the sepulkar, ij d.; for frankynsence, ij d.; att the vysytacyon att Stonhowse, ij s. viij d.; at Glocettur for yornie fyse [*sic*] and chargeys there, xvj s.; for ij bauñ loges, vj d.; for ye bene fakettters suppar at the church howsse, ij s.; for iij bell ropes, vj s.; for ye bryngyng of my lordes monye from Byssylay, xx d.; to ales coke for keppying the church coffar, ij s.; to John Drapper, for hys wagys, iij s.; for makeyng to smale surpys, iij d.; to pockemore for a boke, ij s.; for a locke and a keye for the myddell shop, vj d.; for dressyng the ij shoppes with lyme, vj d.; to Edmund Spenner, for keppying the cristnyng boke, xvj d.; payd for the makeyng the ij tabars of the avtt^r, ij d.; att ye makeyng off the inventory off the church goodes, for brad and drynke, v d.; at the vycytacyon att hampton, ij s. iij d.; to Pockemore, iij d.; for the tabarnakelle, xij s.; for the mendyng the best surpys, ij d.; for makeyng a lytyll pelow, j d.; to the glacyar at hys bargaen makeyng for hys herneest, vj d.; to the glacyar for the mendyng of all the holes yn Androse chappelle, with the olde glace, v s. v d.; the glacyar for xlij foot off new glace sett yn the wyndow yn Androse chappell, xxxij s. j d.; to Phylp chamber, for makeyng iarnes bares to the same wyndow, xiiij d.; to the Kervar att Glocettur, in herneest for the ymmege of the trenytye, xij d.; to John Newman, for mendyng the grett belle whyelle ij d.; to John newman, for takeyng vp the therd belle and setting yn a new boltt, viij d.; to phylp Chamber, for makeyng a boltt and a keaye for the same belle, ij d.; to Walter barbar, for the makyng off ij tabares off the avtt^r, ij.; to Rychard ryselay, for the keppying the clocke, iij s.; for ij li. of candylle, vij d.

Summe of youre charge, vj li. xvij s. ij d.

P. 10. HAMPTON { The accompte of Richard Webbe and Edmond Draper, gardeyne3 of the paryshe
MONIAL. { church there from the Feast of the Natvyte of our Lorde God anno 1558, for one
yere ended at the sayde feast anno 1559, of all thyssue3 and profettes cummyng and growyng
towards the parochyoners, as of olde tyme hath byn accustomed, viz. :—

In primis, receavyd of Thomas Cooch and Henrye Cawford, late gardayne3 of the sayd church, in mone remaynging on theyre accompte as appereth in theyr yere, xij d.; receavyd more of Phyllippe Dulle, one of the gardayne3 of the chapell of Rodborough, for a yeaerly stypend due and

^a Wheel.^b Iron.

goyng out the sayd chappell to the parochyoners of Hampton aforesaid, xx s.; receavyd more, callyd hoggelynge money, viij s.; receavyd more at Ester, callyd pascall money, xvj s.; receavyd of sundrye of the parochyoners in wheate and maulte, amountynge to the summe of xxij. bushelles, with certayne gyftes by diuers that are no parochyoners as apperethe by a booke there of made by theyre pertyculour namez of which ye made by our ale, all thynges dyscharged, amountynge to the sum of iiij li. viij s. Sum vj li. xiiij s. wherof to be allowed as appereth on thothere side: for makynge and fecchyng of the tapere at Ester, xij d.; for poyntes, pynnez, and packe thredde for the sepulture, ij d.; for makynge of the sayd sepulture and wacchyng of the same, ij s. viij d.; for two belles ropez, iiij s.; for viij li. of waxe, vij s. iiij d.; for the rentes of the paryshe holdes due to the L. Wyndesore in the tyme of Thomas Cooke and Henrye Cawford, ij s. viij d.; for kepyng of the bookes of chrystenynge, weddynges, and bureynges payed to Edmond Spynner, xvj d.; for the expensez of the gardeynez of the sayd churche and vj. other of the paryshe at the archedeakons vysytacyon, iiij s.; for pentecoste of olde due in the tyme of kynge E. the vj. and payed to the parson of Estyngeton, ij s. vj d.; for mendynge of the bell clapper payed to Wyllam Passelowe, ij s. viij d.; for the rentes of the paryshe holdes due to the L. Wyndesore for thye yere, ij s. viij d.;

P. 12. for kepyng of the clock, payed to Roger Callesborne, ij s.; for kepyng of the churche cheast, payed to Wyllam Foster, ij s.; for a greate rope for the clocke, iiij s. iiij d.; for a booke of iniunctyons, iiij d.; for a booke saruyce and admynestracon of the sacramentes, v s. iiij d.; for mendynge of the clock, payed to a stranger in the syght of John Newarck, ij s.; for mendynge of all the churche wyndowe3 with glasse, xxvj s. viij d.; for the expensez of the sayd gardayne3 and vj. other of the parochyoners at Gloucester at the Queene3 generall vysytacyon, iiij s. j d.; for examynynge of our aunswer there and puttyng the same into the courte, xvij d.; for the fee of the somner, iiij d.; for the expensez of the sayd gardeyne3 at Gloucester with ij. other of the paryshe at the exhybytyng of the inventory of all the churche goodes to the mayre there and othere, ij s. ij d.; for makynge of the inventorye3 and the bookes of chrystenynge, bureynge, and weddyng, ij s.; for enterynge of the same into the courte, xij d.; for mendynge of dyuerse of the dreame-holes in the steeple, the churche porche, the north syde of the churche, and for a peece of tymber payed to John Ingeram, with ij penyworth of nayle3, v s. ij d.; summa, iiij li. x s. xj d. So remayneth vpon this accompte, with x d., which the parochyoners of the sayd chappelle of Rodborowe must allowe these accomptauntes for parcelle of the ij s. vj d. due for pentecost on the tyme of K. E. the vj, as appereth, the summa of xliij s. j d.; and also one quarter of maulte remaynenge in the hande3 of Edmond Draper, to be answered to the gardayne3 of the sayd churche at Pentecost next, viz. one quarter of malt.

P. 14. The trwe accountes of John Myllward and John hawke, made to the parysh of Mynchinhampton the yere of our Lord God 1560:—

In primis, recewed of Richard Webbe and Edmonde Draper, xliij s. j d.; of the churchewardens of Rodboro, xx s.; hoglyng money, viij s.; ester money, xvj s.; of edmond Draper, for the charyty money, ij s. v d.; of edmond Draper, for one quarter of mawtt, viij s.; of John Colle, for the shoppe, xvj d.; Jhon Bucchar, for the rentte of the churche-house, iiij s.; of the same Jhon, for the rentt of the shoppe, xv d. . . . The summe of our recceyts ys, v li. xiiij s.; made of the gaderyng and of our alle, iiij li. x s. Our wolle sum ys, x li. ix s.

Alowans: payed to Jhon yngrom, Jhon newman, and Henry pole for lettynge downe the stanes

outt of the steple, ij s.; for mending the church walle, iij d.; for mending the bell-clapper, v s.; for on kye^a for the steeple, on kye for the parlor, an other for the seller dore, and mending of the lokes, xiiij d.; to the glacyar for glasing, xij s.; for bares of yeran, viij d.; for mending of the syrples, ij d.; for fecching the glacyar, ij d.; for mending of the fornace, ix d.; for the remouying of the church chest, ij d.; to the plumber, xij d.; to iij. mene for lokyng on the steeple for ther chargis, xvij d.; att the archdecons courtt for chargis, ij s. viij d.; for the makyng of our bylle and the conweyng of ytt to Dursley, xvij d.; to the glacyar for glacyng, ij s. viij d.; for hanggin of the lytell belle, x d.; for hallfe a hourse hide, xvij d.; for the rent of the church houses, iij s. viij d.; for a pare of bates legges, iij d.;^b for makyng of the bawdrykes, xvj d.; for kepyng the regester boke, xvj d.; for buckells, vj d.; for iij. bell ropes, viij s. vj d.; for vj. crestes, xij d.; for tylle stanes and carage, viij d.; for the byble, xij s. and vj d. for carage; for keping the chuch coffer, xij d.; for a mattoke, xvj d.; for rydding the leddes, iij d.; for kepyng of the chest, xij d.; for bred and wyne, iij s. ix d.; abatement for the falle of the money, ij s. iij d.

The summe of the allowans ys iij li. xij s. vj d.

The summe of our money to be payed ys v li. xvj s.

- P. 16. [Account of Robert Rusher and Richard Trappe, churchwardens, given to the parish on the morrow after the Nativity, 1561.]

Receuid of hogling money, vij s.; at ester in money. xvij s. The soumme of our receipts ys x li. xiiij d.

Alowance: Item, to the plumer, xvij s.; for tilyng of the church, iij s.; for mynding of the church housse, xv d.; for tylle, ij s.; for lime, xx d.; for a paraphrasse, viij s.; to the thething man for the pson, v s.; for keping of the church chest, ij s.; for bread and vine at ester, vj s. iij d.; for makyn of a key to thomas barne, iij d.; for mending of the cloke, vj d.; formes and trestills, xij, at my lorde of Caunterbury's vicitacion, viij s.; at the archdecons vicitacion, ij s. viij d.; to Jhon of Horsley for caring of the bille, xij d.; for bread and vine, xj d.; for hopinge of a scealle [?] . . . ; for

- P. 17. for kepinge of the cloke, . . . ; for mending of the cloke, viij d.; for mending of the bell clapper, vij d.; for on pole of wode, vj d. The soumme of the alowanc ys iij li. xix s. iij d. Made of our ale and gederung, v li. ix s., and soo theyr remayneth to be paied too the parishe of Hampton, x li. ix s. vj d.

A remembrance that Mr. Harbert hath not paied rent for the parishe house this yere.

- P. 18.

1562.

Receued of hongling money, viij s.; of money at ester, xv s. vj d.; of Roger cosborne, for the charity money, vj s.

Somme ys xiiij li. xvj s. vij d.

Alowances: in primis paied Roger cosborne, for keping of the clocke, iij s.; to the same Roger, for mending of the glasse wyndoyes, iij s.; for breade and wine att Ester, vj s. iij d.; for the rope at the welle, ij d.; for mending of the belle, v d.; mending of the lockes of the churchhaus, vj d.;

^a Key.

^b Fees paid to the parishioners for destruction of what were deemed noxious animals. For some years foxes were the chief objects of popular hatred, otters, badgers, and hedgehogs succeeded, and ultimately kites, and even jays and pies. The entries upon this subject are innumerable.

for keping of the cheste, ij s.; for hauffe a horsse hide, ij s.; at the archdecones visitatione, vj s.;
P. 19. mending of the clocke, iij s.; for iij barrs of yron, . . .; for on barre of yron, . . .; paied ye
glasiars, xxxij s.; lime and woode, xvj d.; for cordis to hange the clapprs of the bellis, ij s.; for a
hoxe of lether for the baudrickes . . .; for making of the baudrickes . . .; for breade and wine
the wholle yere, ij s. viij d. The somme of our alowances ys vj li. xv s. viij d.

Made of our gadering and alle, v li. xiiij s. ij d. So ther remayneth to be paid for the use of the
parishe of Hampton, xij li. xv s. [sic] remayning in the handes of Ric. pope, whan he was tenthth-
man, iij s. iij d.

P. 20.

1563.

Recevid of ester mony, xvj s.; of hogling money, ix s. viij d.; for the chariti money, iij s.; of
Mr. Harbert, for iij yere; rent of the parishe house, liij s. iij d.; M^d, made at the gatheringe and
ale, v li. xj s.; summa oneris, xxiiij li. xvij s. j d.; e quibus allocatur,

In primis, Thomas Slie, in money, iij li.; paid Ric. Resse, for his comminge, iij s. iij d.; Ric.
Resse, dinner and his companie, iij s.; for Phelipe Draper horss mett, xj d.; paid the somner,
iij d.; att the bishopes visitacion at Stonhouss, vij s.; at the archdecon's visitacion, iij s.; at the
P. 21. visitacion at Paineswicke, ij s.; pentecost money, xvd.; Thomas Slie, in money, xljs.; Thomas Slie,
in yernest, vij s.; the plommer, in money, xxjs. iij d.; the clearke, in money, x s.; for meatt and
drincke when the stones wer caried, x s.; for a quere of paper for the regester Boke, iij d.; for
bread and wine att Ester, vij s.; for bread and vine for the wolle yeare, ij s.; for a Boke of the
ij tome of homelies, iij s. vj d.; for a nother Boke, iij d.; for a boke of the first tome of homelies,
xvd. Somme is 10li. 14s. 2d.

And so remayneth clere, xiiij li. iij s. xj d.; wherof to be allowed for soldyour's apparell, xvij s.;
for lyme, xj d.; for fellynge of wood, xiiij d.; for ij seates and a panne, ix d.; to the glasyer, iij d.;
for theyre dynner at the carreage of stone; xx d.; payed to Slye, the masone, vjs. viij d.; to Roger
Colesborne, ij d.; summa, xxxix s. ix d.; and there remaineth xij li. iij s. ij d.

P. 22.

1564.

Receavyd of paschall money, xvjs. vj d.; of Hoggelinge money, x s.; summa totalis hujus
oneris, xxiiij li. xiiij d.

[The discharge to this account is wanting.]

1565.

P. 25. In primis, recevyd of Walter payne and edmund draper, late gardeners, xij li. ij s. iij d.; howglynge
money, x s.; easter money, xv s.; made of owre ale and owre gatherynge, viij li. x s. vj d.; summa
totalis, xxiiij li. vij s. iij d.

Alowances: paid to John hawke, xx li. xij d.; to the plowmmer, vj s. viij d.; bread and wyne at
easter, vij s.; for the vysytacyons, iij s. viij d.; for pentecost, x d.; for a belle roope, vj s. iij d.;
makynge of m^r. vgnolles seate, ij s.; and for the stone warke, ij d.; for hyngys, vj d.; for bread
and wyne all the yere, ij s. iij d.; for the tylynge of the paryshe howse, xj s.; summa totalis,
xxij li. vij s. v d. So that there remayneth to be paid to the paryshe in money, xxxix s. x d.
Item, thalowance to John hawke for xiiij wyckes lyinge in London for swyt of the merket,^a lvj s. j d.

^a Suit of the market, an application with reference to the market formerly held at Minchinhampton.

P. 28.

1566.

Payde for to belropes, iiij s.; at the vysytacyon, iiij s. iiij d.; for drynkyn at workes, xxij d.; for shresdyd [*sic*], iiij d.; for brede and wyne at ester, vij s. vj d.; for brede and wyne for the wolle yere, ij s.; for paper, ij d.; for v. crase, viij d.; for nalles, ij d.

P. 31.

1567.

[Receipts]: summa, vij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

- Alowans: payd to plowmer, vj s. viij d.; for mayttyng off y^e chappyll, xij s. x d.; to Rich. trawys to make a nede off the sayd chappelle, iiij s. iiij d.; for laythe nale for the sayme chappylle, viij s.; for bornale for the same chappylle, xvj d.; for hyere for the same chappyll, xvj; tyember and stone for the same chappylle, ij s. vj d.; lyomme for the chappylle, viij s. iiij d.; for dryffte, ij d.; layethes, xj s. viij d.; a chyenne^a for the bouke, viij d.; mendyng off the lowekys and maykyng off a kye for the churshowse, viij d.; bredde and wyenne at ester, vij s. x d.; mendyng of the byelle wyelle and the clowke, xiiij d.; tyember to repayre the formys and tresselylys in the churchose, iiij s.; makyng of fowrmys and tressylls in the churchose, iiij s. x d.; menddyng off the harthe in the kyeche, vj d.; mendyng off the wyendos in the chappylle, v d.; to the glasyer for glasse, iiij li. iiij s. vj d.; for tylyng off y^e pyentys^b in y^e strete, vij s.; laytnale for the same pentes, ij s. vij d.; stennale for the same pyentes, iiij s.; the caryge off the tyelle, iiij d.; for tyell for the same pyentes, xvj d.; for dryfth, ij d.; for tyelyng off the pyentes in the corte, iiij s.; for tyelle for the same pyentes, iiij s. viij d.; carrynge off the tyelle, iiij d.; lay nalle for the same, ij s.; stonne naylle, xij d.; lyemme, iiij s.; dryffth, ij d.; for maykyng off the thember work off the same pynetes, ij s. jid.; for maykyng the wynedos in audros chappyll and charyng off the stonys, xxij s. x d.; lyemme for the wynedos, ij s.; wyer, iiij d.; costes and charge at the arsdekyng wysytacyon, iiij s.; for a yeldyng wessylle, iiij s. iij d.; for taykyng donne and septyeng op off the glasse, xvj d.; for showtyeng off a byelle rowpe, ij d.; to Thome Chamber for trossyng off a byelle, viij d.; to Edwarde Unnam to helpe hym, iiij d.; for maykeng off a bauryke, vj d.; wyer for the cloke, vj d.; the churche rent, iiij s.; ryoppe off the cloke, xij d.; for myndyng off the churchose and the kechyne, vj s. viij d.;
- P. 34. nals for the hosse, ij d.; v cryestes for the hosse, viij d. ob.; makyng a styelle in the churche yarde, xx d.; for maykyng off xij lyetes, vij s.; for stones and cayryge, vij s.; maykyng off the pyolerre^c and costolle,^d iiij s.; for mendyng off the iiij shoppys, iiij s.; bredde and wyenne for the holde^e yere, xx d.; for mendyng a claper off the cloke, vj d.; for setyeng howpe off the glasse, iiij d.; sum, xij li. xj s. iiij d. ob.

Item, mayde of yowr ale and gaytheryng, vj li. xvij s. iiij d.

P. 35.

1568.

Receavyd of hoggelynge moneye, vij s. xj d.; of Easter moneye, xiiij s. ij d.; summa totalis, viij li. iiij s. x d.

- P. 36. Payed to the plumber, vj s. viij d.; to the glasyer, xxix s. x d.; to the belfounder for ernest, v s.;

^a Chain.^b Penthouse?^c Pillory.^d Curst-stool?^e Whole.

carriage of water, j d.; carriage of bourdes, v s. iiij d.; for the layenge of the same, x d.; wyne at Easter, viij s. viij d.; for Iron barres, xvj d.; for our expenses at Gloucester attendynge vpon the Quene; Majestes commissyoners, xvj d.; for wyne for the communycantes at seuerall tyme; in the yere, xxij d.; c di. of bourde nayles, ix d.; for oyle and sope, j d. ob.; for bread for the communycantes, v d.; a lyne cord for the clock, xij d.; for bourdes for the churche house, xl s.; more to the glasyer, xl s.; to the belle founder, xx s.; for certain Iron aboute the belle, x s.; iij belle Ropes, vij s.; at the vysytacyon, v s.; for the couenauntes and obligacyone betwene the parochioners and the bellfounder, ij s.; for a booke of comene prayer, viij s.; summa allocationum, x li. ij s.

P. 37.

1569.

Onus: receavyd in hoggelynge money, ix s. ij d.; at Easter, in money, xiiij s.

P. 38.

Allocaciones: paid for hewynge of wood and carreyng thereof, v s. iiij d.; for a keye for the church-house seller, iij d.; for paper, j d.; for breadde and wyne, x s. v d.; for makynge the bookes of vermyne, and the makynge and castynge of this o^r accompte, xvij d.; for bawderyckes for the belles, viij d.; for makynge the churche house flower,^a iij s. iiij d.; for the arrerages of Pentecost, or peter pence, for dyuerse yeres, vj s.; our expenses and other our neyghebouris at the vysytacyon, v s. viij d.; paid for a booke of jniunctyons, vj d.; for wrytyng the regester booke, vij d.; expenses;

P. 39.

at Tedburye before the comyssyoneres, iij s. viij d.; for wyne, xij d.; for breadde and oyle, ij d. Summa, iij li. vj s. vj d.

P. 40.

1570.

Received: in hoggelinge money, 9s. 6d.; at Easter, in money, 14s. Item, made of our alie and gatheringe, 40s. Summa totalis, 6li. 13s. 6d.

P. 41.

Allowances: paid for a forme, 6d.; for the visitation, 3s. 8d.; for delineringe of the bill, 14d.; for an omilye booke, 8d.; for breade and wine at Easter, 10s. 8d.; for breadd and wine the whole yere, 18d. Summa totalis, 52s. 9d.

P. 42.

1571.

Receauid: in hogglinge mony, x s. v d.; at Easter, in mony, xj s. viij d. Made of our ale and gatheringe, . . . Somme totale, xij li. x s.

P. 43.

Alowances: payed at Siseter^b the first daye, iij s. iij d.; paid the next daye at Siseter, iij s. v d.; payed at Hampton the first daye at the visitacion, ij s.; payed at Glouceter the next daye at the visitacion, v s. x d.; for Penticoust, xv d.; for bookes for our parte, vj d.; for clothe and the mendinge of the surpless, iij d.; bread and wine for whole yeare, xvij d.; for a bible and a homili, xlv s.; for incle, ij d.; for bread and wine at Easter, xj s. Somme totale, viij li. xiiij s.

P. 46.

1573.

Receyved: att Easter, xiiij s. Made of our ale and gatheryng, xxx s. Somme total, xj li. ij s.

P. 47.

Allowance: paid att Glocestre for our charges in suyte with Rodbarrowes men, vj s. viij d.; paid for Pentecoste to the Deane of Avenyng, xv d.; paid for makynge the stocke howsse,^c x s.; bread and wyne att Easter, xiiij s.; for bread and wyne all the yere, ij s. j d.; paid and layed owte for my

^a Floor.

^b Cirencester.

^c Stocks.

charges in goyng to my lordes counsell, xxxij s. vj d.; mending the locke of the steeple dore, and mending the dore of the clocke, iij d.; the ryngars for the Queenes Matie, xij d.; for makynge the stockes feette, viij d.; for mending the iron of the stockes, vj d.; paper for the clarke, j d.

P. 49.

1574.

Summa oneris huius computi, viij li. vj s. iij d., inde allocatur: payed for a bell clapper, viij s. iij; for breadde and wyne at Ester for the commenyngantes, xij s. ix d. ob.; expendyd at the archdeacons vysytacyone at Payneswyck, iij s. j d.; to the sayd archdeacone for Pentecost, xv d.; to the sumner, iij d.; to the ryngers for rynging one the daye that the Queenes Matie enteryd the crowne of this realme, xvj d.; expendyd at Gloucester apperynge before the Queenes Maties commysioneres, xij d.; to the messenger of that court, iij d.: for delyuering of the bylle there, ij d.; for makynge the deaske at the pulpytt, x d.; for breadde and wyne for the communycantes the whole yere, iij s. ix d. ob. Summa allocationum huius computi, iij li. xiiij s. iij d.

P. 52.

1575.

Receavyd: more of certayne the inhabytauntes of the parishe for moneye by them gevene for mayneteynaunce of the churche as apperyth by a bylle of the partyculers thereof, xxxj s. v d. Summa, vij li. xix s. iij d.

P. 54.

Allocationes: in payed to John Mayowe and John Lyth for pullynge downe, dystroyenge, and throwynge out of the churche sundrye superstycious thinges tendinge to the mayntenaunce of idolatrye, vj s. viij d.; for a crowe nett, ij s. iij d.; to the turnour for turnynge of the postes, vij s. vj d.; expendyd at the byshoppes vysytacion, iij s. viij d.; to regester and sumner, x d.; payed to John Bawre at Gloucester for the forfaytinge of the statute of noysome fowle; and vermyne lost in the tyme of John Hawkes and Thomas Kembridge, x s.; expendyd in travelynge aboute the same, xij d.; makynge of our bylle and exhibyng therof, xx d.; to the sumner for peterpence or smoke farthynges sometye due to the Anthecriste of roome, x d.; expendyd at Gloucester apperynge before the commysyonere ij. seueralle tymes, iij s. ix d.; for allowynge the regester booke, viij d.; to the sumner for ij. fees, viij d.: for bredde and wyne all the yere, xvij s. iij d. Summa allocationum, viij li. ij s. ix d.

M^d that there ys due to the paryshyoners . . . wyth Wylliam Weabb of Avenynge, as the price of the organe case to hym solde, x s.; also for the seueralle buryalles of Walter Payne, Thomas Kynne, and Rychard Sewelle, buryed wythin the churche, for euery of them, vj s. viij d., in thole, xx s.

P. 56.

1576.

Receavyd of certayne of the paryshoners in moneye by them gevene towards the mayntenaunce of the churche as apperyth by a bylle of the partyculers thereof, lij s. Summa oneris, iij li. xij s.

Allocationes: our charges at the Archebusshoppe of Canterburye; vysytacyone at Payneswyck, ij s. ix d.; for a book of arteyle, vj d.; for Pentecost money, otherwyse peter pence, sometye payed to Antecryst of Roome, xvj d.; for exhibyng of our bylle, viij d.; for barres for the churche wyndowes, xvij; to Wyllm Colbrock, for exhybytinge of our byll to the Commyssyoners, xv d.; for our drynkyng, assemblynge together aboute the same, iij d.; for wrytyng and engrosynge of the lookes to the vysytoure, iij s. iij d.; for ryngenge the daye of the Quene; maistye;

enterynge unto the crowne, whome God longe tyme wee beseche to preserue, ix d. ; for aunswerynge the parishe mattere before the Commyssoneres, iiij s. ; for a booke of Commone prayer, v s. ; for our sommons, xvj d. ; payed and dysbursed for aunswerynge dyuerse faulse vntrothe^s suggested by Wylliam Halle, Thomas Kembridge, John Hallydaye, John Sandelle, and Richard mallard, to the sayd Commyssyoneres, vj s. viij d. ; payed for paper which ys put into this boke, j d.

P. 58.

1577.

Receyved of Richerd Barnefeld and harry Dudbridge for a stipend due vpon the chapelle of Rodborowe, beinge due to these accomptantes att the entringe in to owre office, vizt. St. Stevenes-daye, in anno 1576, xx s. ; of the parishoners by them geven towards the maintenaunce of the churche, xlvij s. Item, more receaved, xij s. Item, more receaved, ij s.

P. 59.

Paid Henry Baker for the Ringers att the daye of coronatione, xv d. ; to Stone att the same daye for the ringers and in money, viij d. ; ffrenche for foxes hedes, xvj d. ; att the visitation, ij s. ix d. ; pentecost money, xvj d. ; to the sonner, iiij d. ; for the deliuering of the bill, viij d. ; for wine, x s. ; the same, ix s. iiij d. ; for a foxe hedd, xij d. ; for bread, ij d. ; for hattes and cappes, v s. iiij d. ; to Chepstowes bridge, v s. ; to a poore woman to bringe her to Rodborow, iiij d. ; for wine, j d. ; for the writtinge of our accomptes, vj d. ; for the visitatione at pains wecke to Niclas Feld and the curatt, xvj d.

P. 62.

1578.

Receved the money that was gathred at the Communion, xij s. ; of the parishnors by them giuen towards the mayntynantes of the church, 2li. 7s. 3d. ; made of o^r Ale, 4li.

P. 63.

Payed for pargetynge and tylinge of the church-hows, iiij s. ; for vj bushells of lym for the same work, iiij s. ; for sices for the same, iiij d. ; for setting up of bordes, formes, and trescles, iiij s. ; for xj duble sakes of lyme, xj s. ; xxx dayes work to the tylor for tylynge Ansleyes chapell, xx s. ; for doonge to temper the lym, iiij d. ; to the quarier for a lod of stones for the porch, ij s. iiij d. ; to the mason for the bartelmentes of the porche, x s. ; for the water tablinge of Anslowes chapele and the bynche of the porch, xvj s. iiij d. ; for making of the dry wall in the churchyard, xj s. iiij d. ; wyne for the comunyon, iiij s. xj d. ; to Roger Colsborn for ix dayes worke, for helping the plumber and gatheringe sande, v s. ; wyne at Ester, xvij s. ; at the deliueringe in of the bill to the chanscler, viij d. ; to the sonner and register, xij d. ; p^d to he that toke the ven of^a the steple, ij s. ; for a cord for the fant, vj d.

P. 64.

1579.

Receude the money that was gathered at the communion, xv s. ; hoglinge money, x s. ; made of our alle, v li. x s. ; gathred, xvj s. iiij d.

P. 65.

Payd to William Parslowe, for remouinge of the minister's seate, xvij d. ; to Roger Colsburn, for his daye's worke, iiij d. ; to William Parslowe, for to keyes and on gemoll^b for the cheste, ix d. ; for a rope for the fant, viij d. ; for bred and wyne, xxij s. ; payd at the visitacion, ij s. xj d. Item : the staying of the bill, iiij d. ; to the register, xv d. ; for the deliueringe of our bill, viij d. ;

^a The vane off.^b A gimmel or duplex ring: see also the account for 1583.

for a horse hid to make baldrikes, ij s.; for a vull pate,* xvj d.; for making of the same, xvj d.; for clothe to make a surplesse, xvj s.; for makinge of the same, iij s.; two bell-ropes, iiij s. viij d.; to the ringers for the quen, xvj d.; to William Webe, for mersment^b for the hallow-way, ij s. viij d.

P. 66.

1580.

Receipts: gathered the hoglyn money, which ys x s. iiij d.; we made of oure Whiteson ale, iij li. v s.

Allowances: layd out at Strowde, when the deane did sitte, xvij d.; expences at the arche-deacones vysitacion at Tedburye, in June, iij s.; ij hundreth and a-halfe of nayles, iij s. ix d.; a twiste of a dore, iij d.; paid to the regester for delyueringe our bille, viij d.; my expences at Gloucester when the foresaid bille was presented, vj d.; for makynge the plowmen drinke when they fot^c tymber to make the belle-lofte, xx d.; the collection mony for chard, ij d.^d; expences upon them that holpe to drawe up the tymber into the tower, xxij d.; oure expences at the Archebyshop of Caunterbury his visytacone at Tedbury, and for other duties, iiij s. vj d.; paid to the Regester for delyuering our presentement at the Archebyshop of Canterburye his visytacone, xvj d.; for our expenses at the same tyme at Gloucester, xij d.; to Ryngers upon the coronacone daye, xvj d.; for bread and wyne for the whole yere, xix s. viij d.; for the wrytynge and castinge of this accompt, xij d.

P. 68.

1581.

Receipts: the hoglyn money, xiiij s. iiij d.; the money gathered at the comunyon, xvj s.; made of the church ale, cleare and all thinges discharged, iiij li. ix s. iiij d.

Payments: our charges at the vysytacone at Tedbury, iij s. v. . . for exhibyting of oure bille at Gloucester, iiij d.; paper for the Regester-boke, iiij d.; for the boke of consanguinities, iij d.; oure charges at the Archedeacones Courte at Gloucester, the xxiiijth of Maye, xvj d.; our dynners there the same tyme, xij d.; for bread and wyne for the whole yere, xxvj s. x . . . a corde for the clock payse, x d.; gevin to a poore scoller of Oxford, ij s.; for makynge of the walle from Mr. Wynsors garden to the churchestile, xvj s. vj d.; for makinge of the wall from the same stile to the Parsonage Close, and for the digginge and cariage of stones, xxvj s.; for a foxe-head, xij d.; for another foxe-head, taken within the paryshe, xij d.

P. 70.

1582.

Payments: to Slye, for commyng to loke upon the steple, ij s. vj d.; to John Poore, for goynge to Payneswike to the said Slye to wille hym not to come accordinge to promyse, because the paryshe was not at leasure, iiij d.; at a syttinge at Strowde before the deane, xij d.; the puttynge vp of our bylle the same tyme, viij d.; for bread and wine at Easter, xix s. x d.; to a mason that came from Mawmesburye to loke upon the towre, his charges, xvj d.; half a horse-hide to make bawdryckes, ij s., at the vysytacone of my lord bysshop, the charges, xxij d.; afterwarde, our charges with the sidemen at the makynge of the presentemente, ij s.; for a boke of Artycles, geven at the same tyme, vj d.;

* Pulpit?

^b Amercement.^c Fetched.

^d A collection was made under a Queen's letter dated 26th February, 1578, towards the rebuilding of Chard, which had been lately destroyed by fire. (Strype's Grindal, p. 358, 8vo ed.)

at the same tyme, for pentecoste money for the last yere and for this, ij s. viij d.; to the paratour for his fees for somnyng vs to the same vysytacon and once to Strowd, viij d.; for puttyng vp our presentment at Gloucester, xvij d.; our charges there the same tyme, xvj d.; bread and wine from Easter to Christmas, vij s.; for iij foxe-heads, iij s.; our charges at the Archdeacons vysitacone at Tedburye, for oure selves and the sydemen, ij s. x d.; the Ryngors on the coronacone daye, xij d.; for claspes for the byble, iij d.; for mendinge the cloke and skowryng the calyver, and mendyng the head peases, ij s. iij d.; for wryting and castinge of thys accompte, xij d.

P. 72.

1583.

Receaved: for the hoglyn money, viij s. iij d.; at Easter, at the comunyon, xvij s. ij d.; made of the church ale at Witsontide, and alle thinges dyscharged, l s.

Payde: to Coper for kepyng the childe, x s.; to the parator for xxij A b c bookes, xxij d.; to masone for fellyng the custome wod, xvij d.; to a scholler of Oxforde, xij d.; at Tedburye, at the vysytacone, iij s. ix d.; to the Ryngers on the coronacone daye, ij s.; the pentecoste money, xvj d.; payde at Gloucester for a booke of Artycles, xvij d.; our charges at the same tyme there, ij s. ij d.; bread and wine at Easter, xvij s. vij d.; bread and wine since Easter, iij s. iij d.; for mending the bell-claper and for gymoldes for the coffer, xiiij d.

P. 76.

Account of payments:—

Expended at Gloucester when we mett the parsons aboute the Deacon, vj s. ij d.; to Richard Beane for keyng the cheast, xvij d.; to Roger Collesborne and others for removynge of the same cheast and mendinge the glasse wyndowes, v d.; to Thomas Slye, for his rewarde and the carriage of his tumbrell, vj s. viij d.; a m^l and di^c of Tyles stones, x s. vj d.; for carriage of the same, xij d.; to Humfrey Mordock and his manne for viij dayes worckynge on Roger Sherman's house, viz., xvij d. by the daye, xij s.; to Christopher Hollydaye, for gatheringe mosse for the ij. iles of the churche, xvij d.; to Wylliam Colletrope, for a creast, j d. ob.; to the pargettour and his man for iij. dayes worckynge on the churche-house, v s. iij d.; at the Archdeacons vysytacon, for our charges and others of the parishioners there, iij s. viij d.; to the Sumner, iij d.; expended at Gloucester what tyme wee sued proces for the inhabytauntes for deteyninge three yeres stipende, ij s. iij d.; for counsaile there, and optayninge the L. Busshoppe's letter to the sayd inhabytauntes, ij s.; for carriage of the same letter to Rodborowe, ij d.; M^d allowed to Edmond Draper, one of theyse accomptauntes, for moneye by hym layed out, at the request of the parochioners, vij yeres past aboute the optaynyng of a markett, v s.

P. 78.

1584.

Received: of hoglyn money, xij s. viij d.; at Easter, at the comunion, xij s. viij d.; for shepes pasture for the churche lande, xij d.; for the barley that we had of the church land, xxv s. vj d.; by collection of the parysheoners towards the Churche, xxx s. v d.

Paid to the Glasyer of Gloucester, vj s. viij d.; our charges at Strowde, at the sittinge of the deane, xxij d.; the byndyng of the homely booke, x d.; for makynge of the churchehaye style, xij d.; vj bushell and an half of barley to sowe the churche lande, viij s. viij d.; our charges at Tetburye, at the vysitacione of my Lorde of Canterburys vysytours, v s. vj d.; for the wrytyng

of our byll, vj d.; for exhibytinge of our byll of presentement at Gloucester and our charges there, xxj d.; payde for a newe communion booke, vj s. viij d.; payde to the Commyssyoners at tedburye for offendynge the statute for capes, and our charges, vj s.; for a quittance and a proclamacone at the same tyme, viij d.; to Gyles Newman, for bread, ij d.; to Mr. Walter Wyndsor, Esquire, for chief rente for the church-house, iiij s.; to the Ryngers upon the Coronacone daye of the queenes matie, xij d.; to John Newarke for wine, xv s. vij d.; more for wine, vj s. ij d.; for harrowynge of the church lande, xx d.; for the wryting and casting hereof, xij d.

P. 80.

1585.

Received: of hoglyn money vj s.; at Easter, at the Communion, xvij s.; of the paryshoners, by collection, towards the churches, in malte and moneye, xx[vij s. xj d.]

P. 81.

Paid: payde and delyuered to Thomas Kembridge and Thomas Pynfolde towards the soldiers, vij s. viij d.;^a to the plumber for xxvj li. of sowder at x d. a-pounde, xxj s. viij d.; to the plumber for two dayes worke on the leades, v s.; his man for two daies worke, xxj d.; payde for a praire for the Queenes matie sent hither by the chauncelour, vj d.; to Thomas Swayne, for goynge to gloucester, xvj d.; at the makynge of the presentment, the charges of our dynner at Robert Stones, xxj d.; for the wrytinge and makynge of the same presentemente, vj d.; the harowinge of the church lande, and for the mowynge and thresshinge of the corne, ij s. j d. ob.; for iij bushells of seede barley, v s.; the charges to the Ryngers on the Coronacone day, ij s. v d.; at the Bysshopes vysitacone at paynesweke, the charges of our dyner, ij s. viij d.; the pentecoste money, ij s. viij d.; for a booke of Artycles, viij d.; for the puttinge vp of our presentemente at the vysitacon, vj d.; to the Regester for the receavyng of our bylle of presentem^t, viij d.; the paratour for sommons to the vysitacone, iiij d.; for delyueryng of our byll into the office, iiij d.; for breade and wyne at easter, xxiiij s.; for breade and wine all the yere followinge, ij s. ix d.; for the wrytinge and casting of this accompte, xij d.

P. 82.

1586.

Received: hoglin money, xj s. vij d.; at Easter, of the Communicauntes, xv s.; of the parishioners, as shall appeare by a sedull here vnto annexed, the somme of xlj s. vij d.

Paid: unto Colsburne, for kepeing of the clocke, [vj s. viij d.]; unto Colsburne, the clerke, for attending on the plumber, xij d.; for Mr. parson's and our charges at Gloucester, being called thither before the chauncelour, iiij s. iiij d.; for the making of our bill, and for putting in the same vnto the Registre, x d.; at Tedburie, in the Archdeacons visitacone, for our dynner and the side menes, iiij s.; unto Mr. Handes, the Regester vnto tharchedeaconn, and unto his Apparatur, xij d.; the pentecoste money, ij s. viij d.; for putting in of our bill to the Archdeaconn, vj d.; payd for two bookes sett forth by the Archebishoppe of Caunterbury, x d.; bread and wyne from Christmas vntill thende of Easter, xxij s.; breade and wyne from Easter untill Christmas following, iiij s. viij d.; vnto the Ringers for Ringing, and their charges on the coronacone day, ij s. iiij d.; for the byndynge of the booke of Common prayer, viij d.

^a A rate or public contribution for the relief of wounded soldiers.

P. 85.

1587.

Received: hoglyn money, viij s.; of the communycantes at Easter, xv s.; of the parishioners, by collection toward the churche, xxxj s.

Paid: to the clarke, vj s. viij d.; to thapparatur for return of the bill of recusantes, xvj d.; at the archdecons court for our charges, vj s.; to thapparatur for the articles, xx d.; for bread and wine, xx s.; paid at Gloucester, being summoned thither for the affaires of the church . . .; to the constables for cheptowe bridge and the Jailes money . . .^a

P. 86.

1588.

Received: hoglin money, xxiiij s.; of the communicantes at Easter, xxiiij s.; the clere gaine of the churche ale, iiij li. x s.; of such men as were set to the bildinge of the steple, viij li. xvj s.^{**}; that my Lord Winsor gave, xx s.; of John a Deane, that he gave, x s. vj d.

Payments: to the clarke, for kepeinge the clocke, iij s. iiij d.; for pentecost money, xvj d.; at my lorde bishoppes visitation for y^e booke of articles, y^e apparitour, y^e delyverie vp of our byll, and our expenses there, in all, vj s. x d.; upon them bestowed, which caried poolles^b and stones to the churche, vpon meate and drinke for them, v s. ij d.; for the cariage of poolles, and meate and drinke, vij d.; wine and bread for the communicantes at Easter, xx s.; bread and wyne all the yeare after, vij s. iiij d.; the ringars the Quene's daie, xvj d.; for riddinge of the churche at two tymes, x d.; to the castle, iij s.^c

P. 88.

1589.

Received: in hogling money, xxiiij s. vj d.; att Ester, att the comunion, xxiiij s. x d.; made of churche ale at Whitsontyde, iiij li. xv s.

Paid: to William Webb, of the box,^d for tylle and mendynge of the chappell, iiij s. ij d.; to the same, for plasteringe the parlor and the taverne, xij d.; to francis Androws, for mendinge the fornace and layenge a new syll vnder the cyching^e doore, xxij d.; to the sumner, iiij d.; for the castell, ij s.; layed out att the visitation, iiij s. vj d.; to the plumber for xxx^u poundes of solder, xx s.; to the plvmer for three dayes woork, iij s.; for the makinge of our bill of presentment, iiij d.; to the scolemaster, for writinge this accompte . . .; for bread and wine for the whole yere, xxiiij s.; for stringes for the church boockes, a penie qvord,^f a twopenie trace, a peniworth of threed, and a penie worthe of oyle^{**}; for an otter's head, xij d.; bread and wine, christmas daye, at the comunion, xix d.; to ockepeoll, for layinge of the restes upon the towar, xij d.

P. 90.

1590.

Received: gathered in hoglinge money, xv s.; gathered at ester, at the communion, xxiiij s. * *; gathered of malt and money, xlix s. * *.

^a A county contribution for the repair of Chepstow Bridge and the expenses of the county jail in Gloucester Castle. See before, as to Chepstow, the account for 1577.

^b Poles.

^c Towards the support of the jail in Gloucester Castle.

^d The Box, a hamlet in the parish of Minchinhampton.

^e Kitchen.

^f A cord.

Paid: to the pariter at the quarter seachings,^a viij d.; our dinner and our felowes at the visitation at tedbury, ij s. iiij d.; for making and presenting of our bill at the visitation, xij d.; for pentecost money, . . .; unto the cunstabell of hampton for chypstoo bridge, iij s. iiij d.; to the high cunstabell of longtree hundred,^b to the vse of the castell, . . .; ringing for the queene, ij s. iiij d.; for paper for the regester's booke and for oyle, vj d.; to William Webbe, the tyler, upon a bargin for mosing and tiling and pynting of the church house and pentises, vij s., the which the wether have letten that he cannot do it according to his promise, but shortly uppon a tide he will doo it, and to reaseue, the rest of his mony which wee did bargain with him for it, the which he have gathered mose and layd things a plase . . .; to gooddy markes, for wine on Cristmas daye, ij s.; for writting and casting our accounte, vj d.

P. 92.

1592.

Received: in hoglin money, vj s. viij d.; gathered in taskinge money,^c xxxv s. 4 d.

Paid: to William Webb, for mosinge the church howse, xvj s. 4 d.; to the Apparator, for a bill, viij d.; for mendinge the Boord thothe [?], iiij d.; expenses in the visitacone, vj s. ix d.; bestowed in drinke on them that carred stones, xxij d.; for caringe ij load of stones, xvj d.; for castle money, vj s.; for puttinge upp our bill, xij d.; a bushell of lime, vj d.

P. 94.

1593.

Receaved: for breaking vp of the church for Mr. Carpenter's graue, vj s. viij d.;^d for lead that remained at the coueringe of the church, xxvj s. viij d.

Paid: for lead to the coveringe of the church, viij li. xij d.; layd out at the visitacone in expences, and for a table booke, vj s. ij d.; for caringe home the wood to melt the lead and bringing it in, xix d.; for mending John Newarke's way leaffe, broken in wayinge of lead, iij d.; for stauinge our bill of presentment, iiij d.; for the presentacone of our Bill, xvj d.

P. 96.

1594.

Paid: for a precept to Remoue the woman out of the church porche, vj d.; Tylinge and pointinge of the church, and mendinge of the church yate, xj s. 10 d.; to Goodwiffe Swayne, for gatheringe of Excrementes for the tiles, iij d.; to William Coldruppe, for cresses, xij d.; at Ciceter, for our appearance and deliverie of our bill, ij s.; for iij foxes heades, iij s.; for Apparell for the child, iij s. vij d.; to Adam Painter, for paintinge the ten Commandementes, and other charges, iij s.

P. 100.

1595.

Received: for breakinge the church pavement for the buriall of William Millward, vj s. 8d.

Paid: to the constable of the hundred, viij s. viij d.; to Henrie Baker, for shoes for the boy, viij d.;

^a Sessions.

^b The hundred of the county of Gloucester in which Minchinhampton is situate.

^c Query, "the asking money;" money which the parishioners were solicited to contribute towards the parochial expenses.

^d This was the ordinary fee for an interment within the church.

for shirt cloth to William Coldruppe, and the makinge, xv d.; for knyting a paire of stockinges for the boy, iij d.; layd out at the visitacion in expenses, viij s.; for a new Communion Booke and a booke of prayers for the queenes maiestie, viij s. viij d.; for making our byll, vj d.; for exhibitynge our byll, iij d.; for exhibitynge our byll of Recusantes, vj d.; for the prisoners in the kinges bench, xij d.; in expenses at Gloucester, xij d.; to Mr. Readinge for rent, iij s.; paid for the Lame Soldiars, viij d.

P. 106.

1596.

P. 107. Layd out at Tedburie for pentecost money, xvj d.; for the Articles exhibited there, xvj d.; layd out in expences at the visitacone, iij s. viij d.; payd to the preacher, vs.; to the ringars when the Lord Chandoyes came to the towne, vj d.; for gatheringe mosse, vj s.; for a bundell of lathes, viij d.; for eight cresses, xij d.; to Gregorie, for the bill [of] recusantes, ij s.; for writtinge our bills of presentment and other bylles, vj d.; for a grayes head, xij d.

P. 110.

1597.

Laid out at the visitacone, vj s. iij d.; paid for a praier book, iij d.; for mattes for the parsons seate, vj d.; for the bill of recusants, ij s.

P. 112.

1598.

Paid: to gregorie, for presentinge our bylles monthelie, xx d.; to the same, for exhibitinge of our bills of recusants, ii s.; to the same, for servinge the churchwardens of Rodborowe with prosses and the fees of the courte, ij s. iij d. Laid out the visitacion for our expences and pentecost money, vj s.; foxes heades, ij s.; a grayes head, vj d.; to goodwiffe Swaine and Henrie Baker, for ursula Browne and Holmes for ten weekes table, xl s.; Item, to the same goodwiffe Swayne and to goodwiffe powell, ij s.; Item, paid to Swaine from the beginninge of harvest vntill Michaelmas, for six weeks, vj s.; for ij shrowdes, one for him that died in the church purches and an other for Eisame, and for makinge their graues, and to marget mallard and goody Swaine, for . . ., iij s. iij d.; for our charges and our citacon to Gloucester, and the fees of the court, being thither cited for a booke of the paraphrase, iij s.; Item, paid for a forfett and not for wearinge of Cappes, iij s. viij d.; paid for sendinge in of the articles at Gloucester, iij d.; paper for the Register booke, ij d.

P. 116.

1598.

P. 117. Paid: for ouer Register Booke in parchment, xj s. 2d.; for the writtinge of the same accord- inglie, 10s.; to Frenche, for iij foxx heads, iij s.; at Tedburie, for pentecost money and our expences there, vj s. viij d.; at Gloucester, for the minister and churchwardens, and their expences there, iij s. iij d.; to Aparitour, for our Articles from the Lord Archebishop, xx d.; to Gregorie, for prosses for the parishe of Rodborow, xvj d.; for ouer bills of presentment for none recusantes at the Assisses and exhibiting, xiiij d.; for Cradacke's shrowd, xvij d.

P. 118.

1599.

Paid: to John Flowar, for keepinge the clocke, vj s. viij d.; to the said John, for writtinge a copie of the Register booke for iij yeeres, to Gloucester, viij d.; Gregorie, thapparitour, for exhibiting our

bill, vj d.; for a foxxe head, xij d.; for a nother foxxe head, xij d.; Gregorie, for cariage and deliurye of our bill, xiiij d.; laid out at Gloucester, for deliueringe our bill and our charges and also to Gregorie, ij s.; for gatheringe of mosse . . . ; to a preacher the third sundaie after Easter, ij s.; for a foxxe heid, xij d.; for deliueringe upp of our bill at gloucester, xv d.; for a foxxe head and a graies head, ij s.; for mending the communion table, iiij d.; for a nother foxxe head, xij d.; for a skyn of parchent, vj d.

P. 122.

1600.

P. 123. Paid: for the maimed souldiars for iiij years, viij s. vij d.; to the preacher, at the request of our neighbors, ij s.; to the Apparitor, for our billes of recusantes, ij s.; to the highe constable, toward the maimed soldiars for one halfe year, ij s. j d.; at the visitacon, for pentecost money, xv d.; for the presentinge of our bill, xvj d.; our expences at the visitacon, iiij s.; to good wiffe halle, for vij quartes and halfe a pinte of wine, vij s. iiij d.; for xxiiij^{the} quartes of wine at Ciceter, xx s.; to George Hill, for bread, xiiij d.; for paper, j d.; more for mendinge the pyne ende tables of the churche, xij d.

P. 126.

1601.

Paid: for bread and wine, xxviij s.; for an otter's head, xij d.; for making one rafter and a stone crest, xij d.; for iiij bushells of malte, ix s.; to the high Constables man, xij d.; ij graies heads, ij s.; for iiij bushells of Lymes, ij s.

P. 130.

1602.

Paid: for a booke of Statutes, ij s. ij d.; for exhibiting our bill at Gloucester, xj d.; to William Hill, for gatheringe of mosse, xij d.; for writinge the names of Buriall, christeninges, and weddinges, ij yeares, xvj d.; to Gregorye, for the first Bill, viij d.; at Tedburie, pentecost money and our expences at the visitacon and exhibitinge our billes there, viij s.; to the Constable, for castle money and maymed souldiars, vij s. ij d.; for a brieffe directed from my L. Byshoppe, iiij s.; to goodwiffe Hall, for wine to serue the communion, xxxij s. vj d.; paid againe the Castle money and for maymed souldiars, vij s. ij d.; to Gregory, for ij bills more, xij d.; the ringars on the Queenes day, iiij s.; for writing and castinge our accomptes, xviij d.

P. 132.

1603.

Received: of the Communicantes at Ester, xviiij s. x d.; of the inhabitantes towards the mayntenance of the churche, iiij li. iiij s. iiij d.; Item, for the churche stuffe, for the pewter, xxvj s. vj d.; for the best panne, xxxiiij s.; for the two broches and the payre of rackes, xx s. iiij d.; for the furnace and the other panne, xxxxxv s. iiij d.; for the pott, x s.; for a peece of lead of the waite of xix pounds, ij s. iiij d.

Paid: layd out to a preacher, ij s.; for foxe heades and grayes heades, v s.; our expences and paid at the visitation, v s. vj d.; for wine to serve the communions, xxxij s.; for bread for the communions, xiiij d.; for the carriages of lead and expences, viij s.; for the carrage of timber, xxiij d.; for nayles, iiij s. j d.; for boordes, iiij s. iiij d.; for carpenders and masons worke, xvj s. vj d.; for a bowshell of lyme, vj d.; for the cariage of stone, viij d.; to the plummers, for newe lead and the exchainge of

lead, and their wages, xvij li. vj s.; for the drawinge of the lead up the church, vj d.; to Gregory, and expences at the Chancellors Court in shewte, &c., ix s.; to Thomas Ockfort, for keping the bels, . . .; to wardes the maymed souldiers, iiij . . .; for wine at Christid, xvij d.

P. 134.

1604.

Paid the ringars, iiij s.; the castell money, v s.; for maimed souldiers, ij s. ij d.; for wine and for breade for the communion all this yeare, xxxv s. viij d.; to Gregory, and for our own charges at Tedbury, xij d.; for the making the church stiele and walle, iiij s.; to Gregory, for a breffe in printe, iiij d.; at the visitation at Tedbury, for our charges, articles, and penticost money, vj s. vj d.; for the keepinge of the clocke, vj s. viii d.; for the communion booke, iiij s.; at Tedbury, at the laste visitation, ij s. j d.; for maymed souldiers, xij d.; the ringers on Saynt James day, ij s. ij d.;^a for castell money, v s.; for a booke of the constitutions and canons, and to Gregory for the warning thereof, xxij d.

P. 138.

1606.

Paid: for wine for the communicantes, vij s. vj d.; for writting a note out of the register book and for parchment, xvij d.; to John Gregory for our artickles, xvj d.; for the presenting of our byll, xvj d.; for pentecoste money, . . .; at the visitation at Tedbury in expences, vj s.; to the high constable for castell money, and for maymed souldiers, x s.; for the cushian for the pulpet, iiij s.; for the commandements and the degrees of mariage, xvij d.; for boordes, and for making of them, and for setting on the tables of the commandementes, xvij d.; for makeinge a forme at the church howsse, xij d.; for mendinge of the church-hay wall, xij d.; to the ringars at Saint James tyde, and one the 24th day of March,^b vj s. viij d.; layd out at Gloucester, when we wer excommunicated for our not appearing when wee wer not warned to appeere, vj s. viij d.; Item, at another tyme we wer warned to appear at Gloucester to answer for that our cushian for the pulpett was not prepared, and ther we payd to the officers and for our charges ij s. viij d.; Item, wee were warned to apeare before the justices at Ciseter, to answere to such thinges as we were charged withall, where our expences was xvj d.; Item, at another tyme, at Strood, we were warned to appeere before the justices, and ther our expences was viij d.; for mending of the serples, and for cloth, viij d.; for the carriage of new lead from Gloucester, ij s. vij d.; for the drawing up of the leades to the upper ruffe,^c xij d.; for the taking downe of the crosse, vj s.; for an ocke, ix s. viij d.; for wine for the communicantes at this easter, xvj s. iiij d.; for a ringe to hange the table of the commandements one, and for mendinge of an yrone for the clocke, iiij d.

P. 142.

1608 AND 1609.

Paid: William Rinar for work and paving, and for mendinge the weather cocke, 14s.; for two iron barrs for the chappell window, 2s.; the castell money, and for maymed soulders for a yeare and a halfe, 28s.; layd out in charges at two vysitations, 21s.; to Seryvine the somner, 12d.; for writtinge out of the register for to send to Gloucester, two tymes, 16s.; for a coard that Rymar hath, 10d.

^a In honour of the new sovereign, James I.^b The day of the accession of James I.^c roof.

P. 144.

1610.

Received for lead sould to the glasser of Strowd, iij s. vj d.

Laid out att the visitation att Tedbury, ix s. vj d.; more for puting in oure bill of presentmentes, xij d.; for a claper for the grett bell, viij s.

P. 146.

1611.

Receved of the inhabitaunce towardes the mayntynance of the church, lj s. j d.

Laid out to the visitation att Tedbury, ix s. vj d.; for mossing the church house, xij s. viij d.; for writting the register book, viij d.; for writting a copy of the register book, and for parchement, xvij d.; the ringers, the 24 day of March, j s. vj d.; for the canypy and the pillpit, and the dixt,^a xxvj s. viij d.; to Lidiat to goe to tedbury, iij d.

P. 148.

1612.^b

Paid: for two visitations, 18 s.; cunstaple of this hundred for one yeare, for castle money and souldiars, 1 l. 7 s. 4 d.; payd William Skerton for his wages ringing, ringing of the winter bell, for two fox heades, for writing and parchement, and for money he payd for the cloke and timber, 1 l. 5 s.; Thomas Holiday and Thomas Cox for charges they were at at the quarter sessions for answearing the mearcement of the hie wayes, 10 s.; for making a laft in the Tower for birdes gistes, and for one new lader, and for wronginge the other two, . . . ; for the church bible and caridge, . . . ; for a booke of prayer for the C

P. 151.

1613.

Layd out at the visitation, 10 s.; for the wethercock, 1 l. 0 s. 0 d.; to answer the court at Gloster twise, 5 s.; for castell money, 1 l. 7 s. 4 d.; to put in our presentments, 3 s.; to put in our presentments, and to make up the money for saint albones, 3 s.; ingrossing the register booke, and send it in the last yeare and now, 3 s.; for wine, 1 l. 7 s. 4 d.

P. 154.

1614.

Laid out at the visitacyon, ix s.; for a belle rope, 4 s.; att Siciter att the Courte, ij s. iv d.; att Glociter att the court, ij s. ij d.; wight lether, and mending the bathreeicks of the belles, ij s. ij d.; for writting paper, j d.; ropes for the cloke, wier and lede, x s. vj d.; for mending the cloke, x s. ij d.; for writing oure laste presentment and putting it up, j s. x d.; washing the clothes this tow yeares, j s.; the clarke, for helping the bellfoundar when he sett up the belles, ij s.; to the

P. 156. survaier of the church, ij s. vj d.; for vhegoes heds, x d.

P. 158.

1615.

At the visitacone, and in expences, and at the returne of the visitacone, 9 s. 8 d.; 4 belropes, 16 s. 8 d.; bringing them from bristolle, 6 d.; for 3 dayes work and a halfe for mending the belles, 3 s. 6 d.; to the Clark, for ringing the bell, 13 s. 4 d.; washing the surples, 4 d.

^a Reading-desk.

^b This is the first account all the items of which are entered in Arabic numerals.

P. 160.

1617.

At the visitacione, 8 s. 4 d.; for winde,^a 1 s. 9 d.; mendinge the wall about the churchyarde, and the stille,^b 6 s. 6 d.; the lord bishopes man, for survaieing the churche, 3 s.; the deliveringe in of our presentmentes, 2 s.; mendinge the beare,^c 1 s.

P. 162.

1618.

Visitation, 7 s. 6 d.; next court, 2 s.; for tilling, 1 l. 6 s. 2 d.; for gathering of moos, 3 s.; for caring of two load of tiells, 2 s.; for a ston, and setting of hin up, 2 s. 10 d.; for wien, 1 l. 8 s. 10 d.; for bred, 2 s. 6 d.

P. 165.

1620.^d

Received of Richarde Deane, for the ould surples, v s.; Paid, for hollon for the surplis, and making, xxxv s. x d.; at the visitation at Tedbury, viij s. x d.; for a communion table, x s.; for mending the great ble [*sic*] iij s.; the parritor, viij d.; the parriter, xvj d.

P. 166.

1621.^e

Payd for a pulpet cosheon, 7 s. 2 d.; for many wopes heads, 1 s. 6 d.; at a visitation, 9 s. 2 d.; and for fees and expences, being called to Gloucester courte, 3 s. 4 d.; also payd to register for puting in our bell of berieall, carsnenges, and weddenges, 18 d.; for bread and wine, 2 l. 18 s. 5 d.

P. 167.

1622.

Our charges at Gloucester, iij s.; to the sumner, for putting in a bill of presentment, and for the fees of court, j s. viij d.; for ringers on the Kinges holidayes, v s.; being called to Gloucester, our charges and fees of courte, v s. v d.; the cervaier of the church, ij s. vj d.; laid out at the visitation, ix s. x d.; for writing the regester bill and parchment, ij s.; to the somner, for deliuering in of the same bill into the office, ij s. ij d.; for a booke of constitutions, j s. iij d.

P. 169.

1623.

Paid: for the communion Booke, 7 s.; at Gloucester, for fees at court and our dinners, 2 s. 6 d.; to one that had a passe,^f 1 s. 6 d.; to the parriter, for coort fees, 1 s. 6 d.

P. 171.

1624.

Payd: to Moses Beaten, for newe castinge of sixe sheets of lead, and for three hundred of new leade, 6 l. 14 s. 8 d.; for wine, 2 l. 12 s. 6 d.; for carrying the lead to Cissiter, and bringing of it againe, 7 s. 6 d.; to William Rimer, for a days worke, 1 s.; to Nicholas Dorbye, for a days worke, 8 d.;

^a Wine.

^b Stile.

^c Bier.

^d This account is entitled that of "The Churchwardens for the yeare 1619," but it is that of the receipts and payments for 1620.

^e Entitled the account of 1622.

^f A licence to pass from town to town soliciting contributions on the way.

for healping the lead downe, and drawing of it up againe, 1 s. 4 d.; for our denners at Cissiter, 1 s. 6 d.; for a boord to laye under the lead, 6 d.; for coorde, oyle, and candles, and nayles, 2 s.; for a new bell rope, 3 s. 8 d.; to Gloucester, for fees and charges, 3 s. 6 d.; again, 3 s.; again, 3 s.; again, 3 s.; to souldiers as had passes, 1 s.; for writing the parchment rowle, 1 s. 6 d.; for delivering in the parchment rowle, 1 s. 4 d.; layd out at the visitation, 10 s.

P. 173.

1625.

Paid: at first visitation at Tedbery, 4 s. 9 d.; for wine, 2l. 14 s. 3 d.; for a payse [sic] roope, 6 s.; for a briffe, 1 s.; for a book to be read in the church in the fast time, 1 s.; for makeing a key and mend the chest, 8 d.; mending the communion tabel, 6 d.; for carrying our presentments and delivering in, 3 s. 2 d.; expences at Glocester, 1 s.; at last visitation at Tedbery, 11 s.

P. 174.

1626.

To iij souldyeris that had a brife, 4 s.; for bread and wine, 2l. 17 s.; wine, 10 s. 6 d.; for ij bookes and to delyveringe presentmentes and expenses at Gloster, 8 s. 4 d.

P. 175.

1627.

Layd owte att Gloucester for the receiuinge of the bill of presentment and a copie of the registers booke, 1 s.; to an Irisheman that had a pass, 1 s.; too souldiers, 2 s.; to the chancelor, and my expences at Gloucester, 2 s.; to a woman that had a pass, 6 d.; for ringing upon the kinges hollyday, 1 s. 2 d.; to the paritour for receiuinge the bill of presentment, 1 s. 4 d.; to a woman that had a pass, 6 d.; to Thomas Wood, for surveyinge of the Churche, 1 s.; too souldiers that had a pass, 6 d.; to a man that travelled by a pass, 6 d.; again, 4 d.; again, 6 d.; one pecke and a half line, 1½ d.; ingrossinge of the registers booke, 2 s.; deleveringe in of the coppie of the registers booke, 1 s. 4 d.; too bookes for the faste, 2 s.; bread and wine, 4l. 0 s. 4 d.; layd out a visitacion, 9 s.; another time at Gloucester, 2 s. 8 d.

P. 178.

1628.

Received: of the inhabitants, towards the repaying of the church, 29l. 14 s. 9 d.

Layd out at the visitacion at Tedbury, for receiving of bill of presentment, and for penticost money, iij s. iij d.; at the court at Gloucester, ij s. viij d.; the mason for mendinge the Tower, xvj li.; the plumber, for new lead and casting old lead, vij li. x s.; 21 October 1628, for kings bench and marshalsey for one yeare and a half, for distresse and acquittance, i li. iij s.; to poore Irish men and woemen, vj d.; for setting in corball stones, xiiij s.; to a persecuted minister of Alexandria, vj d.; for the transcript, and for making a band, ij s. vj d.; for our dinner at the visitacion, v s.; two bookes for the fast, for receiving the transcript, and apparatours fee, iij s. vj d.; for our bill of presentment, ij s. viij d.; for chardge at Gloucester, ij s.

P. 179.

1629.

Paid: for penticoste, 3 s.; expences att Cirencester, att Mr. Archdeacons court, 1 s. 10 d.; for delivering a bill of presentment, 1 s. 4 d.; delivering in at Gloucester two billes of presentment, 2 s. 8 d.; expences at visitacion at Tedburie, 9 s.; a matt for the pulpitt, 3 d.

P. 181.

1630.

Layd out att Tedburie, att the visitacion, 10 s.; for penticoste, 2 s. 8 d.; to Edward Addames and Gyles Masson, high constables, for the kinges prison and marshaldrie, castle monie, and mayned souldiers, 1 li. 17 s. 8 d.; to three ministres, 4 s. 6 d.; for too prayer bookes for the queenes safety, 1 s.; charges at Cirenster, att the Archdeacons courte, 3 s.

P. 185.

1632.

To tooe brifes, 1 s. 7 d.; for a table of consanguinitie and frame, 6 d.; for ringing the eight a clock bell, 5 s.; more for a brife, 8 d.;

P. 186.

[In the year 1633, there are the first entries respecting the appropriation of sittings]:—

Memorandum that, in the yeare 1633, Jeremie Buck, se[nior], ded, at hes owne proper cost and charge, build two seates for himselfe and his succeeding posteritye on the north side of the churche of menchenhampton, next aboue the seate of Mrs. Joane Fletcher; and ded geve vnto the Churchwardens then, for the rome wheron these two seates stande, two shillings of currant moneye, and this we, the churchwardens, whose names are vnderwritten, doe allow of.

STEVEN WOOD, and
CHARLES PYNFOLD.

Memorandum that, in the year 1633, Mrs. Joane Flatcher did, att her owne proper coase and chargis, erected and bilt a new seate for her self and her daughter under the north syde of and in the parrish church of Minchinhampton, to bee and belonging unto her dwelling house neare the crosse in Minchinhampton aforesayd, next adjoyning to Jeremy Buckes new seate theare erected. This a loued of by wee,

STEVEN WOOD, &
CHARLES PYNFOLD, Churwarden.

[In the same year 4 persons paid 5 s. "a man" to the churchwardens "fore the next seate, except one, as wee cum in att the possian^a dore, for they and every of them and theyre eyres for euer."

In 1635, 4 persons paid 12 pence for a new seat, erected on the right hand of "the presession dore."]

1633.

P. 187.

Payd: for a corde of wood, 8 s.; for one dayes woork for the church, 6 d.; for 2 bell ropes, 5 s. 4 d.; for penticost and the booke of artickells, 2 s. 8 d.; the vesitor of the church to see the repara-tions, 2 s.

P. 188.

1634.

Payed: for the booke of artickells and penticost, 2 s. 8 d.; to Roger Purdey, for casting of the five new belles, and the timber, with the macking of all the new frames and all other the appurtenanties belonging to the belles and frames, except the ropes, 60l.; Mr. Taylor, of Bristoll, for ropes, 8 s.; for two hundred pounds of mettell for the belles, 10l. 12 s.; for wrighting of the rate

^a Query, 'procession;' the door used on occasions of the old ante-reformation processions round the church.

for the belles, and the parchment, 2 s. 6 d.; Mr. Brothers, for macking of the bond and covenants for purdey, the belfounder, to performe, 2 s. 6 d.; our expencis at Bristoll, when wee bought the mettell, 5 s. 2 d.; the carrig of the mettell from Bristoll to Horsly, and our horse heyer, 9 s. 4 d.; chargis att Horsly for meate and drinke for oure selves when the belles weare cast, and att the fetching of hem home, 8 s. 9 d.; for the booke of cannons and consitutions, 1 s. 4 d.; for mending the surplis, and the cloth, 1 s. 6 d.; for riding of the Tower, 4 s.; for j lock for the Tower dore, 2 s. 6 d.; for mending of the Clocke, 1 l.; mending of the Church windowes, 18 s.; 4 bushells of line, 2 s. 8 d.; our expencis when wee went before our Lorde Bishop, being sent for by prosses, 7 s. 10 d.; for the destroying of noysum foule and varments, 14 s.; for bordes, matting, and markeing of the seates att the lower end of the church for the officers to sitt in, besides the 20 s. that Francis Manning [and three others] payd for the foremost of the two, 7 s. 4 d.; for the parrator, for the booeke of libberteyes, 4 d.; for ringing of the 8 aclock bell, 8 s.; for ringing the Gunpouderson day, 3 s.; macking of the cover of the beare and the timber, 4 s.

[Lord Windsor contributed 10 l. towards the new casting of the bells. The following undertaking occurs at fol. 186]:—

I doe give, out of my rents of minchinhampton, to bee payd by my bailife of that maner att the next receipt, toward the mackinge and new castinge of the belles in y^t church, the some of ten pound; in wittnesse whereof, I have sett to my hand this 15th day of may, 1633.

THOMAS WINDESOR.

P. 190.

1635.

Received: for breaking up of the church for Hancockes grave, 6 s. 8 d.

Layd out at Painswicke, for my expencis for placing apprentices, 1 s.; Payd at Gloucter, for two severall times, for our fees and our expencis, 12 s.; for the booke of Homilies and for the booke of Canons, 7 s.; for the pulpett cloth, 1 l. 17 s. 1 d.; for a flagon for the communion table, 12 s. * * ; for a briffe for fier, 6 d.

P. 191.

Allowance of a seat "next the middle ally."

[From 1634 there is a continued annual entry in the receipts of, "Receaved of the rates," or "upon the rate."]

P. 192.

1635.

Receved: of the rate, 13 l. 19 s. 8 d.

Paid: for makeinge a terriall of the glibe lands, and caringe it in, 3 s. 5 d.; at Gloucester court, for expences and fees, 3 s. 2 d.; the 2^d tyme, for expences and fees, 4 s. 6 d.; the 3rd tyme, for expences and fees, 1 s. 7 d.; the 4th tyme, for expences and fees, and the sydesmens charges there, 9 s. 4 d.; the 5th tyme, for expences and fees, 4 s. 4 d.; at visitation, the 17th November, 12 s. 1 d.; to the vissitor of the church, 5 s.; for washinge and paintinge the church, 5 l. 17 s. 3 d.; for rayleinge the chancell, 1 l. 7 s. 8 d.

P. 193.

1636.

Received: upon the rate, 43 l. 0 s. 2 d.

Paid: at the visitation, for fees and expences, 15 s. 6 d.; for fees and expences at several courtes, 1 l. 2 s. 2 d.; ringer, on the 5th of November, 4 s.; on the kinges birth day, 1 s.; for the bookes

for the fast, 2 s.; given to two souldiers, vpon the Lord Windsors motion, 1 s.; given Tho. Newell, being sick, 6 d.; a poore gent., by Mr. Fowlers approbation, 2 s. 6 d.; to a Scottish gent. with a passe, having lost 800 l. p. fire, 2 s.; to three Irish gentlewomen, 1 s.;^a the booke of Comon praier, 8 s. 3 d.; the mendinge of the pulpitt, 1 l.; to Rich. Helder, for buildinge and mendinge and stone for the porch, 2 l. 5 s. 8 d.; a labourer to help him, 9 dayes and an half, 7 s. 1 d.; for pulling downe the porch and for leadd, 1 s. 9 d.; mending the church path, 8 d.; the booke of Cannons, 1 s. 2 d.; to the plomer, 30 l. 10 s.; divers workmen, who wrought with the plomer att all tymes, paid 1 l. 8 s. 1 d.; to Wm. Barnfield to helpe the plomer, one day, 1 s.

P. 198.

1637.

Received: upon the rate, 13 l. 11 s.

Paid: for a hood, j li. 1 s. 8 d.; for the new seate, 3 l. 2 s.; for writinge the trancescripte and for parchmente, and for keepinge our acomptes and castinge of it upp, 10 s.; at Ester session, for takinge of an indightmente, x s.

P. 200.

1639.

Laid out: at visitation, 10 s. 10 d.; att Dursley, 2 s. 4 d.; for charge a Dursley, 1 s. 8 d.; for deliveringe in the transcript, and for the booke of articles, 1 s. 2 d.; laid out at perambulation, 1 s. * *.

P. 201.

Received: for bread and wine in the yeare 1638, 4 l. 13 s. 6 d.; Do., 1639, 4 l. 12 s. 5 d.

Laid out for the kings prayer, 4 d.; at perambulation, 3 s.; for charge at Painsweeke, 1 s.; for ringinge the 5 of November, 1 s. 6 d.; for the kinges proclamation, 4 d.

P. 204.

ACCOUNT from 1639 to 1646.

Att the visitation at Tedbury, 13 s.; gave the parritor, 8 d.; gave to a greate company of Irish, 4 s.; for ringing the bell to holiday, 10 s.; for bread and wine, more then was received in foure yeare, 2 l. 10 s.; for a new bell wheele, 13 s.; for killinge of vermintes at times, 2 s.; for a bell roope, 3 s. Summe laide out is, 9 l. 18 s. 9 d.

Received of the inhabbitance, 4 l. 8 s. 4 d.; the like, in the yeare 1646, 5 l. 0 s. 8 d.

1647.

Att the 4 Sessions, 1 l. 9 s. 4 d.; paid the clerke, towards 3 or 4 years wagges, 1 l. 4 s.; for bread and wine, more then wee gathered, 1 l. 8 d.

P. 207.

Another ACCOUNT for 1646.

Rec^d of a rate, after 6 monethes of the poore, towards repaire of the churche: Imprimis, in the circuit of Hide, Chaford, Bourne, Brimscomb, and that side the parish, 4 l. 7 s. 10 d.; Item, in the circuit of the towne only, 4 l. 3 s.; Item, rec^d upon a second rate, after 6 monethes of the poore, towards repaire of the church, 9 l. 9 s. 6 d: toto, 18 l. 0 s. 4 d. This rec^d by me, Jere Bvck. Rest of this last 6 monthes to be gathered by the next churchwardens, it beinge by goode men, 1 l. 15 s. 8 d.

^a There are many other donations of this class during this and subsequent years.

The rest part of the parish, being Forwood, Longford, Nailsworth, Sinclo, &c. was gathered by Edward Pinfolde, the now churchwarden, &c.

P. 208. Payd: Richard Latham, for 7 dayes, with a man, 14 s.; the wheleman, for 2 wheles, &c. [for the clock], 1l. 5 s.

P. 209.

ACCOUNT for 1648 and 1649.

Payed: constable of the hundred for the quarter sessions, 2l. 0 s. 3 d.; charges of law betwixt Rodburrowe and us att severall times, 2l. 1 s.; to poore travillers, to helpe them on their journeys, 17 s.; three bell ropes, 13 s. 2 d.; three warrants to the justices clarks to distraine, 3 s.; for setting of the pulpitt in repayer, 2l. 13 s.; the plumber for his lead, souder, and worke, 7 l. 15 s.; to a poore widdow, 6 d.; to a poore minnister, 2 s.; poore Irish people, 3 s.; 3 poore soldiers, 1 s.; a poore minnisters wife with a childe, 2 s.; a poore widdow and 4 small children, 1 s.; to a minnister's wife out of the West Indes, 2 s.

P. 210.

1650.

Payed: to the high constables for the kings [*sic*] bench and marshalsy, 1 l. 12 s. 6 d.; towards the house of correction, 14 s.; the ringers ringing upon thanksgiveing day, 8 s.; to the joyner and the smith for the new beare and mending the ould, 1 l. 19 s.; for j table cloth, 8 s. 6 d.; for the burying of the straing man, y^t dyed in y^e feilde, 1 s. 6 d.; for mending of the church bible, 12 s. 8 d.; Francis Maning for his cushioning, 2 s. 6 d.; the justice clark for conviction warrants, 2 s.

Rec^d for one grave beeing made in the church, 5 s.

P. 216.

1651.

Payd: the upper bench and marshallsy, at the fower quarter sessions, 1 l. 14 s. 8 d.; towards the new bridewell at Gloucester, 13 s.; Charles Pynfold and Nathaniel Webb for theyr charge, and gettinge an order from seshions for Rodbrough, 13 s. 4 d.; for a second order about the same buysnes, 2 s. 6 d.; for expence at severall seshions about Rodbrough, 1 l.; attornies fees, twice, 6 s. 8 d.; five new belropes, 9 s. 8 d.; for a new wethercock, 2 s.; for ringinge the bell at 4 and 8 alocke, the winter quarter, 8 s.; for stones, and makinge a chimnie in the chansell for the scoole, 6 s. 3 d.; pay for the poore, &c., 1 l. 16 s.

P. 218.

1652.

Paid: Thomas Avery, the plumber, 20 l. 9 s.; for the scaffolds, 1 l. 11 s.; for a cay for the chest, 1 s. 4 d.; for an ell of cloth, 1 s. 3 d.

P. 220.

1653.

Paid: for a kay for the church dore, 1 s.

Received: of Richard Davis, due to us from Rodborow, 5 l.; of Edward Arndell and Will. Perrie, for breaking open the church,^a 12 s. 8 d.

P. 222.

1654.

Paid: at the 2 sessions, and for an order concerninge Rodborows busines, 9 s. 6 d.

^a *i. e.*, breaking up the pavement of the church for an interment.

P. 224.

1655.

Payd: for ringing of the winter bell, 15 s.; to 2 poore men that had the great seale,^a 2 s.

P. 227.

The 29^o day of September, 1657.

By the consent of the minister and others the parishners of the parish, the difference betweene Danniell Gilman and Anthony Keene, concerning the seate, was heard, and Anthony Keene had notice by Henry Elshew to bee here, and wee find the seate to bee Long to Danniell Gilman and others, and that the seate bee set in the same forme as formerly, to pas cleane through the seate.

P. 230.

1657.

Payd: to the high constables for the kings [*sic*] bench and marshalsy, and maymed soldiers, for the whole yeare, 1 l. 14 s. 8 d.; for one book called an Act for the better observation of the Lord's Day, 1 s.; the ringer for ringing on y^e 5^o of November, 2 s.

P. 232.

1658.

Payd: for y^e Kings Bench, &c., and ringing on the 5th November, as before; by the consent of the parishners, to a poore minnister, 5 s.; to poore distressed people that weare travellers all the last yeare, 5 s. 4 d.; at Midsummer Sessions, for one order 2 s. 6 d., and oath 4 d., and 14 d. spent about Rodburrow, 4 s.; to Sargent Minor for his counsell, j li., concerning Rodburrow busines, 1 l.

Receaued of Mr. Sam. Sheppard, from the sessions, as conviction money for profaning of the Lords day by Robbert Woodroff and Edward Trevis, the somm of 6 s. 8 d., and this money payd, to the Widdow Mills, 2 s., and to various other persons in smaller sums.

P. 234.

April 23, 1660 [misplaced].

Appointment by the parishioners of John Horrell to be parish clerk, "hee to ringe the bell for the winter quarter as usuall."

P. 238.

1660.

Paied Thomas Smith for makeing the Communion Table, 4 s. 4 d.

P. 240.

1661.

Payd: Richard Bayly, for payntinge the kinges armes, 2 l. 15 s.; for two acts of parliament and prayer booke, 3 s. 10 d.; the ringers, coronasion day and gunpowder treson, 5 s.

P. 242.

1662.

Charg at the two visitations and dinners, 8 s. 10 d.; a table of consanguinitie, 1 s. 3 d.; a common prayer booke, 10 s.; an houer glass, 8 d.; remouing the font, with the lime and stone, 8 s.; for the clarke sete, 9 s.; pentecost money, with charg about it, 4 s.; 39 articles and the cannons, 1 s. 6 d.; charg about the lecture, 1 l. 10 s.; bread and wine for the communion, 2 l. 9 s. 5 d.; binding the register boocke, 2 s. 6 d.; painting the diall, 2 s. 6 d.; the paritor, for a booke, 6 d.;

^a An order or pass under the great seal.

2 plates for the communion table, 2 s. 3 d.; 10 eles of Holan for the surplis, 3 l.; making, washing, and bringing the surplis, 12 s. 6 d. Total, 18 l. 5 s. 1 d.

Rec. of the inhabitants by rate, 22 l. 4 s. 6 d.

P. 246.

1663.

Payd: at visitation to the register and fees, 3 s. 4 d.; the parrator for his fees, 6 d.; the Archdeacon for pentecost, and the acquittance, 1 s. 4 d.; for the booke of artickles, 6 d.; beare for the ringers, the 29th of May, 1663, 1 s. 6 d.; for a hood, 1 l. 12 s. 4 d.; the parrator, for 2 proclamations, 1 s.; ringing, 5th of November, 1 s. 6 d.; wrighting out of the register booke for 4 yeares past, 4 s.; for board, and for mending the possession doore, 5 s. 6 d.; for one bell rope, 5 s. 4 d.; for 1 yeard of rebbond for Jonathan Harris his child, that haue the kings evill, 5 d.

P. 248.

1664.

Payd: 2 silk stringes for Jonathan Harris his boy, 7 d.; the high constables att the 4 quarter sessions, for the kings bench and marshalsy, 2 l. 12 s.; a silke stringe for Josiph Mayoos childe, 3 d.; 2 belropes, and carridg of them, 6 s.; for beare for Hiller boy, being sick of the pox, 10 d.; the parrator j booke for the fast, 1 s.; John Horrell one dayes work, 1 s.; a new vane for the clock, 5 s.

P. 249.

Memerandom, in the yeare 1664; That I, John Manning, of the parish, hath erected And biled Won seat, vpon his own Cost And charg, for his wife and famely, or Aney wothr persons As him shall plase ther Being, and having The Anchent Rite And Titell to that seat. This seate standing and gooying to the pillow That stand Neare vnto poorch Dooare vpon the Lift hand As wee doe com in, and see Recheth from that pillow to the vant in that Allow; this consented And granted and plased By the Churchwarddons.

P. 250.

1665.

Payd: at the visitation to the Register for the pentecost, the booke of articles, an oath, and other fees, 7 s. 8 d.; expences at visitation, 6 s.; for to silke stringes for to children, . . .

P. 255.

1666.

Payd: the high constable towards the setting vpp the beacon, 6 s.; the ringers for ringing upon the thanksgiving day, the 23rd day of August, for beateing of the Duch,^a 2 s.; Thomas Jenkins, for mossing the Ile, and the Clarke for helping of him, 6 s.; towards the mending of Chepstows bridge, 13 s.; for wall plates, 30 foot and $\frac{1}{2}$, att 6 d. a foote, 15 s. 3 d.; 70 foote of Jyests for the leades, att 2 d. a foote, 11 s. 8 d.; ringing on the kings holliday, 3 s. 6 d.; for the beaken, 2 s.

P. 257.

1667.

Paid: for ribbond for a poore child y^t had the evill, 9 d.; to a poore minnister, 2 s.

^a The destruction of a fleet of merchantmen and the town of Brandaris in the island of Schelling, by Sir Robert Holmes.

P. 260.

1668.

Julij 15, Giuen unto James Aingell, a pore man, whose lose was certified for him from the com^{rs} att Westmister to be 7000l., 2 s.; the same time, given unto Margret Lambert and Mary Ashton, widdows, theyer lose by theyer certificat 2000l., 2 s.;^a to the parrater, for a booke and fees, 5 s.

P. 262.

1669.

Payd: att visitation for fees of the court and our dinner, 1 l. 1 s. 6 d.; the booke of articles, 6 d.; for a silke string for Joseph Mayo's daughter that hath the Kinges evill, 7 d.; the 5th November to the ringers, 2 s.; for 5 ropes for the bells, 1 l. 4 s.; the cunstable for the 4 quarter sessions, 2 l. 12 s.; mending of the dyall over the church porch, 6 d.; for one bell wheele, 14 s.; for one hour glass, 1 s.; bred and wine at the sacraments, 2 l. 6 s. 2 d.; for parchmen to make the transcript, and the rate, 1 s.; for wrighting the transcript and the rate, and makeing upp of all our accompt, 7 s.

Received upon the rate of the Inhabitants, 11 l. 19 s.; at the time of receauing of the Sacrament towards the bred and wine, 13 s. 10 d.

P. 263.

Mamorandum: thatt y^e Geallery in y^e Church of Minching hampton was bilt in y^e year 1670 by William Nickolls and George Smalle then Churchwardens, att thair owen propper cost and charges, And is for thair owen ues And thos whom they lett it vnto for ever,

(signed)

WILLIAM NICKOLLS }
GEORGE SMALLE } Churchwardens.

September the first day, 1671: Reseued of Samuell Barnfield y^e some of twenty shillings in full, being for y^e purches of rouse for to persons to seitt in the seakond saett att the coming into the gallery in Hampton church of the right hand, and is to be his riet for ever.

Witnesse my hand, GEORGE SMALLE.

7th June, 1680: sale to John Fowler, broadweaver, of "two seat roomes in the gallery at Hampton, in the backermost seat."

P. 264.

1670.

Paid: the constables for the repairing of the bridges, 9 s.; for presentments, and a booke of articels and other fees, 7 s. 8 d.; for a new comunion table, 16 s.; for a cerpet cloth, 1 l.; for ringing, crownashon day, 3 s.; a bell rop, 4 s. 6 d.

P. 265.

May the 12th, 1672: receued of the Churchwardin for the breife of Ligrave in the pish of Luton in the com. of Bedford, 9 s. 8 d. ob.

WILLIAM PALMER, Collector.

P. 266.

1671.

Payd: Francis Maning, for a dayes woork wth plow, and for ale 6 d., 6 s. 6 d.; washing the surplis three times, 4 s. 6 d.; the parrater, for a boock consarning a fast day, 1 s.

^a Losses by the Fire of London.

P. 270.

1672.

Paid: Edward Filder, for making the clock, 3l. 6 s.; item, paid for lead and soldering, 2l. 18 s.; timber and carpentry for the clock, 7 s.; washing the surplus, 4 s. 6d.; setting up the desk in the chancell whereon the two books are chained, 8 d.; a booke of articles, 1 s.; for the apparitors warrant, 1 s.; five new bell ropes, and the carriage, 16 s.; a riband for Joseph Mayers daughter, 5 d.

P. 272.

1673.

Ringing on the king's holiday, 1 s.; the book of articles, 1 s.; a napkin, 1 s. 10 d.; a bason, 5 s.; a book for the fast, 1 s.

P. 274.

1674.

Rec^d.: for money gathered for a briff of Benending,^a gathered before, 18 s.

Spent: att visitation, many of the chiefe of the parish thear, 18 s.; for court fees, 7 s. 6 d.; gave Thomas Bingle, att Bath, 2 s.; for timber to stock the great bell, to Sam. Cambridge, 6 s. 6 d.; Iron worke, and other worke about the bells, 1l. 3 s. 8d.; on dier for new stocking the great bell, his work, 1l. 1 s. 6 d.; more for Iron worke about the bells, 1l. 1 s.; pore travelers, and o^r. owne pore, per Jo. Hles, 8 s. 5 d.; a days worke in the Tower, 1 s. 6 d.

P. 276.

1675.

Payd: to seuerall pore people of our parish, 3 s. 6 d.; for redeeming Perrins goods and his carriage to London, 10 s.; for a comon prayer booke, 12 s.; to the parator for a proclamation, 1 s.; to a breefe, by consent of the parish, that was not gathered, 3 s. 6 d.; for the exchanging of a bell with the inhabitants of Beverstone, 7l. 19 s. 3 d.

P. 277.

	Ct.
The bell that was bought at Beverstone wayed	9 0 14
Our bell that they had for him waighed	8 2 5

0 2 9 more than ours by waight,

so wee must pay for 65 li. waight of mettle, att 9 d. per pounce, is 2l. 8 s. 9 d. To pay for the exchange, 13 s. per cwt. 8 cwt. and $\frac{1}{2}$ att 13 s., 5l. 10 s. 6 d. Total, 7l. 19 s. 3 d.

P. 282.

1676.

Payd: to a briffe, not gathered, and toward 2 houses burnt, and on Longhop, 12 s. 2 d.; for Leade for the church, 10 s.; for putting it onto Trevite, for carrag, and for him and for plaistring over the gallery and washing, about the bushupe, 14 s. 6 d.; Mr. Edward Barnard, for setting broken bones for the yere, 1l.—his sonn, Mr. John Barnard, for setting Hillers shoulder, 6 s.; seven yard of linsy woolsy to hang the Bishopes seat (left it with the next churchwarding), 7 s.; washing the surplis, 2 s.; bindinge the Church Book, and putting in more paper, 3 s. 6 d.; for worke about the bells, 14 s. 4 d.; for settinge up a seate for the Bishop, 19 s. 8 d.: carrage of the bell from Beverston, 5 s.; for belropes, 1l. 8 s. 6 d.

^a The church of Benenden in Kent was destroyed by lightning on the 29th December, 1672.

P. 285. Mr. Nathaniel Ridler of Chalford, in the parish of Bisley, deceased the — day of — 1677, in his last will gave 40 s. to the poore of the parish of Minchinhampton, and was disposed of those persons underwritten. The names follow.

P. 290. 1677.

Paid two [*i.e.* to] travelyers, 11 s. 2 d.; two Samuel Aldrige, his house being burned, 4 s.; the booke of homillis, 10 s.; a booke for keepinge of y^e fast, 1 s.; to Wooten, for y^e fire, 7 s.; Brian Hathen, for warning straingers that come into our parish, 5 s.

P. 294. 1678.

Paid: for a booke to enter y^e burials in woolen, 2 s.; matts for y^e chansell, 3 s.; Mr. Williams, that preached here, 10 s.; y^e parreter, for to prayer bookes and proclamations, 3 s.

P. 301. 1681.

Given to 5 briffes by hand, 12 s.; for a boock, and his magestye declaration, 1 s. 6 d.

P. 302. 1682.

Paid: for a new sillver bowell, and for chaying y^e ould one, 4l. 12 s. 6 d.; for chainging y^e puter pllates, 1 s. 2 d.

P. 306. 1683.

Pd. for a regester booke, 10 s.

P. 312. 1686.

For the repairinge of Cainsomes Bridg,^a 13 s. 4 d.

P. 316. 1687.

Paid to the poor of the parish, and for ribbon, 1l. 8 s. 2 d.; for a common prayer book, 10 s. 6 d.; for the proclamation, and book of thanksgiving for the Queen, 1 s.

VOL. II.
P. 1.

1688.^b

To the poor of the parish, and for ribbon, 1l. 5 s.; for cutting of ettles,^c 1 s.

P. 5. 1689.

For strings for those that had the evill, 7 s. 4 d.

P. 7. 1690.

Strings for the evill, 4 s. 8 d.

P. 11. 1691.

For the kings armes and pointing the church, 6l. 6 s.; the frame of the kings arms, ironwork, and scavolds, 2l. 14 s. 2 d.; the parriter, for three prayer books, and a process, 4 s.; the pulpit

^a Keynsham.

^b From this time the accounts were entered in another book.

^c *i.e.* nettles.

cloth and cushion, lining, flocks, gallow, looping and makeing, 9l. 7 s. 6 d.; the candlestick, 3l. 5 s.; mending the communion table, 3 s.; bell ropes and a line for the candlestick. 1l. 1 s. 6 d.

P. 13.

1692.

Ribbons for the kings evil, 5 s. 3 d.; the ringers for the victory at sea and Gunpowder treson, and a day of thanksgiveing, 19 s. 2 d.; a new clock and watch, and all things belonging to it, 14l. 18 s. 8 d.

P. 17.

1693.

For casting the Bell and for the claper, 28l. 15 s. 6 d.; ribbon for the kings evill, 1 s. 1 d.;^a for Chepsters bridge, 6 s. 2 d.

P. 19.

1694.

Towards the redeeming 6 men from the Turks, 3 s.

P. 28.

1697.

* Ringing at the proclamation of peace, 5 s.

P. 34.

1701.

For wine at the proclaiming the queen, 8 s.

P. 52.

1706.

Ringing for news for the battle at Ramillis, 7 s. 6 d.; at the Thanksgiving for the Union, 5 s.

P. 74.

1713.

Ringing for the peace, 10 s.; when pease was proclaimed, 10 s.

P. 84.

1714.

To the Shrieifs Debuty at the proclayming of the king, 1l. 10 s.; wine, bear, and sider at the same time, 2l. 3 s.; the ringers the same day, 12 s.; the Trumpeter, 1 s.; for bilding of a stage at the kinges coronation, 10 s.; for Notts for the Shreife and his men at the proclaiming of the king, 2l. 11 s. 4 d.; ringers at the landing of the king, 13 s.; at the coronation, 17 s. 6 d.; on the thanksgiveing day, 17 s.; the musissioners at the coronation of the king, 7 s. 6 d.; ringers on the 5th November, 10 s.

^a These entries of ribbons for the evil are continued up to 1736.

XXXIII.—*Notices of the Last Days of Isabella, Queen of Edward the Second, drawn from an Account of the Expenses of her Household. By EDW. A. BOND, Esq. Egerton Librarian in the Department of MSS. British Museum.*

Read March 16, 1854.

THE narrative of the deposition and murder of King Edward the Second, as delivered by both early chroniclers and recent historians, so far fails to realise the full interest of its subject, that it leaves in obscurity the subsequent history of the chief mover of those fearful events. The ambitious Mortimer expiates his crimes on the scaffold. Isabella, the instigator of sedition against her king, the betrayer of her husband, survives her accomplice; but, from the moment that her career of guilt is arrested, she is no more spoken of. The name which had before been so prominent, and had moved in us such deep and changing interest, disappears at once and entirely from the narrative. It is briefly intimated that the fallen Queen passed the remainder of her days in seclusion, and we can only speculate in what spirit she bore her humiliation and met the reproaches of her conscience in her long retirement; how far her withdrawal from public life was compulsory; and whether, or to what extent, she recovered her influence over the son she had so inhumanly set against his father. After mentioning the execution of Mortimer, Froissart proceeds to tell us that "the King soon after, by the advice of his Council, ordered his mother to be confined in a goodly castle, and gave her plenty of ladies to wait and attend on her, as well as knights and esquires of honour. He made her a handsome allowance to keep and maintain the state she had been used to, but forbade that she should ever go out or shew herself abroad, except at certain times, when any shows were exhibited in the court of the castle. The Queen thus passed her time there meekly, and the King, her son, visited her twice or thrice a year." All that was added to this account by later historians was, that Castle Rising was the place of her confinement; that after the first two years the strictness of her seclusion was relaxed; that she surrendered her dowry into the King's hands, and received from him, in lieu of it, manors and rents of

the yearly value of, at first, 3,000*l.* and, subsequently, 4,000*l.*; that she died at Castle Rising, on the 22nd of August, in the year 1358, and was buried in the church of the Grey Friars, within Newgate, in the city of London.

Recently, however, some further particulars have been collected relative to Isabella's life at this period. Miss Strickland was made acquainted with documents among the records of the town of Lynn, which shewed that greater liberty was allowed to the Queen's motions than had been supposed, and she informs us on their authority that the Queen made a pilgrimage to Walsingham in the year 1332. In the first part of the fourth volume of the papers published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, is a paper communicated by Mr. Henry Harrod, Hon. Secretary of the Society, on the subject of Castle Rising, in the course of which further facts relating to Isabella's confinement are brought to light. We are first informed, on the authority of Mr. A. H. Swatman, derived from the Lynn Records, that the Queen was never in the condition of a prisoner at Rising, "for that she occasionally travelled to other parts of the kingdom, once even to London; that she had been at Northampton, Walsingham, and Langley; and, although she was at Rising the year before her death, he did not consider it probable she died there, from the absence of all record of the event or of funeral preparations in the Lynn Records." Mr. Harrod then quotes from the Patent Rolls a letter of the King, directing certain gentlemen to form an escort for his "dearest mother," in her journey from Berkhamstead to Windsor, where he desired her presence during the feast of Christmas. This letter is dated on the 21st of December, 1330, only a month after Mortimer's execution. Now although, at first sight, this may seem to contradict the general statement of our chroniclers of the Queen's having been committed to confinement in Castle Rising, yet if we refer to Froissart's narration we shall find that the fact of her having been invited to the festivities at Windsor one month after Mortimer's death, does not impugn his actual statement, for his words are that "the King *soon after*, by the advice of his Council, ordered his mother to be confined in a goodly castle." An interval is specially asserted, therefore, to have lapsed between the punishment of Mortimer and his partner in crime, the guilty Queen. The extract from the Patent Rolls tends to confirm the statement, and justifies us, therefore, in believing the subsequent assertion of the chronicler, that Isabella was afterwards "confined in a goodly castle," supported as it is by the testimony of other chroniclers. Knighton's report is, that Isabella was forced by Parliament to surrender all her lands, and only escaped sentence of death from consideration of her relationship as parent to the King; but that she was required to confine

herself to some one residence to be selected by her son ; and this regulation was, it is probable, for a time enforced. Of her subsequent liberty of motion Mr. Harrod produces several proofs. A patent of the 12th of Edward III. (1338) shows that she was at Pomfret Castle, with her household, in that year. An anonymous chronicle in the Harleian MS. 2188, quoted by him, speaks of her being with the King and Queen Philippa at the Palace of Norwich in the year 1344, on occasion of the celebration of the King's birthday. On the 19th of August, in 1345, a Charter, obtained by her for the City of Norwich, was executed by the King at her Castle of Hertford. And, finally, Mr. Harrod prints the inquisition taken at Salisbury after the death of Isabella, which states that she expired, not at Rising, according to the chroniclers, but at Hertford, and on the 23rd day of August, in 1358. In respect to the place, this evidence is fully confirmed by the document I am now about to describe ; but not as to the day of her death, which is alleged to have been the 22nd, not the 23rd.

It should be added that Mr. Harrod prints notices of successive entries in the Chancery Rolls, showing that the Queen's yearly allowance of at first 3000, and subsequently 4500 pounds, was cancelled, and replaced by grants of lands to the latter amount, accompanied with full concession of liberties attached to them ; and that these lands she had the power of selling or exchanging for others.

The document to which I now wish to draw attention is the Cottonian Manuscript, Galba E. xiv., injured by the fire of 1731, and since restored. It contains an account of the expenses of the household of Queen Isabella from the beginning of October, in the year 1357, to the 4th of December, in 1358, a few days after her burial, and more than three months after her death, which it fixes at the 22nd of August.

The Account is made up in the usual form of royal household books, embracing, in distinct divisions, the general daily expenses ; sums given in alms ; miscellaneous necessary expenses ; disbursements for dress, headed "*Magna Garde-roba*;" purchases of plate and jewellery, headed "*Jocalia*;" gifts ; payments to messengers ; and, lastly, "*Præstita*," or imprests for various services.

The first division of the Account states simply the sums expended daily in the different departments of the household ; but in the margin are entered the names of visitors who may have been entertained during the day, together with memoranda of the movements of the household from place to place. From these notices, bald as they are, and the study of entries in other divisions of the Account, we are able to gain some insight into the degree of personal freedom enjoyed by the Queen ; the connections she maintained or had formed at this

period; the consideration she obtained at the Court of the great King, her son; and even into her personal disposition and occupations.

It appears, then, that at the beginning of October, when the Account opens, the Queen was residing at her Castle of Hertford, having not very long before been at Rising. The first visitor we have mention of is the "*Comitissa Garennia*," who sups with her on the fourth. The lady thus designated was Joan, daughter of Henry Earl of Barr, and Eleanor, daughter of Edward I. of England; niece, therefore, to Queen Isabella. She was married to John Earl of Warren and Surrey, in the year 33 Edward I., but appears to have been divorced from her husband, on the plea of a previous marriage on his part, in the year 1345; and, as Dugdale tells us, she had leave to go beyond sea, in the same year, on some special employment for the King. She was one of the ladies, according to Froissart, who accompanied Isabella to England when she sailed from Flanders to the English shore on the expedition so fatal to her husband; and the frequent mention of her in the Account shows that she was in the closest intimacy with Isabella at this time. She visited her constantly, and nursed her in her last illness.

About the middle of October—the actual date is lost by injury of the document—the Queen set out from Hertford on a pilgrimage to Canterbury. She rested at Tottenham, London, Eltham, Dartford, and Rochester, in going or returning visited Leeds Castle, and was again at Hertford at the beginning of November.

She gave alms to the nuns-minoresses without Aldgate; to the rector of St. Edmund's in London, in whose parish her hostel was situated—it was in Lombard Street; and to the prisoners in Newgate.

On the 26th of October she entertained the King and Prince of Wales in her own house in London; and we have recorded a gift of thirteen shillings and four pence to four minstrels who played in their presence.

On the 16th of November, after her return to Hertford Castle, she was visited by the renowned Gascon warrior, the Captal de Buche, cousin of the Comte de Foix. He had recently come over into England with the Prince of Wales, having taken part, on the English side, in the great battle of Poitiers.

On the following day we have recorded a visit, at dinner, of the "*Comes de la March*." It might be doubted whether the visitant here mentioned might not have been the Scottish nobleman Patrick Earl of Dunbar and March, who had recently delivered himself into the hands of the English sovereign as a hostage for the execution of the treaty of Berwick, confirmed on the 5th of October, 1357, for the release of King David. The probability, however, is stronger that the Queen's

guest was Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the grandson of her favourite. He had been restored to his honours and patrimony, having obtained the reversal of his grandfather's attainder in 1352. He was high in Edward the Third's confidence; was one of the first Knights of the Garter; and had been appointed Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He appears to have been in England at the present time; and in the Account before us we find an entry which confirms the conjecture that it was the English, not the Scottish Earl who was intended. Under the head of donations is notice of a sum paid to four minstrels of the Earl of March, and two minstrels of the Earl of Salisbury, for performing before the Queen on the Feast of All Saints, November the first; and it seems highly improbable that the Scottish hostage would have been attended by his minstrels; while the connection of his name with that of the Earl of Salisbury is significant, as that nobleman was the then English Earl of March's brother-in-law.

The visit of the Earl of March was, as we shall find, subsequently twice repeated, and then in company with the King, by whom, as Froissart tells us, "he was much loved," and the Prince of Wales. And thus we have an indication that time had scarcely weakened Isabella's fidelity to a criminal attachment; and that, although the actual object of it had been torn from her, she still cherished his memory, and sought her friends among those most nearly allied to him.

On the 28th of November, and two following days, the Queen entertained the Earl of Tancarville, a member of the royal family of France, and at this time in England, as one of the captives of Poitiers; and with him the Earl of Salisbury. Of this latter nobleman, William de Montacute, second Earl, it is noticeable that he too was connected with the Mortimers, being, as we have already stated, brother-in-law to the existing Earl of March, although his father had personally acted a principal part in arresting Isabella's paramour in Nottingham Castle.

On the 15th of December the Queen was visited by the Countess of Pembroke, who passed the entire day with her; and, from the frequency of her subsequent visits, it would appear that she was one of Isabella's closest friends. And, again, what can we infer but a clinging on her part to the memory of her lover, when we find that this lady, widow of Lawrence Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, was none other than Agnes, daughter of Mortimer himself; and that we thus have recorded visits received by Isabella of a daughter, the grandson, and grandson's brother-in-law of her favourite, within the space of one month?

On the 24th of December, and on Christmas Day, the Queen entertained the Maréchal Arnould D'Audenham, sometimes written D'Andrehen, and Regnaut

Sire D'Aubigny, both French prisoners taken at Poitiers. The former, Marshal of France, and a man of great note of the time, is a very frequent visitor with the Queen, and was probably active in concerting terms for a treaty between the crowns of England and France.

On the 10th and 11th of January, 1358, Isabella is visited by the Countess of Pembroke, the Countess of Kent, and Sir John de Wynewyk. Of these, the Countess of Pembroke has been already noticed. The Countess of Kent was Isabella, daughter of the Marquess of Juliers, and widow of John Plantagenet, Earl of Kent. Her husband had died in the year 1353; upon which she took the veil at Waverley; but afterwards, as Dugdale tells us, "quitting her profession, was clandestinely married to Sir Eustace Dabrishecourt." The name of this knight is usually written D'Ambreticourt. He was the son of Sir Sanchez D'Ambreticourt, Knight of the Garter, and a descendant of the poor knight of Ostrevant, in Hainault, in whose house Isabella found shelter on her dismissal from the court of her brother, Charles IV. of France, and whom, with his whole family, she had invited over into England, and had in various ways advanced. In reference to the Countess of Kent, Froissart says—"This lady was greatly attached to Sir Eustace D'Ambreticourt, for his gallant deeds of arms, which had been related to her: and she sent him coursers, hackneys, and letters full of love; which so much emboldened Sir Eustace, and spurred him to perform such feats of chivalry and of arms, that all those under him made fortunes." Dugdale tells us, in respect of the Countess's breach of her vows, that "she and her said husband, being personally convented before the said Archbishop of Canterbury in his manor-house of Maghfeld," the Archbishop imposed on them a certain penance of prayers and alms very skilfully adapted to their offence.

Of Sir John de Wynewyk, I have been unable to learn anything of certainty. He appears to have been attached to the King's court, and was perhaps the medium employed for managing Isabella's affairs. He visited her and exchanged letters with her constantly.

From the 30th of January to the 2nd of February, the Comte de Tancarville continues again a visitor at the Castle; and on the 1st of February, the Earl of Richmond, John, son of Edward III., dined with the Queen, his grandmother.

On the 10th of February, messengers arrived from the King of Navarre, to announce, as it appears elsewhere, his escape from captivity; an indication that Isabella was still busy in the stirring events in her native country.

On the 24th of February the Countess of Warren repeats her visit, and sleeps in the castle.

On the 1st of March, the Earl of Ulster, Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., takes supper with the Queen. It will be remembered that Lionel's daughter, Philippa, subsequently brought a claim to the English crown into the family of the Mortimers, by her marriage with Edmund Earl of March.

On the 20th of March, the King comes to supper.

On the 21st, William, Archbishop of Sens, now in England to negotiate a treaty of peace for his Sovereign with the English Monarch, the Maréchal D'Audenham, and the Countess of Pembroke, spend the entire day with Isabella; and her grandson, the Earl of Richmond, arrives to supper.

On the 6th of April, the Prince of Wales, attended by four knights, dined with the Queen.

On the 7th, the Maréchal D'Audenham visited the Queen and slept at the castle.

On the 12th, the Countess of Pembroke again came to dinner.

On Sunday, the 15th, the Earl of Angus came to dinner. He was in England as one of the hostages for David II.

On the following day, the 16th of April, Isabella set out on a journey from Hertford, and the movements of her household are recorded to have been—on the 16th to Tottenham; on the 17th to London; on the 20th to Shene; on the 21st to Upton [near Windsor], the Queen herself going, it is stated, to Chertsey; on the 26th to Shene again; and on the 30th to London, where it remained till the 13th of May.

Now it must be observed that the Queen separated herself from her household on the 21st, and the account shows, that from the 22nd to the 25th, inclusive, the weekly expenses of the household fell to about half their usual amount. Moreover, an entry under the head of "Alms" makes mention, in reference to this period, of the Queen's journey to Windsor. There is no room for doubt therefore (though Chroniclers make no mention of the circumstance) that the object of Isabella's journey was to be present at the festivities held at Windsor by Edward III. in celebration of St. George's Day, the 23rd of April—festivities set forth with unwonted magnificence, in honour of the many crowned heads and noble foreigners then in England, and to which strangers from all countries were offered letters of safe conduct.

Reverting to the notices of visitors from the time of the Queen's leaving Hertford, we find that on the 17th of April, in London, the Maréchal D'Audenham passed the entire day with her; the Countess of Pembroke and Sir John de Wynewyk coming to supper.

On the 18th, also in London, the Countess of Pembroke, the Earl of Ponthieu (another of the captives of Poitiers), and the Maréchal D'Audenham came to dinner—"et plures comites et barones post prandium."

On the 19th, still in London, the Chancellor and Treasurer of England and Sir John de Wynewyk dined with the Queen; and the Prince of Wales and Duke of Lancaster visited her after dinner.

On the 20th of April, at Shene, the Earl of Tancarville, the Countesses of Pembroke and Warren, "et alii magnates," dined with the Queen.

On the 26th, having returned to Shene, doubtless from Windsor, Isabella receives her daughter Joan Queen of Scotland, with her retinue. Joan is stated to have come at this time on a political mission to the court of Edward III.; and from the present document it would appear that she continued a guest with her mother Isabella up to the time of the death of the latter; and that even her own dress and the livery of her retinue were supplied from Isabella's funds.

On the 29th, being still at Shene, Isabella is visited by Edward III., the Lady Isabella (the King's eldest daughter), and the Earl of March, who sup with her.

On the 30th of April, Isabella returned to London, where she remained till the 14th of May; having her residence in the house of the Archbishop of York.

It must be remembered that at this period anxious efforts were being made by Edward III. to settle terms of a peace with his captive, John of France; and it can hardly be believed that Isabella was inactive in these negotiations. Her presence at Windsor at the festival of St. George, her residence in London, and her frequent communications with the French captives, warrant us in concluding that she did in fact take part in them; and the eager interest with which she watched their progress is proved by an entry in these accounts of a donation on the 10th of May of the considerable sum of six pounds thirteen shillings (equal in value to about ninety pounds of the present currency) to a messenger bringing a letter from Sir William de Wynewyk, at Windsor, certifying her of reports of the conclusion of an agreement between the two sovereigns, and of the same sum given by her, the same day, to a courier bearing a letter from Queen Philippa, conveying the same intelligence.

The following visits, during her stay in London, are recorded. On the 30th of April, the Countess of Warren to supper. On the 1st of May, the Countess of Pembroke to dinner; and the King after dinner. On the 2nd of May, the Countesses of Warren and Pembroke to dinner; and the King, the Prince of Wales, the Earl of March, and others, after dinner. On the 3rd of May, the Countess of Pembroke and the Maréchal D'Audenham to dinner; and the Earl of

Arundel, "*et plures magnates Francie*," after dinner. On the 4th, the Count of Tancarville to dinner. On the 5th, the Countesses of Warren and Pembroke and the Maréchal D'Audenhams again to dinner; and the Chancellor of England and many French noblemen after dinner. On the 6th the Chief Justice and the Barons of the Exchequer to dinner. On the four following days, the Countesses of Warren, Kent, and Pembroke dine with the Queen; and on the last of the four Sir John de Wynewyk comes to supper. On the 11th, Queen Philippa appears to have dined with Isabella, but the entry is partially obliterated; the Earl Marshal and other noblemen came after dinner. On the 12th, the Countess of Pembroke dined, and the Cardinals (of Périgord and St. Vitalis), the Archbishop of Sens, and some French noblemen came after dinner. On Sunday the 13th, the Countess of Warren and others from London, as it is expressed, dined; and the King of France, the Chancellor of England, and others, visited the Queen after dinner.

On the 14th of May, Isabella left London and rested at Tottenham, on her way to Hertford. She was accompanied as far as Tottenham by the Countess of Warren, who dined with her there. She arrived at Hertford the following day; and a payment is recorded of a gift of six shillings and eight pence to the nuns of Cheshunt, who met the Queen at the Cross in the high road, in front of their house.

On the 17th, a memorandum is made, that the Queen of Scotland was with the King at Haverlyng.

A few visitors arrived between the 20th and the 23rd of May, but the injury to the manuscript has effaced their names.

On the 24th, the Countess of Pembroke and some Scottish noblemen came to dinner.

On the 27th, the Earl of Douglas dined with the Queen; and the Maréchal D'Audenhams came to supper.

On the 2nd of June, the Countess of Pembroke came to dinner.

On the 4th of June, Isabella set out on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and a visit of nearly three weeks' duration to Leeds Castle. She rested at Tottenham on the 4th, at London on the 5th and 6th, where she received the Countess of Warren to dinner, and many noblemen after dinner. At Dartford on the 7th; at Rochester on the 8th, the Countess of Warren again dining with her. At Ospringe on the 9th, and at Canterbury on the 10th and 11th; entertaining there the Abbot of St. Augustine's both days. Under the division of "*Alms*" are recorded the Queen's oblations at the tomb of St. Thomas; the crown of his head (the part having the tonsure, cut off by his assassins), and point of the sword (with which he had been

slain) ; and her payment to minstrels playing "in volta ;" as also her oblations in the Church of St. Augustine, and her donations to various hospitals and religious houses in the city.

On the 12th she returned to Ospringe, and on the 13th proceeded to Leeds Castle, where she remained till the 2nd of July ; receiving as visitors the Prior of Leeds and Sir Arnold Savage, and dining in Langley Park, with many strangers, on the 19th of June ; and being at Sutton Park, together with the Queen of Scotland, on the 25th. It is evident, therefore, that her daughter had accompanied her from Hertford.

On Monday the 2nd of July, Isabella left Leeds on her return to Hertford ; which she reached on the 6th ; making the daily stages of Rochester, Dartford, London, and Tottenham. Sir John de Wynewyk supped with the Queen in London, and the Countess of Warren and the Maréchal D'Audenham at Tottenham. She was accompanied to Hertford by the Queen of Scotland.

Isabella remained without visitors for some days after her return to Hertford. A memorandum is entered that the King was expected on the 13th of July ; and on the 17th, strangers were entertained during the day, but they are not named.

On Sunday the 22nd of July, Robert Lord Morley (a Norfolk nobleman), "et plures extranei," were entertained at dinner.

On the 26th, Isabella and her daughter the Queen of Scotland spent the day at Almesho Park ; and the following day at Madecroft Park.

On the 30th, Lord Morley again dined with the Queen.

On the 10th of August, the Earl of Warwick came to supper.

On the 19th, the Countess of Pembroke spent the entire day at the castle ; and Sir John de Wynewyk came to supper.

On the 20th, the Countess of Ulster (heiress of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, and wife of Lionel, son of Edward III.) arrived to supper.

On the 21st the Countess of Warren arrived at the Castle, and remained during the following day, to attend at the death-bed of Queen Isabella, who expired on the 22nd of August. Sir John de Wynewyk also supped at the castle on the day of the Queen's death.

Respecting Isabella's death, she is stated by chroniclers to have sunk, in the course of a single day, under the effect of a too powerful medicine, administered at her own desire. From several entries however in this account, it would appear that she had been in a state requiring medical treatment for some time previous to her decease.

As early as the 15th of February a payment had been made to a messenger

going on three several occasions to London, for divers medicines for the Queen, and for the hire of a horse for Master Lawrence, the physician ; and again for another journey by night to London. On the same day a second payment was made to the same messenger for two other journeys by night to London, and two to St. Alban's, to procure medicines for the Queen. On the 1st of August a payment was made to Nicholas Thomasyn apothecary, of London, for divers spices and ointment supplied for the Queen's use. On the 12th of August messengers were paid for several night journeys to London for medicines. On the 20th of August, two days only before the Queen's death, payment was made to a messenger who had been sent to London to fetch Master Simon de Bredon "*ad videndum statum Reginae.*" Increased alarm for the Queen's health is now visible, for by a payment made on the 24th of August, two days after her death, it appears that a messenger had been sent to Canterbury "*cum maxima festinatione*" with letters of the Queen, to bring Master Lawrence, the physician, to see the Queen's state. And another entry occurs of a payment made on the 12th of September to Master Lawrence, of forty shillings, for attendance on the Queen and the Queen of Scotland, at Hertford, for an entire month. Finally an allowance is made to the accountant, on the 6th of December, in terms which, as they are somewhat obscure, I prefer to quote in the original words, "*Magistro Johanni Gateney, de dono, in precio xv. florenorum de xl. denariis, sibi liberatorum in vita Reginae, ad decoquend' cum medicinis pro corpore Reginae, l. s.*"

It is evident that the body of the Queen remained in the chapel of the Castle until the 23rd of November, as a payment is made to fourteen poor persons for watching the Queen's corpse there, day and night, from Saturday the 25th of August to that date, each of them receiving two pence daily, besides his food. The body was probably removed from Hertford Castle on the 24th of November, as we find, by the continuation of the Account of the expenses of the household, that on the 22nd and 23rd the Bishop of Lincoln, the Abbot of Waltham (?), the Prior of Coventry, and "*plures extranei*" were there for the performance of a solemn mass in the chapel ; and the daily expenditure on those days, and on the 24th, rises from the average of six pounds to fifteen and twenty-five pounds. Moreover, from the 25th to the 28th of November the household is in London, after which it returns again to Hertford. The statement, therefore, of chroniclers that the Queen's funeral took place on the 27th is confirmed. She was interred in the choir of the church of the Grey Friars, within Newgate, now Christ Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating, and the King himself being present at the ceremony. Just twenty-eight years before, on nearly the

same day, the body of her paramour Mortimer was consigned to its grave in the same building.

The illustrations I have so far been able to give of the life of Queen Isabella have been drawn chiefly from the notices of her visitors, and of her movements, entered in the margin of the Account of the daily expenses of her household. I now turn to the other divisions of the General Account, distinguished under the heads of Alms, Necessaries, Great Wardrobe, Jewels, Gifts, Messengers, and Imprests, and endeavour to extract from them some indications of the Queen's disposition and pursuits.

The Alms amount altogether to the considerable sum of 298*l.*, equivalent to about 3,000*l.* of present money. They consist of chapel offerings; donations to religious houses; to clergymen preaching in the Queen's presence; to special applicants for charity; and to paupers. The most interesting entry, perhaps, is of a donation of forty shillings to the abbess and minoresses without Aldgate, in London, to purchase for themselves two pitances on the anniversaries of Edward, late King of England, and Sir John of Eltham (the Queen's son), given on the 20th of November. And this is the sole instance of any mention of the unhappy Edward II.

I have before alluded to a payment being made to the nuns of Cheshunt for meeting the Queen in the high road in front of their house; and this is repeated on every occasion of the Queen's passing the priory in going to or from Hertford; a custom implying a somewhat servile disposition of the worthy friars towards a royal personage.

There is more than one entry of alms given to poor scholars of Oxford, who had come to ask it of the Queen. A distribution is made amongst a hundred or fifty poor persons on the principal festivals of the year, amongst which that of St. Katharine is included. And doles are made among paupers daily and weekly throughout the year, in the following proportions. The food of thirteen paupers daily throughout the year; of three paupers every Monday; of fifty paupers one day every week, viz., on the day in which the feast of St. Katharine may have fallen; of three paupers every day, for the soul of John of Eltham; and of three paupers every Friday, viz., to every pauper for his food, two pence; and for the food of twenty paupers every Saturday, to each, three pence; of one pauper every Saturday, five pence; and of one pauper every day throughout the year, one penny; amounting together, in the space of one year and a month, to 102*l.*

On the 12th of September, after the Queen's death, a payment of twenty shil-

lings is made to William Ladde, of Shene, on account of the burning of his house, by an accident, while the Queen was staying at Shene.

Under the head of Necessaries, the first entry is of a payment of fifty shillings to carpenters, plasterers, and tilers, for works in the Queen's chamber; for making a staircase from the chamber to the chapel, and an earthen wall near the chamber, "*pro quodam herbario infra construendo.*" Afterwards we find half-yearly payments of twenty-five shillings and two pence to the prioress of St. Helen's, in London, as rent for the Queen's house in Lombard Street. Large payments on account of an inquisition taken at Coventry, between the Queen and Queen Philippa, relative to rights in the manors of Geddington, King's Clyve, and Bridestock. A purchase of two small "*catastæ,*" or cages, for birds, in the Queen's chamber; and of hemp-seed for the same birds. From an entry under the head of "*Gifts,*" it appears that two small birds were given to Isabella, by the King, on the 26th of November. Payments for binding the black carpet in the Queen's chamber; for repairs of the castle, and of the "*palacium juxta castrum;*" lining of the Queen's chariot with coloured cloth; repairs of the Queen's bath, and gathering of herbs for it. Payments to William Taterford for six skins of vellum, and two "*pellibus abortivis*" (delicate vellum made from the skin of the calf taken from the womb), for writing the Queen's books. To the same, for writing a book of divers matters for the Queen, fourteen shillings, including cost of parchment. To Richard Painter, for azure for illuminating the Queen's books. A payment to the same William Taterford, remaining behind at Hertford, after the Queen's departure, to write divers things by the Queen's commands, ten shillings. The repayment of the sum of 200*l.* borrowed of Richard Earl of Arundel. The purchase of an embroidered saddle with gold fittings, and a black palfrey, given to the Queen of Scotland. A payment to Louis de Posan, merchant of the Society of Malebaill, in London, for two mules bought by him at Avignon for the Queen, 28*l.* 13*s.* The mules arrived after the Queen's death, and they were delivered over to the King. It appears, moreover, that shortly before her death the Queen had effected a purchase of a manor in Hatfield; for under the same head of "*Necessaria*" we find the following entries, "*Domino Willielmo de Walcote, clerico, pro manerio suo in Hatfield, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, ab eo perquisitis per dominam Reginam sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum, per manus proprias, xvij. die Augusti, cxxxij. libras, vj. solidos, viij. denarios. Diversis hominibus existentibus circa seisinam dominæ Reginæ in manerio quondam Domini Willielmi de Walcote in Hatfield, pro cervisia per ipsos expensa, eodem die, ij. solidos.*"

The division of the account relating to the jewels is chiefly interesting as affording an insight into the personal character of Isabella, and showing that the serious events of her life and her increasing years had not overcome her natural passion for personal display. The total amount expended on jewels was no less than 1,399*l.*, equivalent to about 16,000*l.* of our present currency. And, after ample allowance for the acknowledged general habit of indulgence in personal ornaments belonging to the period, we cannot but consider Isabella's outlay on her trinkets as exorbitant, and as betraying a more than common weakness for these vain luxuries. The more costly of them were purchased of Italian merchants. Her principal English jewellers appear to have been John de Louthe and William de Berking, goldsmiths of London. In a general entry of 421*l.*, paid for divers articles of jewelry to Pardo Pardi and Bernardo Donati, Italian merchants, are included items of a chaplet of gold, set with "bulays" (rubies), sapphires, emeralds, diamonds, and pearls, price 105*l.*; divers pearls, 87*l.*; a crown of gold set with sapphires, rubies of Alexandria, and pearls price, 80*l.* The payment was not made till the 8th of August; but there can be little doubt that these royal ornaments were ordered for the occasion of Isabella's visit to Windsor, at the celebration of St. George's Day. Among other entries, one may be distinguished, of a payment of 32*l.* for several articles; viz., for a girdle of silk, studded with silver, 20 shillings; three hundred doublets (rubies), at 20 pence the hundred; 1800 pearls, at two pence each; and a circlet of gold, of the price of 16*l.*, bought for the marriage of Katherine Bronart, dated on the 6th of August: and another of a pair of tablets of gold, enamelled with divers histories, of the price of nine pounds.

The division of "Dona" is a considerable one, and, besides entries of simple presents and gratuities, contains records of gifts to messengers, from acquaintances and others, giving us a further insight into the connections maintained by the Queen. Notices of messengers bringing letters from the Countesses of Warren and Pembroke are very frequent. We have also mention of letters from Sir Thomas de la March, elsewhere described as of France, in November, and again on the 10th of December. Under the head of "Præstita," moreover, is an entry of a sum of 230*l.*, given to this same Sir Thomas de la March, in money, paid to him by the hands of Henry Pikard, citizen of London, (doubtless the magnificent Lord Mayor of that name, who so royally entertained King John of France, the King of Cyprus, and the Prince of Wales, at this period,) as a loan from Queen Isabella, on the obligatory letters of the same Sir Thomas. Of his descent I can give no account; but he is known as the victor in a duel fought at Windsor, in

presence of Edward III., with Sir John Viscomte, in 1350. A document relating to the duel is printed in the *Fœdera*, and he is there styled "Bastard of France." To the origin of Isabella's interest in him I find no clue.

One subject to which the payments to couriers refer is the liberation of Charles, King of Navarre; and they are important, as proving that the Queen was not indifferent to the events passing in her native country, but that she was connected with one who was playing a conspicuous part in its internal history—Charles of Navarre, perhaps the most unprincipled sovereign of his age, and known in his country's annals under the designation of "the Wicked." One of the crimes which have made him infamous was the base murder of Charles d'Espagne de la Cerda, Constable of France, committed by his orders, in 1353. He had been arrested on charges of conspiracy by John, King of France, in Rouen castle, on the 5th of April, 1356, and had been confined in a castle near Amiens; and it is his forcible release from this imprisonment to which these entries refer. The first is of a payment, on the 16th of November, to a courier of the Countess of Warren, bringing letters of his lady to the Queen at Hertford, certifying her of the liberation of the King of Navarre. And this may justify us in suspecting that the Countess of Warren, the most intimate of the Queen's friends, partook, to some extent, of the character of a political agent. On the 10th of December a payment is made to a messenger bringing letters from Piers de St. Pol, certifying the Queen of rumours of the liberation of the King of Navarre. On the 30th of the same month a payment is made to an esquire of Sir Philip de Navarre (brother of the King, and a staunch English partisan), bringing letters from his master. On the 26th of December twenty shillings are paid to Sir Eustace de St. Omer, coming to the Queen from the King of Navarre himself; and, under the head of "Alms," is an entry of a payment of xlvj s. viij d. made on the 8th of June to Frère Jean, Confessor of the King of Navarre, on his return to France. This evident interest of Queen Isabella in the affairs of the King of Navarre becomes the stronger proof of her being still busy in public concerns—although, probably, covertly—when we recollect that the King of Navarre was an ally of our sovereign, and that immediately on his liberation from prison he placed himself at the head of the faction opposed to the Dauphin, and for a time, by the aid of Etienne Marcel, Provost of Paris, obtained complete command of the capital.

Taking the remaining notices of messengers and letters to the Queen in order of date, we have mention of letters of the Queen Joan of Scotland, 20th October; Richard Walshman, the King's butler, coming to the Queen at Hertford, with letters of the King, and a present of three pipes of wine, 24th October; letters

from the Countess of Kent, 5th November; letters from Sir John de Wynewyck, 5th November, and repeatedly afterwards; letters from the Countess Marshal (Mary, daughter of Lord Roos, widow of Thomas of Brotherton, Earl Marshal, son of Edward I., and at this time wife of Sir Ralph Cobham); a messenger from the King with three casks of Gascon wine, 16th November; letters from Nicholas Maryns, probably a merchant, 20th November; a messenger from the King with a present of small birds, 26th November; Hanekyn de Corby, King of Heralds of France, coming to Hertford "cum uno socio suo," on what business is not stated, 10th December; John of Paris, coming from the King of France to the Queen at Hertford, and returning with two volumes, of *Lancelot* and the *Sang Réal*, sent to the same King by Isabella, 10th December; a messenger bringing a boar's head and breast from the Duke of Lancaster (Henry Plantagenet), 6th January; William Orloger, Monk of St. Alban's, bringing to the Queen several quadrants of copper, 6th January; letters from the Queen to the Countess Marshal, at Boyton, 16th January; letters from Sir William Walcote (the Queen's General Receiver), 10th February, and often afterwards; a messenger bringing a present of a falcon from the King, 11th February; a present of a wild boar from the King, 13th February; and of a cask of Gascon wine, on the 16th; letters from Maréchal d'Audenham, 27th February; a messenger bringing a present of twenty-four bream from the Countess of Clare, 27th March; letters from the Queen of Scotland, announcing her coming to England, 12th April; letters of Queen Philippa, Sir John Winwick, and Maréchal d'Audenham, conveying intelligence of an agreement between the Kings of England and France, 10th May; a messenger bringing two bucks as a present from the King, 12th July; letters from Lady Isabella (the King's daughter), 12th July; letters from the Maréchal d'Audenham, 15th July; letters from the Countess of Tancarville, 18th July; letters from Sir Roger Beauchamp, 10th August; and we omitted a notice of payments to messengers bringing new-year's gifts from the King, Queen Philippa, the Countess of Pembroke, and Lady Wake, on the 6th of January.

Frequent payments to minstrels playing in the Queen's presence occur—sufficient to show that Isabella greatly delighted in this entertainment; and these are generally minstrels of the King, the Prince, or of noblemen, such as the Earl of March, the Earl of Salisbury, and others. And we find a curious entry of a payment of thirteen shillings and fourpence to Walter Hert, one of the Queen's "vigiles" (viol-players), going to London, and staying there in order to learn minstrelsy, at Lent time; and again, of a further sum to the same on his return from London "de scola menstralcie."

Of special presents by the Queen we have mention of new-year's gifts to the ladies of her chamber, eight in number, of one hundred shillings to each, and twenty shillings each to thirty-three clerks and squires; a girdle to Edward de Ketilbergh, the Queen's ward; a donation of forty shillings to Master Lawrence the surgeon, for attendance on the Queen, given the 12th of March; a present of fur to the Countess of Warren; a small gift to Isabella Spicer "*filiolæ Reginae*," her god-daughter; and a present of 66*l.* to Isabel de St. Pol, lady of the Queen's chamber, on occasion of her marriage with Edward Bronart. Large rewards, amounting together to 540*l.*, were given after Isabella's death by the King's order to her several servants, for their good service to the Queen in her lifetime.

The division of "Messengers" contains payments for the carriage of letters to the Queen's officers and acquaintances. In addition to those already named, we find mention of letters to the Lady de Mohun (Joan, daughter of Lord Burghersh, and wife of John Lord de Mohun); the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Saltwood; the Abbots of Waltham and St. Alban's; the Prior of Coventry; the Prior of Westminster, "for a certain falcon of the Count of Tancarville lost, and found by the said Prior;" the Earl of Arundel; Lady Wake, at Brunne (widow probably of Thomas Lord Wake, of Lydel in Cumberland, whose sister was married to Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, son of Edward the First); the Chancellor of Navarre, at Dartford; and the Abbot of Pipewell.

It remains only to state the various totals of the several divisions of the Account. The period embraced is from the 1st of October to the 5th of December, the account being continued beyond the date of the Queen's death.

	£	s.	d.
The Household Expenses amount to	4,014	2	11½
Alms	298	18	7½
Necessaries	1,395	6	11
Great Wardrobe	542	10	4½
Jewels	1,399	0	4
Gifts	1,248	5	2½
Messengers	14	12	10
Imprests	313	4	3½

Making a general total of more than £9,000.

XXXIV.—*Additional Remarks on the Hide of Land, and on some Ancient Manorial Customs in Oxfordshire.* By BENJAMIN WILLIAMS, Esq.: in a Letter to Rear-Admiral W. H. SMYTH, V.P.

Read March 30, 1854.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

The Lodge, Hillingdon, March 16, 1854.

SINCE I submitted to you the paper which the Society of Antiquaries has done me the honour of printing in the thirty-third volume of the *Archæologia*, pp. 269-278, I have met with a valuation of another manor, Shifford, in the same parish, anno 1608, in which the "yeard of land" is said to contain "above thirty-five acres by estimation."^a

It appears that the hide of land in early times, and each of its four yards in later times—probably from about the middle of the fifteenth century, when hydage fell into disuse—with its house and toft, rights of common, and other appurtenances, was considered to be sufficient for the necessities of a family. The hide, as held of the lord, together with scutage for knights' fees, was the base of the taxation of the land; and it is manifest that the number of acres of arable and pasture varied according to the quality of the land, even in the same manor. I may remark, *en passant*, that at this period (1608) the value of each yard in Shifford, with its house, orchard, and appurtenances, is entered at 20*l.* per annum, a value which has not been more than doubled in two hundred and fifty years.

It may not be uninteresting to compare the relative holdings in Saxony at the present day. I am informed by Professor Lèo of Halle, author of a learned treatise on the "*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*," that the Saxonian *hufe* originally corresponded in a considerable degree with our hide, and was the least portion of land that was considered necessary for the subsistence of an independent peasant with his family. "In the present day," adds the Professor, "the *hufe* consists of thirty *morgen*, somewhat more than thirty English acres, and its possession in fee simple constitutes the owner a *bauer*. He who does not own so much is called a *dresher*, a *häusler*, a *kossälthe*, &c., viz. a man who must labour for others. A *morgen* was originally as much land as could be prepared for seed in a day's work; but the quantity of the land depended upon the nature of the

^a Tanner MS., Bodleian Library, Oxford.

soil, and also upon the customary manner of working it, whether with oxen or horses. Now the Prussian *morgen* is a fixed quantity, somewhat more than the half of an English acre; but the old Magdeburgian *morgen*, and the Saxonian *acker*, are still used as measures of land; but the measure varies in different provinces."

I am happy to be able to send you a copy of "The Custumal of the Manor of Aston and Cote," dated in 1593, in which the customs related are said to have existed time out of mind; also the marks of each of the sixteen hides of the manor. They are carved upon wood, and were used till last year (when the manor was inclosed) in drawing the annual lots for the mowing ground. Corresponding marks are then cut upon the turf. I the rather refer to this, as an honourable member of our Society, in his recently published "Consuetudines Kantiae," rejects the division of the land by lot as "fanciful and untenable." But, in addition to this recently-existing custom, there is distinct proof of the annual division of the arable land in the Orkneys by lot. See the Saga of the thirteenth century, quoted by Lieutenant Thomas, R.N. in the thirty-fourth volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 111.

The marks are as follows:—

The one, two, and three on right	.	.	.	.	.	.	| || |||
The two on right, and one at head	.	.	.	.	.	.	Π
The three on right, and one at head	.	.	.	.	.	.	ΠΠ
The priest (evidently from his tonsure)	.	.	.	.	.	.	⊙
The crane's foot	.	.	.	.	.	.	⤴
The headless	.	.	.	.	.	.	⤵
The bow ^a	.	.	.	.	.	.	∧
The cross	.	.	.	.	.	.	+
The reel	.	.	.	.	.	.	⊕
The peel (French <i>pelle</i> , a baker's shovel)	.	.	.	.	.	.	⚭
The one, two, three, and four-thwart over	.	.	.	.	.	.	— = ≡ ≡

In the parish of Puxton, Somerset, marks evidently derived from the same original, but much corrupted, are or were used in laying out the commonable lands. They have been engraved in Hone's *Every Day Book*, vol. i. p. 922.

From Professor Læo's work I gather that our modern hayward is identical with the Anglo-Saxon *hāgereard*.^b The "hayward's hamme" occurs in a charter relating

^a Exactly corresponding with the Anglo-Saxon rune *tīr*, the bow.

^b It were easy to enlarge the list of names of lands of Anglo-Saxon derivation in this manor, as the *wase*, or wash, (*wás*), the crean, the woof, rushey, &c. The names of several of the old families there speak the same origin—Alder, Fryme, Fox, Martin, Sparohake, and Stone.

to Wiltshire of the year 956 (No. 460, Codex Dip. Ævi Sax.). His office was to attend to the hedges and fences. He also officiated as the *agillarius*, or *agistator*; *i. e.* the officer who collected the agistments or moduses—payments for cattle taken into the commons to graze. I would merely add that the Woo, page 270, vol. xxxiii. is a misprint for the Hoo, a gently rising ground.

Believe me, my dear Admiral,

Very faithfully yours,

B. WILLIAMS.

Rear-Admiral Smyth, K.S.F.

&c. &c. &c.

A CUSTOMARY OR NOTE of such CUSTOMES as hath bin used time out of mind in ASTON and COAT, in y^e pish of BAMPTON, in y^e County of Oxō; and is att this time vsed and kept, as appeareth by y^e Sixteens, who hath hervnto, with y^e consent of y^e Inhabitants of y^e sayd ASTON and COAT, sett their Hands and Scales the Sixt day of September, in y^e 35th yeare of QUEEN ELIZABETH, año dom' 1593.

1. The Custome is that vpon our Lady Day Eve euery yeare all the Inhabitants of Aston and Coat shall meet att Aston Crosse about three of y^e clock in y^e afternoone, or one of euery House, to vnderstand who shall serue for y^e Sixteens for that yeare comming, and to chuse other officers for y^e same yeare.

2. The sayd Sixteens being knowen, y^e Hundred Tennants of y^e same Sixteens doe divide themselues some distance from y^e Lords Tennants of y^e sayd Sixteens. And y^e Hundred Tennants doe chuse one grasse Steward and one water Hayward, and the Lords Tennants doe chuse two grasse Stewards and one water Hayward.

3. After y^e sayd officers are chosen and knowen, the sayd Inhabitants do referr themselves to such orders and Paines for breaking y^e sayd orders as shall be sett downe by y^e sayd Sixteens, or y^e maior part of them, for that yeare, as well for y^e hayneing^a of y^e comons as for y^e breaking of y^e comons, or for any other orders which they conceaue beneficiall for y^e said Inhabitants of Aston and Coat.

4. The sayd Sixteens hath not any authority to make any orders, or to set any amercements touching y^e comons, except there be and doe meet att y^e Crosse nine of y^e sayd Sixteens att y^e time, and those nine may pinn y^e rest of y^e Sixteens.

^a Obtaining, taking possession of; Anglo-Saxon, *agnian*; in Layamon's Brut, vol. i. 174, it is written *ayenede*.

The Custome is y^e no teame shall be in y^e Inn Mead affter sunset to fetch away any hay or grasse vpon paine of two shillings euery teame soe offending.

5. The Custome is that if any of y^e Inhabitants of Aston and Coat aforesayd doe fayle to appeare vppon o^r Lady Eve, or some one of every House for him, the partyes making default to forfeit and pay foure pence.

6. If there be any fault found by any of y^e Inhabitants aforesayd contrary to y^e order made by y^e sayd Sixteens, or nine of them, the same Inhabitants, or those that finde y^e fault, may cause the Stewards, or one of y^e sayd Stewards, to warne y^e Sixteens to y^e Crosse, to see some redresse; and if y^e sayd Sixteens, upon y^e same warneing, doe not come att y^e time appoynted, euery one makeing default to forfeit and pay foure pence. And 'tis also lawfull for y^e Stewards and y^e body of y^e Towne to pinn y^e Sixteens to pay foure pence for euery fault tresspassed and approued as aforesayd.

7. The ordinary dayes for y^e Sixteens to meet without warneing are, on y^e Tuesday in Easter week, y^e Wednesday in y^e Rogation week or Crosse week, the Wednesday in y^e Whitson week, and upon Lamas Eue; and euery fayleing to forfeit foure pence.

8. The Custome is that y^e Cheife Lord of Bampton Hundred shall have euery yeare a draught with a lawfull Net in y^e comon water of Aston and Coat, and noe more; and if he draw his Net up, he is not by y^e Custome to put in his Net again for that yeare.

9. Cricklet Ham is yearely to pay for coming ouer Beareheards Bridge six pence; the Gally Acres in Bosingay Mead, twelue pence. And euery person that hath meadow and noe feeding must rid their Hay by Lamas Eue att noone, or otherwayes they cannot after y^e same time carry away their Hay, but is to be eaten by the Cattle of y^e Inhabitants of Aston and Coat aforesayd. And att y^e laying out of Bosingay Mead y^e occupyers of y^e Gally Acres are to bring with them in to y^e Mead to y^e Layers-out, euery one of them, one gallon of Ale and a cast of Bread.

10. The Sixteens are to sett and remoue their stones in y^e Mead of Aston and Coat as often as need shall require.

11. After our Lady Eue that y^e whole Towne haue mett together, and that they haue referd all matters unto y^e new Sixteens hands for that yeare, they are not to meddle any further for that yeare then this: that if they finde any fault with y^e new Sixteens that they doe not their office, then they are to tell them of such faults as they finde; and if y^e sayd Sixteens doe not mende those faults, then y^e sayd Inhabitants and Stewards may pound them as abouesayd: that is, to pay foure pence for euery fault.

12. The Custome is and hath bin that y^e sayd Sixteens shall and may distraine for any forfeitures made, if any shall refuse to pay upon demand.

This auntient Custome^{*} haue bin confirm'd in y^e 35 yeare of Queen Elizabeth, 1593, by most of y^e substantiall Inhabitants of Aston and Coat, videl.—

ROGER MEDHOP, Gent.
The marke of RICH. STACY.
The marke of ELIZ. ALDER.
The marke of JOH. HUMPHRIS.
The marke of MARGERY YOUNG.
The marke of JOH. BRICKLAND.
The marke of WILL. YOUNG.
The marke of THO. WALTER.
The marke of WILL. WAYLE.

The marke of JOH. NEWMAN.
The marke of RICH. FFRYME.
The marke of ROB. COXITER.
The marke of WILL. HANKES.
The marke of ANNE STARTVPP.
The marke of WILL. FISHER.
The marke of JOHN PRYOR.
The marke of ROB. CLARK.
The marke of JOHN CLINCH.

^{*} Customals somewhat similar were formerly known in Sussex. They are given in the Sussex Archaeological Collections.

XXXV.—*Note on some further Discoveries in the Anglo-Saxon Burial-Ground at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A. Secretary.

Read May 4, 1854.

PERMISSION having been kindly afforded the Society to renew their researches in the Low Field at Harnham, the excavations, at their expense, were resumed by me on Tuesday, the 11th of April, and continued for three days.

A portion of the hedge westward of the gate-post, at which my former operations commenced last year, having been removed, we proceeded to dig a trench in that direction, south of and parallel to the first-discovered grave. Amongst a quantity of loose soil was found the iron-spike of the butt-end of a spear,^a which had probably belonged to the staff of the spear discovered by Robert Wallan, as noticed in my previous communication, and had been turned over unnoticed. Further excavations in this direction showed that the earth had not been moved, and all hope of finding other graves was abandoned.

The ground was then tried in various directions: first, outside the western end of the area previously excavated; then, outside the northern boundary; and, lastly, at the eastern extremity;^b but the soil was found in every instance to be intact.

No. 61.—As a last resource, I resolved to try the ground *east* of the gate-post, close under the hedge. The result was the discovery of the skeleton of a woman and a child, lying as usual the heads to the west, and much decomposed, so much so, indeed, as to make it difficult to distinguish to which the great number of amber beads belonged. Some of these lay in the lap of the larger skeleton, some were found at the wrists, and a few at the neck; among them was a single bead of blue vitrified paste. On the left arm was a silver armlet of the plainest form and

^a These spikes appear to have been affixed only to the larger description of spear. Examples have been found in several of our Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, particularly at Ozengal by Mr. Roach Smith, at Fairford by Mr. Wylie, and at Driffield by Dr. Thurnam. They should be always looked for at the feet of the skeleton. I have attempted to show the purpose of this spike in my *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (p. 21), where a specimen will be found engraved in pl. ix. fig. 3.

^b See the plan of the ground excavated given in the map illustrating the Grant of Cenwealh.

construction; two iron knives were near the waist; and on the left side, just above the hip, was a bronze object in the form of a lion's head, full-faced, and with the mouth open, to which some accompanying bronze and iron links had probably been attached, and which together may have formed a girdle ornament. On the shoulders were two dish-shaped fibulæ, gilt on the insides, which were covered with rude ornaments. In the centre of each is a stud of vitrified blue paste, which appears to have undergone decomposition.

The fibula on the left shoulder was reversed, a circumstance for which I shall presently attempt to account. On the left side, below the breast, was found a bronze pin. Among the bones of the smaller skeleton was a minute specimen of the bronze tweezers so often found in Anglo-Saxon graves.

Our success encouraged us to continue the trench in an easterly direction, when two other skeletons were discovered at the same depth; namely, about three feet from the surface. The first of these (No. 62) was accompanied by an iron-knife, of the usual form, and in the lap lay an object as to the use of which I cannot offer a conjecture: it consists of a long thin strip of iron, which has apparently been fastened to a piece of wood by nails more than half an inch in length. An iron buckle remains at one end, and serves to increase our perplexity as to the purpose for which this object was intended.

No. 63.—The third grave contained the skeleton of a young man, the femur measuring seventeen inches. The iron umbo of his shield covered the right knee, and on the right side of the head lay a long iron spear-head of neat form, and in remarkably good preservation.* One half of a metal ring or band was found below the socket, the extremity of which, probably owing to its being much thinner than the other portions, had evidently perished. At the head was a flat-bottomed, shallow, circular dish, formed of wood, the sides cased, and the edges bound with bronze. Its diameter was exactly seven inches, and its depth two inches.

On its first discovery the labourers at once pronounced this object to be a cap or helmet, a circumstance which I should hardly venture to notice here, except for the purpose of warning my brother antiquaries against hearsay reports, and of urging on all who may be engaged in similar investigations the necessity of constant attention and unremitting personal superintendence.

The side of the dish was in immediate contact with the cranium. It had, however, clearly been deposited not on but at the head of the corpse, and on the floor of the grave. Notwithstanding the utmost care in its removal, this object

* A spear-head very closely resembling this, found at Malling Hill, Lewes, is in the collection of the British Museum.

came to pieces, but the portions preserved are amply sufficient to indicate its form and construction satisfactorily, and the drawing now exhibited shows it as it existed when first discovered.

No. 64. Further excavations were made on the other side of the hedge, parallel with these three graves; but, although there was good evidence that the earth had at one time been moved, only one skeleton was discovered. This was apparently of a young man, the bones of a fair size, but not indicating a large stature, and the teeth in the finest preservation. No relic whatever was discovered in this grave; and having, as I conceive, exhausted the ancient cemetery of the Low Field, our excavations terminated.

Although these last excavations at Harnham have yielded but few relics, they have yet helped us to some deductions which may be of service to those who would study the manners and customs of our Pagan-Saxon ancestors by means of their sepulchral remains, the most numerous and the most significant that have been preserved to these times. That the Anglo-Saxon was buried in his clothes, the man very frequently with the significant weapon distinguishing the male sex, and the woman with her jewels and personal ornaments and other appliances, we have already abundant testimony. That they did not disdain the coffin or sarcophagus is also evident; but the most common mode of interment was evidently on the bare earth, the body being wrapped in a winding-sheet, and protected by large stones taken from the surrounding soil. That an ample winding-sheet was used seems evident from certain appearances observed in the interments at Harnham Hill.

One of the fibulæ found on the skeleton recently disinterred, though retaining its place on the left clavicle, was reversed. I had observed the same thing in both the fibulæ found with the skeleton No. 12 on a former occasion, although I had neglected to notice it in my report. I can only account for this dislocation by supposing that it was occasioned by the rolling and enveloping of the corpse in the habit of the grave. What appears to give probability to this conjecture is the finding of a bronze pin at the waist. The same object was found on the breast of the skeleton No. 42;^a and there appears good reason for the supposition that it was used as the fastening of the winding-sheet.

Another circumstance seems to favour the inference that a winding-sheet was commonly used, although the defunct was committed to his last resting-place clothed as he lived. To one side of the shallow dish found with No. 63, and which, as already observed, was in immediate contact with the head of the skeleton, a portion of cloth adheres, and, although inspection with the naked eye

^a This pin is engraved in Plate xii. fig. 1.

would satisfy many that the texture is linen, the microscope reveals its structure still more satisfactorily.

In the collection of Anglo-Saxon antiquities in the British Museum is a bronze fibula, of what is conventionally termed the cruciform shape, found at Asgarsby, near Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire. The outer surface of this fibula is covered with the remains of linen cloth, which may be referred to the same observance.

Of the objects found during the more recent excavations at Harnham, the dish-shaped fibulæ, the lion's head, and the wooden dish, bound and cased with bronze, claim our chief attention. The ornamental pattern in the inside of the fibulæ, different from any yet observed, is extremely rude, but at the same time of very characteristic workmanship, and, as already mentioned, they are also remarkable for the stud of vitrified paste in the centre.

The lion's head, with open mouth, appears to have been connected with the three links discovered with it, as they were found in a heap together. It will be observed that one of them is composed of a spiral ring open at the ends, and this probably formed the fastening of the girdle to which the whole belonged. A glance at the head will satisfy every one that the design is not Teutonic. If not of actual Roman fabric, we may conclude that it is a cast from a Roman model.

As regards the wooden dish, nothing exactly resembling it has, I believe, yet been discovered in England. Dishes of similar shape, but formed entirely of bronze, have been found in the Frank graves at Selzen at the feet of the corpse;^a but this, as already stated, was placed at the head of the grave, the side touching the cranium. Its construction is highly characteristic. The vessel is formed of wood, apparently like the buckets discovered in Saxon graves, but the sides are entirely covered with a bronze band, the upper edge being bound by a fillet of the same metal, secured at intervals by clamps fastened with bronze pins. The object with which this dish was thus deposited, must, like that of the buckets, be left, until further evidence is obtained, to mere speculation. If it may be supposed that such vessels were intended to hold food or drink, we are met by the fact that, in the graves of Selzen, a comb was found in one of the shallow circular dishes already alluded to.^b

^a Compare Plates in *Das Todtenlager bei Selzen*.

^b *Ibid.*



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7

FIBULA, GIRDLE ORNAMENT, DISH, ETC. found at Hornham Hill, Salisbury.

The objects as represented in Plate XIX. are—

1. One of the dish-shaped fibulæ, with the remains of gilding on the inside.
2. The back of the fibula found with the former, showing the acus, with a portion of cloth of coarse texture still adhering to it.
3. Lion's head of bronze, probably the ornament of a belt or girdle.
- 4 and 5. The rings found with the lion's head, probably portions of the girdle-fastening.
6. Bronze pin, found on the left side of the body, and presumed to be the fastening of the winding-sheet.

All the above are represented of the actual size.

7. The shallow circular dish found at the head of the skeleton No. 63.
Two-thirds of the actual size.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

Society of Antiquaries, April 28, 1854.

P.S.—Mr. Quekett, of the Royal College of Surgeons, to whom a portion of the cloth found adhering to the bronze-bound vessel has been submitted, states that it is linen. He has also, at my request, kindly examined the cloth adhering to the acus of one of the fibulæ, on which he remarks, "I find that the textile fabric occurring upon the upper and under surface of the *acus* are of the same character, both consisting of woody fibres and therefore linen. The fibres from under the acus are of a brown colour, probably from their having been stained by the rust."

Two of the crania (Nos. 61 and 64) have been sent to Dr. Thurnam, who has favoured me with the following observations: "I find but little worth especial mention in these two crania, which belong to the same general type as those I reported on from the same locality last year. The most perfect skull (No. 64) is that of a young man, of probably about twenty or twenty-five years of age. The *dentes sapientiæ* are present in the upper but have not appeared in the lower jaw, from which the right bicuspid has been lost during life. The remainder of the teeth are finely developed and their crowns but slightly worn down. The frontal region of the skull is rather flat and narrow and only of imperfect size. The other skull (No. 61) is that of a female somewhat past middle age; the sutures being much obliterated, and the crowns of the teeth, which are covered with tartar, very much ground down. The lengthened form of this skull is marked, and the forehead is high and more arched than is common in these early Anglo-Saxon female crania."

XXXV.—*Note on the opening of four Ancient British Barrows in South Wills.*
By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Secretary.

Read May 4, 1854.

NOTWITHSTANDING the obscurity in which the early history of Britain is enveloped, the antiquary still fondly clings to the hope that some additional light may be cast upon it by the acquisition of monumental evidence. Accident sometimes produces relics which keep alive this hope, and induce a further investigation of the sepulchral mounds which yet abound on our downs and uncultivated land. These however, unlike the grouped tumuli and graves of the Saxon period, offer but few provocatives to explore them. Their frequent large size, their compact construction, the time occupied in a proper investigation of their contents, and their situation frequently in lofty or exposed districts, render this description of barrow-digging at once tedious, irksome, and laborious.

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the Low Field at Harnham having been exhausted earlier than I had anticipated, I obtained, through the kind intervention of Mr. Finch Noyes, of Laverstock, permission to open some early barrows on the downs, three in the neighbourhood of Winterslow Hut, and a fourth on the line of the Roman road leading from Old Sarum.

Experience had taught me not to anticipate great things from these contemplated excavations. I had learned long ago, that a rude and crumbling urn, or a simple heap of ashes and calcined bones, were the frequent result of a whole day's digging in these early sepulchral mounds, besides the possibility of our working long in one which had been explored by some previous investigator more intent on the acquisition of treasure than the procuring of antiquarian relics.

The barrow first opened is situated on pasture land at the back of the plantation west of Winterslow Hut. It measured forty-three feet across, and the surface was much depressed, but there were certainly no outward indications of its having ever been explored. A trench about five feet wide was cut from N.W. to S.E., commencing at the extremity of the base. On reaching near the natural soil, in the centre of the barrow, the remains of a skeleton of small stature were discovered, the femur measuring only fifteen inches. Many of the bones were wanting, and

the whole had been clearly disturbed, probably at some remote period; at any rate, it may be presumed by persons having no antiquarian object in view, since numerous fragments of a rude urn, now on the table, bearing the markings usually found on ancient British pottery, were found on the left side of the body. There were also two fragments of an urn of plain form, very unlike the usual description of Celtic pottery.

Another barrow of like dimensions and form, at a short distance westward of the first, was opened in the same manner. Fragments of human bones, and of the bones of ruminants, were discovered a little below the surface. In the centre was a considerable quantity of wood ashes, but no traces of calcined human bones were observed, and, after excavating a still wider space, this mound was abandoned. There was no indication of its having been previously disturbed.

Many of our English Antiquaries are doubtless acquainted with the barrows scattered over various parts of the downs in this locality, particularly with the two very large ones on the left of the trackway which joins the road leading to Winterslow Hut. On the east side of this trackway, on some arable land just opposite one of these large barrows, is a group of three, of about the same diameter as those just described. The middle one of the three was excavated in the same manner as before, by cutting a wide trench from the base to the centre. Traces of two small skeletons were discovered about two feet below the surface, and a third was found still lower down; but throughout the rest of the excavation, nothing beyond traces of wood ashes was discovered.

On the following day we commenced the exploration of a barrow seventy feet in diameter. Its situation is on the right of the Roman road leading from Old Sarum to Winchester, about two miles south-east of the former. It stands immediately within the Deer Leap of Clarendon, and overlooks a vast extent of country in the direction of Stonehenge. There is another barrow of large dimensions not far off, just outside the eastern boundary of the Deer Leap, and another, westward of the first, which the Linch itself intersects. The first of the two latter seems, by its present disturbed appearance, to have been long since thoroughly ransacked. These three barrows, the situation of which is shewn on the Ordnance map, appear to be the only ones near the spot; consequently, that now explored is the centre one of the group.

One of the labourers informed us that this barrow was formerly of much greater height, and that its size had been reduced by the frequent ploughing of the land on which it stands. He had often observed that the plough turned up bones in passing over it.

We commenced by cutting a trench from the base to the centre in a direction north and south. Fragments of human bones and of the bones of animals, as well as the teeth, were turned up at a short distance below the surface, and on reaching the centre we found it occupied by a considerable heap of flints of all sizes, covering a heap of mould of a dark colour. On removing the latter, in which traces of charcoal were observed, mingled with wood ashes, it was found to conceal a small heap of calcined human bones, enough, perhaps, to fill a peck measure, but no traces whatever could be observed of an urn or of any other object for the protection of these remains. Further excavations in this tumulus shewed that the principal, if not the sole, interment was exactly in the centre.

It will be seen by these details how uncertain are the results of researches among our primæval sepulchres. I am nevertheless persuaded that such examinations are not altogether profitless, and that the gradual accumulation of the minutest facts regarding the use and object of these mounds may, in the end, materially enlighten the archæologist. It is much to be deplored that many of these remains have been destroyed by persons seeking for treasure, but no inconsiderable number have shared the same fate under the hands of the pseudo-antiquary. A walk or a ride over many of our Downs will satisfy any careful observer that scores of our primæval tumuli have been explored in a manner so careless, as to jeopardise the contents and often to reduce them to fragments, to say nothing of the great importance of observing everything in *situ*.

One thing seems certain in almost every examination of our ancient British barrows; namely, that the interments were frequently accompanied by sacrifices, and that some of the larger description of animals were immolated on such occasions; this is evident by the constant finding of the bones and teeth of ruminants, but especially of oxen. There is good reason, however, for our belief that human victims were not unfrequently offered up on these mounds, if, indeed, some of them were not formed for the express purpose. Such may be the tumulus last described, and such may have been the purpose for which the other two of this group were raised. The centre one, it has been seen, although seventy feet in diameter, contained but a small heap of calcined human bones, unaccompanied by any deposit of weapons, personal ornaments, or utensils, while among the earth which formed the upper portion of the tumulus were many fragments of human and animal remains. The situation of these barrows, on a lofty down, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, recalls the "high places" of remote antiquity and the "teocali" of Southern America. We scarcely need the testimony of historians as to the human sacrifices of the Gaulish and British

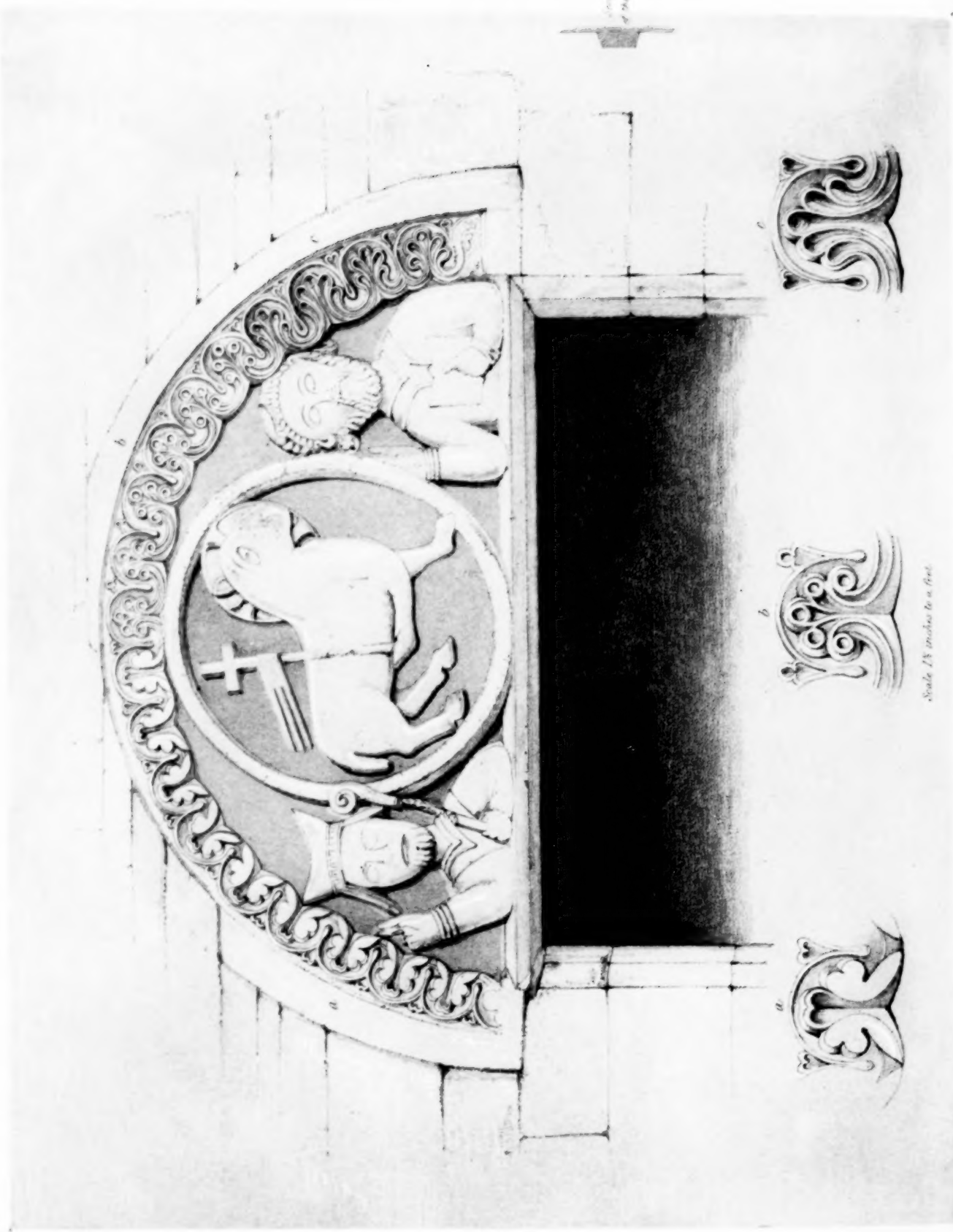
tribes, because they may be supposed to have been at one period of the world universal; a well-known passage in Strabo however very distinctly describes one of the particular modes of sacrifice among the Celtic race. After relating the different ways in which the victim is slain, this historian adds, "and having prepared a colossus of hay, and thrown wood upon it, they burn together oxen, all kinds of wild beasts, and men."* To such a practice may probably be referred, in some instances, the remains of human creatures and animals promiscuously mingled in many of our earliest sepulchral mounds.

Although the results of these excavations may be deemed meagre, they are not, I trust, without their value, for, though proving but little, they add that little to our scanty stock of knowledge of the manners and usages of the primitive inhabitants of Britain.

I may here add that the bones taken from the last-explored tumulus have been submitted to the inspection of Mr. Quekett, of the Royal College of Surgeons, who states that "they are evidently those of a young person, probably a young female. They must have been exposed for some time to a great heat, and the burning violently conducted, with free access of air among them."

* καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτον, καὶ ξύλον ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον, βοσκήματα, καὶ παντοῖα θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὠλοκυντουν.—Strabo, Ed. Casaub. fol. 1707, lib. iv. p. 303.

APPENDIX.



Sculpture over the South Door, Twynorth Church, Devon

Scale 1/8 inches to a foot

APPENDIX.

Notice of a Sculpture upon the Tympanum of Tetsworth Church, Oxon, in a Letter to the Viscount Mahon, President, from Benjamin Williams, Esq. F.S.A.

The Lodge, Hillingdon, Feb. 14, 1853.

MY LORD, As I was passing, last summer, through the rural village of Tetsworth in Oxfordshire, I was struck with the beauty of the sculptures on the tympanum of the south door of the Church, which a porch has, in some degree, preserved from the weather and from ruthless injury.^a

It appears that Tetsworth was formerly a chapelry to Thame, at which place there was a monastic institution, which received, in the reign of Henry II., a grant of a hide of land at Tetsworth from the crown. (Dugdale, Monast. Ang.)

I presume that the figure on the right of the sculpture (Plate XX.) represents the Bishop, who holds the pastoral staff in his left hand, and gives the benediction with his uplifted right hand in the Latin gesture. The shape of his mitre is worthy of particular notice, and Mr. Albert Way has kindly pointed out to me similar examples on seals of the 12th century in his possession. Another example has been well engraved in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*. On the left is the Presbyter, who, with Evangelium in hand, points to the Paschal Lamb with his cruciform nimbus, supporting with his right foot the flag upon a cross; thus beautifully symbolizing Gospel truth. A very early instance of the cruciform nimbus surrounding the head of our Saviour will be found in Calmet's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Plate C), Taylor's Ed. 4to. It occurs on a Roman coin. I will only add that the foliated ornaments are of extreme beauty.

I have the honour to remain your lordship's obedient Servant,

B. WILLIAMS.

Seal of the Chapter of the Holy Trinity, Brechin.

May 12, 1853. Patrick Chalmers, Esq., of Auldbar, Brechin, exhibited, by the hands of J. Y. Akerman, Esq., sulphur casts of this remarkable seal. The matrix is an obtusely pointed oval plate of brass of moderate thickness, having on one side the device for sealing executed as usual in intaglio, and on the other, in relieve, a bold floral ornament, issuing from a mask or notch-head,

^a Since this Letter was written, the church has been taken down, and this very ancient and interesting sculpture has been unfortunately destroyed.

which is perforated to admit a small cord or the like for suspension. One of the casts was from the device for sealing, and the other a cast from a cast taken from the ornamental back, so as to show



it in relief as on the matrix itself. Seeing the excellence of the designs and workmanship for the period when they were executed, which could hardly be later than the former half of the 13th century, and the rarity of so rich an ornament at the back of a matrix, it has been thought advisable to give cuts of both casts of the full size. The device for sealing is a representation of the Holy Trinity under a trifoliated canopy in the Transitional style. The Father is seated, supporting between his knees the Son extended on the cross, while the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, is descending on the head of the Son. It will be observed that the cross is raguly, an unusual feature at that time. Above the dexter arm of it is the sun, and above the sinister a star within a crescent, below which are two smaller stars; and beneath the transverse of the cross are two other stars, one on each side of the seated figure. On the under part of the canopy, over the head of the Father, is PATER, on the transverse of the cross FIL', and at the feet of the dove S' SPS. The legend is S' CAPITULI SANCTE TRINITATIS D'BRECHIN. The matrix has been recently deposited in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, having been presented through Mr. Patrick Chalmers by William Anderson, Esq., writer, Brechin. It came to him from a deceased brother, that had been agent to a Mr. Spence, who was Commissary and Town Clerk of Brechin; offices which others of his family also held; and one of them was law agent to the last bishop of Brechin, James Drummond, who was deprived in 1688 and died in 1695; but nothing is really known as to how the matrix had come into the possession of the late Mr. Anderson.^a It was pro-

^a It may not be altogether irrelevant to mention, that Mr. W. Anderson at the same time presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland two other matrices; one of brass, the official seal of the Friars Preachers, Perth; the other of copper, the seal of David Strachan, Bishop of Brechin 1661-71. The latter may suggest a clue to the devolution of the Brechin seal above described, since it is not improbable that the old





ARGENT CHALICE.

MADE IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD III.

DESIGNED BY MR. T. G. STONE, F.R.S.E., AND J. C. STONE.

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bably in use till the Reformation; for Mr. Laing, in his Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals, Edinburgh, 1850, has given, as No. 985, a description of a seal attached to a document dated in 1509 among the Findourie Charters, which was most likely from this matrix; and a cast of another exists among the collections of the late General Hutton, the date of which impression is presumed to be near the end of the fifteenth century. That extensive assemblage of original documents, transcripts, and casts from seals, illustrative of the monastic history of Scotland, has been generously presented by the collector's son, the Rev. H. Hutton, to the Faculty of Advocates, and may now be seen in their library at Edinburgh.

Communication from Octavius Morgan, Esq., upon an Ancient Silver Chalice preserved at Leominster.

May 5, 1853. By the favour of the Archdeacon of Hereford and the rector and churchwardens of Leominster in Herefordshire, I am enabled to place on the table of our Society for exhibition this evening a curious and beautiful mediæval chalice and paten, which are preserved in the parish church of that town. (Plate XXI.)

Of their actual history there is no record; all that is known of them is, that they have been in the church from time immemorial, and are supposed to have belonged to the ancient priory of Leominster, which was founded in 660, and dedicated to St. Peter.

It is one of the finest and most perfect I have ever seen. It stands eight and a half inches high, and is of silver gilt. The bowl is hemispherical, five and a half inches in diameter, gilt within and without. Round the exterior is engraved, in ancient church-text letters, the following inscription—"Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo." The stem is within of silver, overlaid on the outside with gilded open Gothic tracery, consisting of six angular miniature buttresses with ogee arched panelling and tracery between them. The knop is gilded, ornamented with pierced flowing tracery, and has six projecting bosses terminating in lozenge-shaped panels, which were enriched with small roses in enamel of the kind termed "translucid on relief," which prevailed during the fourteenth century, though it continued to be employed much later. Small portions of the dark blue enamel still exist, just sufficient to show what had been, the remainder being worn off by use. The foot, which is of silver gilt, is hexagonal, the sides of the hexagon being indented and ornamented with an elegant band of small pierced quatrefoils. The sloping sides of the foot are engraved alternately in old Gothic text characters, with the sacred monograms IHC and XPC, signifying ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ. It will, however, be seen that one of these sides has been cut out and clumsily replaced by another plate of silver gilt of more modern make and inferior workmanship. The cause of this is easily accounted for. On one side of the foot of the chalice was usually engraved a figure of the crucifix, which, in the celebration of the mass, the priest always held towards him. At the Reformation, in the year 1552, a commission was issued by Edward VI. to

chapter seal may have got into the hands of Bishop Strachan, and the two have come together into the possession of Mr. W. Anderson's deceased brother.

the Marquis of Northampton and others "to visit chapels, churches, fraternities, or gilds, and cause to be taken due inventories of their plate, jewels, &c., leaving nevertheless in every parish church or chapel one or more chalices, according to the multitude of the people." It seems therefore very probable that this chalice, being of large and convenient size for the administration of the sacrament according to the Protestant ritual, was, according to the foregoing instructions, either left with or given to the parish church; but that, as the engraving of the crucifix on the foot might be supposed to lead to a superstitious reverence of it, all crucifixes at that time being removed, that portion of the foot was cut away, and replaced by the plate engraved with the monogram I H C, as we now see it. The Gothic tracery with which the stem is ornamented is, architecturally speaking, of Decorated character, and the enamelling might also be of the Decorated period, but the band of quartrefoils round the foot is of rather a later character; and I am therefore, on the whole, disposed to consider the date of its work early in the fifteenth century. The Priory of Leominster was laid under heavy contributions by Owen Glendower in 1402; it may therefore be conjectured that some of the church plate formed part of these forced contributions, and that on quiet being restored, new plate was procured to replace that which had been given up, and that this chalice was portion of such new plate made at that period.

The paten is ancient, but of ruder work, and hardly seems to have belonged to it; its style of ornament being different, though they may have always been used together. It is six inches in diameter, and is sunk in the middle with a six-foiled depression, having the face of the Saviour surrounded by a nimbus coarsely engraved in the centre; in the spandrils of the six-foils are similarly engraved roses, alternating with what may be a rude representation of acorns and oak leaves, whilst round the edge is a double row of zig-zag engraving.

There is no hall-mark on either chalice or paten, a circumstance not uncommon in early church plate; the precise year of their make therefore cannot be determined, nor can it be pronounced whether they are of English workmanship, though it is very probable. The chalice is so fine and rare a specimen, that I think it well worthy of being drawn and engraved.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN.

Communication from Sir Henry Ellis, Director, of an Impression from a Seal of Henry VIII., preserved in the Hotel Soubise at Paris.

Dec. 15, 1853. Sir Henry Ellis, by the kindness of Mr. John Doubleday, lays before the Society a cast from the Seal of Henry the Eighth, appended to the English counter-part of the celebrated Treaty made with Francis the First of France, by Wolsey, in 1527, preserved among the archives of the Hotel Soubise in Paris. (Pl. XXII.) It is of gold, modelled and chased; was made for this special purpose only; and weighs, in French measure, "deux marcs sept onces"—that is, nearly two pounds.

Cavendish, in his Life of Wolsey, alluding to this Seal, the Treaty to which it is appended bearing date the 18th of September, says:—"And immediately after the beginning of the term, he (that is, Wolsey) caused to be assembled in the Star Chamber all the noblemen, judges, and



SEAL OF HENRY VIII. FROM THE HOTEL SOURISE, AT PARIS.

justices of the peace in every shire throughout England that were in Westminster Hall at that present, and there made to them a long oration, declaring to them the cause of the embassy into France and his proceeding there, amongst the which he said 'he had concluded such an amity and friendship as never was heard of in this realm before, as well between the Emperor and us, as also between the King our Sovereign Lord and the French King, with a perpetual peace, the which shall be confirmed in writing eternally, sealed with the broad seals of both the realmes, graven in *fine gold*.' "

Many, if not most, of the Members of the Society of Antiquaries will recollect that in the first volume of that elaborate and correct work, entitled "State Papers," of the reign of Henry the Eighth, published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission in 1830, the following account is given in a note of the other Seal alluded to by Wolsey, attached to the French counter-part of the Treaty, and still preserved at Westminster. This note says:—

"The ratification of this Treaty is preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster. It is written on ten leaves of vellum, signed by the French King '*Francoys*,' and countersigned *Robertet*. The Great Seal of France is appended to it, inclosed in a magnificent box of pure gold; on the obverse of which (that is, the Seal) Francis is represented sitting on his throne, under a superb cloth of estate, the curtains of which are drawn back and held open by two angels, and two smaller angels are assisting to keep them open at the upper part. Two lions are crouching at the feet of Francis, and form the foot-stool to the throne. The whole is surrounded by an inscription, on a broad border, *Plurima servantur Fœdere, cuncta Fide*. The reverse has three fleurs de lys on a plain shield, inclosed in the collar of the Order of St. Michael, exquisitely chased, surmounted by the crown, with the style and titles of Francis—*Franciscus Dei gratia Francorum Rex Christianissimus*, on a border similar to the former. The whole is finely executed, and is very inadequately, though not inaccurately, represented in Rymer's engraving Vol. xiv. p. 227."

The Seal of Henry the Eighth, it will be observed, the cast from which is upon the table, on the obverse gives Henry's titles—*Henric' 8, D. G. Anglie et Fracie R. Fidei Defensor et Dns Hib*. The centre filled with the figure of the King, seated on his throne, designed in the Italian taste, with pilasters. The reverse presents the arms of England crowned, surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Garter; a border round the whole, containing a responding motto to that upon the Seal of Francis—*Ordine junguntur et perstant Fœdere cuncta*.

In the two Seals here described the peculiar national taste of each country in seal-modelling in the sixteenth century appears to be exhibited.

Observations on an Ancient Fibula, by Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq. F.S.A.

(Read Dec. 15th, 1853.)

The brooch which is represented in the accompanying woodcut is said to have been found in France, and is remarkable both in its ornamentation and workmanship. It is formed of a circular plate of bronze, of some thickness, to which is affixed a thinner plate of the same metal, hammered up in relief, and kept in its place by a narrow rim fixed with studs. The back of the brooch is

ornamented with a ring of punched triangles, and exhibits the hinge and catch of the acus, which appears to have been of iron. The front of the brooch represents a figure seated on a throne,



holding in its right hand a Victory with a wreath, and in its left a sceptre, terminating apparently in a hand. The inscription is blundered, but is evidently intended to read, *INVICTA ROMA VTERE FELIX*.

Notwithstanding the absence of the helmet, the figure seems clearly intended to represent the impersonification of Rome, so often found on coins. The whole representation is evidently copied from some of the medallions of the lower empire, such as the silver medallion of Priscus Attalus, preserved in the British Museum (Akerman's *Roman Coins*, vol. ii. pl. H). On these medals, however, the inscription is *INVICTA ROMA*, or, *INVICTA ROMA AETERNA*. The words *VTERE FELIX* have probably been added to indicate the good wishes of the person whose gift it was. The same formula occurs on a bronze

fibula, discovered at Anières, on the banks of the Seine, published by Caylus in his *Recueil d'Antiquités*, t. i. pl. xciv. p. 257. The inscription in this case is *DOMINE MARTI VIVAS VTERE FELEX*.

An imitation of a medal would readily be suggested by the frequent use of mounted coins or medallions during the later periods of the Roman empire. A considerable number of these objects are preserved in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, and are represented in Arneth's *Gold und Silber-Monumente in Wien*, pl. xv.-xviii. It is probable that these ornaments formed portions of military decorations.

A similar use of coins may be found among the Anglo-Saxons, and other northern nations. Instances of the former may be seen in the jewelled ornament found at Bacton in Norfolk (*Archæologia*, Vol. XXXII. Pl. VII. and *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. i. p. 194); in the cross found at Wilton in the same county (*Norfolk Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 375); and in the pendant ornaments represented in Douglas' *Nenia*, pl. xxii. The gold bracteates of Denmark are also objects of this class.

Nor was the practice of employing coins as ornaments confined to those ancient times. In Mr. Roach Smith's Collection, we find a silver coin of Philip of France turned into a brooch (No. 753 of Catalogue), and the Hindoos to this day make ornaments of their fanams.

The character of the workmanship of the brooch now exhibited, its similarity to the medallion of Priscus Attalus, A.D. 409-416, and the incorrectness of the legend, all seem to lead us to ascribe it to the fifth century and to Merovingian workmanship.

The brooch has been since added to the collections of the British Museum.

Letter from Sir Henry Ellis to J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Secretary, accompanying the exhibition of two Casts from the Seals of Richard and William de Humet, Constables of Normandy.

Jan. 19, 1854. MY DEAR SIR,—In the Harleian Collection of Charters in the British Museum there is one (83 B. 36) from Richard de Humet to the Monastery of Saltrey in Huntingdonshire, of the time of King Stephen. It has a Seal of green wax appendant, bearing the figure of de Humet, who in the Deed is styled Constable of the King of England.

In the area of the Seal he is represented on horseback, in chain armour; a small shield is held upon his left arm, and his right arm extended, his hand carrying a sword. The inscription, SIGILLVM RICARDI DE HV . . . A part of the area behind the figure is sprinkled with stars. A cast from this Seal accompanies my Letter.

Richard de Humet was one of the witnesses to the Accord made in the 19th of Stephen between Stephen and Henry Duke of Normandy, afterwards Henry the Second, in settling the succession to the Crown of England. He was at that time and afterwards Constable to the King of England, not in England, but in Normandy. He occurs again in this office in 1174. He was succeeded, not only in his lands and honours, but in the Constablership of Normandy also, by his son William de Humet, a cast from whose Seal I also place upon the table. The original of this is preserved among the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster. It appears, I think, unquestionably to be from the same matrix as his father's, with an alteration only of the inscription into SIGILLVM WILIELMI HVMMETIS. The identity is remarkable, as far as the device goes; and, probably, is



not actually a novelty. I think it was Henry the Fourth of whom Rymer gives the public instrument, directing the name of Richard the Second to be obliterated from the Great Seal, and his own to be inserted, no doubt to accelerate the passing of such instruments as might require immediate completion.

I send a copy of the Deed to which Richard de Humet's Seal is appended, because it corrects an error in Dugdale's Baronage, who says Richard de Humet's wife was named Matilda, whereas, from the present Deed, it appears to have been Agnes.

I remain yours faithfully,

HENRY ELLIS.

HARLEIAN CHARTER, 83 B. 36.

Omnibus sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis presentibus et futuris Ricardus de Humet Constabularius domini Regis Angliæ, salutem. Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris me assensu Agnetis sponsæ meæ et Willelmi filii et heredis mei, et aliorum heredum meorum, concessisse et præsentī Carta confirmasse Deo et Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Saltreia et Monachis ibidem Deo servientibus unam virgatam terræ et quartam partem alterius virgatæ propinquiorem præfatæ virgatæ, quam tenent de Henrico de Costentin et Gaufrido filio ejus et de heredibus suis de feudo meo in Techeworde cum mesuagio et pastura et prato eidem terræ adjacente. Quare volo et concedo ut prædicti monachi ipsam terram habeant et teneant et possideant cum omnibus pertinentiis suis bene et in pace et quiete in perpetuum. Hæc omnia eis concessi et præsentī Carta confirmavi pro salute animæ meæ et uxoris meæ et liberorum meorum libera et quietā ab omnibus consuetudinibus et serviciis secularibus et exactionibus. His Testibus, Johanne Capellano, et Silvestro de Humet, et Rad. de Combin, et Ricardo de Colenilla, et Radulpho filio Roberti, et Oatio pincerna, et Petro de Castello, et Ricardo Clerico, et pluribus aliis.

Letters received from Sir Everard Home, Bart., addressed to John Yonge Akerman, Esq., Secretary, upon some Early Remains in the Friendly Islands.—(Read June 9th, 1853.)

H. M. Ship Calliope, Sydney, January 27, 1853.

SIR,—I have the honour herewith to transmit to you, to be laid before the Society of Antiquaries, by the hands of Sir Francis Beaufort, two drawings of a remarkable erection in coral rock at the Island of Tongataboo, Friendly Group, the antiquity of which is not known. With them I send an account of the "Burthen of Mauai," written by Dr. Charles Forbes, Assistant-Surgeon of H. M. Ship Calliope, under my command, who made the sketches inclosed, and measured the stones.

I may add, which is not mentioned by Dr. Forbes, that the custom in the South Sea Islands upon all occasions of one transverse beam resting upon two uprights, or the yard of the canoe supported upon the head of the mast, is by placing the part to be supported in grooves formed at the head of the supporting column, as is shown most truly in the plates illustrating the Voyages of Captain Cook.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

EVERARD HOME.

[DESCRIPTION

A DESCRIPTION OF A CURIOUS CAVE CALLED MAUERS CAVE, IN VAVAU; BY JOHN
FRANKLIN AYLEN, MASTER'S-ASSISTANT

SIR,—On Her Majesty's Ship *Calliope* visiting Vavau, one of the Friendly Islands, in August, 1852, Captain Sir Everard Home, with two boats, went to visit a cave, an account of which is given in *Mariner's Tonga Islands*, page 267. We had a native in each boat, sent by King George Taboo, as guides. On our way down the harbour, we met a canoe with four natives.

When we arrived at the cave, which is in the island of Nuabapu, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the anchorage, we found the canoe waiting for us, but could not see any entrance to the cave until we were shown a small patch of dark-blue water by the side of a cliff. The native in the boat, with the captain, named Simon (a Mataboali, or minor chief), jumped overboard, and swam to a ledge of rocks at the side of the entrance, taking with him a small rope, one end made fast round his wrist, leaving the rest in the hands of another native; he then jumped off the ledge into the water, and soon disappeared under the rocks, while the other native paid the line out to him until he found it checked, and felt a smart pull from the inside to let him know that all was right. The line was made fast inside, and a canvass bag and hammer sent in for specimens; it was then hauled taught from the outside and marked, to find the extent of the passage required to be dived to get inside. The line was then cast off from the inside, and the natives dived out again. We found by the marks on the line that the passage was six fathoms in length. Several of our boat's crew tried to get in, but, owing to the swell setting them up against the rocks, were forced to come out again with scratched backs, and without accomplishing their object. I had a great wish to see this wonderful place, and, being determined to try, told some of the natives that if one or two would go on before, and one behind me, I would attempt it. Accordingly, three jumped overboard, I followed them, and one came after me. When about halfway through, the swell set me up against the upper part and projecting rocks: I immediately struck down, and did not meet with any other obstruction. When I could see no rocks above me, I concluded that I was inside, and rose to the surface, and found myself in a large, magnificent cave about 40 feet in height, 120 long at the bottom, 180 feet at the top, and about 70 feet in breadth. I did not see any of the natives until I got inside, where I found them waiting for me. We swam to the head of the cave, and landed on some rocks projecting from the side of numerous craggy rocks, which we climbed with much difficulty, and sat ourselves down in a smooth oval basin, large enough to hold six or eight persons. I could not see any hole to admit light or air. When the swell rose, I felt a pressure on my chest and ears, and the cave was filled with a blue vapour; as the swell receded, the cave became perfectly clear, and I was relieved from the inconvenient pressure. I could not find any fresh water; and the only light admitted is through the water in the passage, which cast a bright-blue hue over the rocks and stalactites which are hanging from the top in great numbers. At the bottom of the cave is an oval pond of water, with the rocks on each side descending perpendicularly into it: this pond is about eight fathoms deep. I remained inside about twenty minutes, then dived out again and swam to the boat.

(Signed) JOHN F. AYLEN, Master's-Assistant.

H.M.S. Calliope, Sydney, January 8, 1853.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that when at Tongataboo (Friendly Islands), in the month of August last, I was informed that a remarkable monument existed in the south-eastern part of the island, which, with the exception of one or two of the resident missionaries, had never been visited by Europeans. When at the native town and missionary settlement of Mua, I gladly availed myself of an opportunity that presented itself through the kindness of Mr. Daniels, missionary there, who procured me a horse, and accompanied me as a guide to visit it.

We rode about twelve miles along a good bridle-path, at times passing through thick forest, at others through native clearings, where the mulberry and the yam were growing luxuriantly. The route we pursued led us over a country perfectly level, with the exception of occasional mounds of earth, apparently artificial, and reminding one very much of the barrows of Wilts and Dorset, which idea is still more strongly impressed upon the mind on coming in sight of the monument, which bears a most striking resemblance to the larger gateway-looking stones at Stonehenge; the only difference is, that while at Stonehenge the top or cross-piece is simply laid upon the uprights, in this case the cross-piece is let in, upon its edge, into the side-pieces. The whole is composed of coral rock, rough and much weathered on its surface, but evidently roughly squared into its present form. The side-pieces are set up facing each other at the distance of 12 feet; the height (approximate) of each slab is 15 feet, 10 feet in width, and 4 in thickness; the top-piece is 5 feet in breadth, and 2 feet thick. Annexed is a sketch of its appearance:—



The native name for this remarkable erection is "Ho ha Mo-nga Maui," or Maui's Burden; their traditionary history of it being, that their god Maui carried the stones on his back, and set them up in their present position, which is between 300 and 400 yards from the sea. About half way, the coral rock which composes the whole island is exposed in a hollow, and from thence, no doubt, these great slabs of coral have been carried. Against the northern pillar, on the eastern face, there is growing a young banyan tree, said to be only twenty years of age. It looks to be much older, and its spreading branches overshadow the massive and ancient-looking gateway at its foot. Its situation is on the south-eastern point of the island, opposite the island of Eoa.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES FORBES.

To Sir Everard Home, Bart. &c. &c.

H.M.S. Calliope.

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